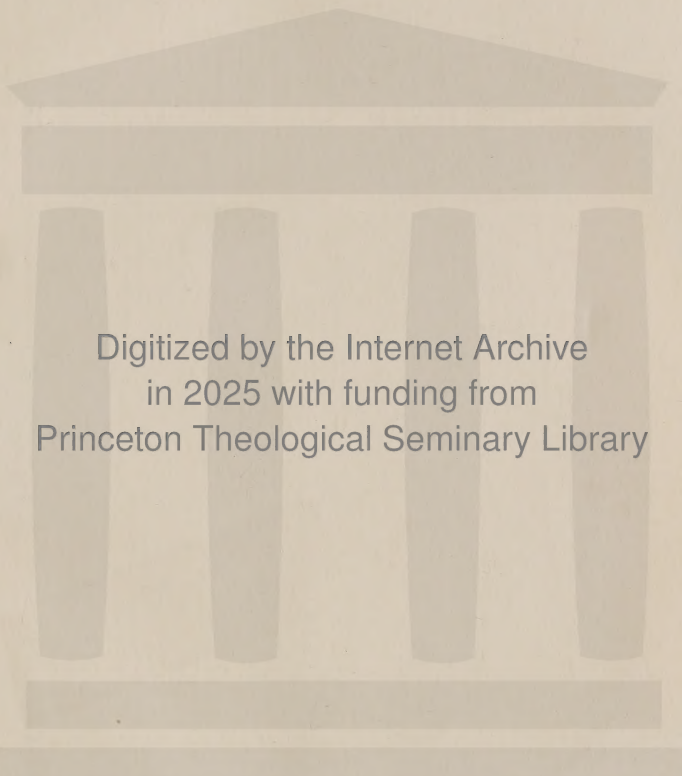




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History of preaching in Britain and America
including the biographies of many preachers,
pulpit and the men who influenced them.



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**A HISTORY OF PREACHING
IN BRITAIN AND AMERICA**

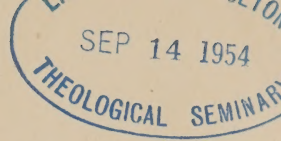
**A HISTORY
OF PREACHING
IN BRITAIN AND AMERICA**

**Including the Biographies of
Many Princes of the Pulpit and the
Men who influenced them**

PART ONE

By F. R. Webber

Northwestern Publishing House
Milwaukee, Wisconsin



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Milwaukee, Wisconsin

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ERRATA

(PART ONE)

Page 42, line 4, for "an innovation of" read *an opinion of the Scholastics until*

Page 66, last paragraph, line 5, for "equal three?" read *equal one?*

Preface

WERE ONE to discuss the entire subject of Christian preaching, and to include all the European countries and America as well, several larger volumes would be required. A number of men have undertaken the work, only to become discouraged with the vast amount of material that was involved. Most of these writers abandoned the task, and were content to present an outline of the subject. A number of such books have been published in the past. Excellent as some of them are, yet they are disappointing not only because of their fragmentary character, but because most of them follow a familiar, well-beaten path. The usual method is to present a short biography of two or three representative preachers from each European country and two or three from America. Interspersed here and there is a short account of the style of preaching in the Early Church, in the Middle Ages, at the time of the Reformation, in post-Reformation days and in our own times. One noteworthy exception is the late Dr. Edwin C. Dargan, who planned a set of three volumes of considerable size, but died after completing only the parts that dealt with Europe.¹ His discussion, as far as it goes, is scholarly, careful and fairly complete.

A second method of discussing the history of preaching is to limit the field to a single country or a single period of time, and then present it more fully. Among the best examples of this method is Dr. W. G. Blaikie's admirable book on Scottish preaching.² Scotland has produced more than her share of eminent preachers, and her influence upon

¹. E. C. Dargan, *A History of Preaching*, 2 vols., (New York, 1905-1912).

². W. G. Blaikie, *The Preachers of Scotland, from the Sixth to the Nineteenth Century*, (Edinburgh, 1888).

other countries has always been important. Excellent as is Dr. Blaikie's book, yet he was compelled to omit much valuable material in order that his book might be useful in the class room.

Curiously enough, nobody has attempted thus far to write a comprehensive history of preaching in England and in America. It is a subject that presents peculiar difficulties. Chief among these is the fact, not so apparent at first glance, that the history of the American pulpit was, for a long time, so thoroughly interwoven with that of Scotland and England that it is difficult to discuss one country unless one discusses the others. Many trends in American preaching are baffling, and at times completely confusing, unless there is a thorough understanding of the history of preaching in Great Britain. Not only have these three countries influenced one another powerfully, but time and again one finds that some revolutionary trend of thought appears simultaneously in all three countries. The Great Awakening is but one of a number of such instances. It appeared almost overnight in America, in Wales, in England and in Scotland, and virtually at the same time.

The influence of Continental European thought upon the American pulpit and theological seminary is less direct. Germany, for example, left its mark upon American preaching on three occasions, and in two cases the influence came to America by way of Scotland and England, in order named. We refer to Rationalism and the so-called Higher Criticism of the Bible — two influences that are anything but salutary in the estimation of a conservative thinker. The third German influence was one about which the world has heard but little, precisely because no comprehensive history of American preaching has yet been written. This third influence was a remarkable evangelical awakening of a century ago. It was led by Dr. C. F. W. Walther and a group of like-minded men. It was largely a movement in the Middle Western States, and it has been said in truth that it saved our central States from Rationalism and from a blatant atheism that was the fashion in the middle decades of the nineteenth century.

All works on the history of preaching have, of necessity, included the life stories of the great preachers of each period. Any discussion of the subject would prove confusing were this not done. So important is it to know the chief incidents in the lives of the famous preachers throughout the ages, that no one would attempt to describe the Great Awakening in America without including an account of Jonathan Edwards and the Tennent brothers; nor could he make clear the same movement in England without a characterization of George Whitefield and John Wesley. The life stories of the world's great preachers are so closely identified with the ages in which they lived that some day some courageous man will write a history of preaching that will include only the biographies of these eminent men. This in itself will make the subject clear, without the customary historical comments that one finds normally in our histories of preaching in the past.

It is not an easy task to determine why one man is a good preacher and another is not. Two men may appear to have equal gifts, they may attend the same school, they may both be graduated with honors, and one may become a preacher whom the world will never forget, while the second one is soon forgotten. More than that, the Christian pulpit has had many an Abraham Lincoln, obscure at the start, self-educated, yet who rises to world fame. Why did such a man as the late Rodney Smith, who began life in a gipsy tent in Epping Forest, and whose schooling was meagre, become famous in five continents? As an unlettered lad of 17, he preached his first sermon to a group of Sunday afternoon holiday makers. Then we find him in a Salvation Army hall, then an itinerate evangelist, then a dignified missionary of the National Free Church Council, then an eminent preacher who more than once preached by royal command to kings and queens. Gipsy Smith preached to some of the largest congregations ever gathered. Beginning life as a nomad, without a country or a nationality, yet when he died in 1947 at the age of 87, five countries were eager to claim him as their own.

One may classify the various kinds of preaching readily enough, and the various types of preachers, but who may hope to define that baffling quality that one finds in Robert Hall, in Thomas Chalmers, in Joseph Parker, or in C. H. Spurgeon, D. L. Moody, Alexander Whyte or Campbell Morgan? It may be useful to recall a few of the marks of greatness, but after all is said and done, one has not answered the question of what constitutes great preaching.

There have been many great preachers in the past. In those countries whose spoken language is chiefly English, one might easily name over one thousand men who, for one reason or another, may be called famous preachers. It is more difficult, however, to determine those characteristics upon which a preacher's greatness depends. Superficial people are inclined to test a preacher's greatness by his popularity, or by the fact that he is an orator. Learned men will inquire whether or not he is an original thinker. Every person will have his own answer to the question, as well as his own tests of greatness.

Oratory is a characteristic of many famous preachers, but it is by no means everything. Robert Hall, George Whitefield, Thomas Chalmers and Thomas Guthrie were superb orators, and so were Christmas Evans and C. H. Spurgeon; nevertheless in none of these instances does fame or worth rest upon eloquence alone. Other important qualities were present. While oratory is a thing that attracts multitudes, yet there have been many men who were noted orators and yet poor preachers.

Many eminent preachers have been great Bible expositors. From a long list one might mention Alexander Maclaren, Campbell Morgan and Sir W. Robertson Nicoll. These men were eloquent, but they were not orators in the popular sense of the word. They were all tireless workers, and were able to expound the Scriptures in a way that made the teachings of the Bible clear to the average congregation.

Depth of thought has been an important characteristic of some preachers. Among these were Thomas Boston and Thomas M'Crie, Sr., who were never popular with the class

of people who flock to the church of some man who has caught the fancy of the public. Dr. M'Crie appealed in a powerful manner to the thoughtful people of Edinburgh. J. H. Newman, Arnold of Rugby and the Cambridge Platonists were deep thinkers, even though their speculations may have led them into strange new paths. In America we had Jonathan Edwards, who had none of the qualities usually associated with the popular preacher, yet whose name has survived as one of the most influential preachers of his time. The same is true of Dr. Edwards, his son, and of Samuel Hopkins.

Other men have been reformers who have cried out prophet-like against the abuses of their day. Such men were John Knox, Andrew Melville, Thomas Boston, the Erskines and Thomas Chalmers. The preaching of Knox caused all Scotland to tremble. Melville's actual pulpit experience was limited to a few years, yet his influence, and his clear distinction between Church and State, were never forgotten. The Erskines protested against the abuses of their age, and their work bore fruit in a manner highly significant. Chalmers opposed the rationalism of a corrupt State Church, and the interference of the civil authorities in spiritual matters.

Still another class of men have been the evangelists. The names of Whitefield and Wesley are preeminent among them, for these fearless men and their associates led their vast outdoor congregations to Mount Sinai, and when the thunderings of the Law had terrified them, then they were led to Mount Calvary and to the Cross. One may not accept the extreme Calvinism of Whitefield, with its limited Atonement and its doctrine of reprobation, nor yet the Arminianism of Wesley, yet it cannot be denied that these men were preachers of unparalleled influence. Grimshaw, Berridge, Romaine, as well as Walker of Truro, were awakeners, and the same may be said of Vavasor Powell, Daniel Rowlands, Howell Harris and a number of others.

The reputation of still other men rests upon the fact that they were teachers. Charles Simeon of Cambridge influenced many men, and so did Robertson of Brighton.

Eccentric old John Duncan, of New College, Edinburgh, commonly known to his students as "Rabbi" Duncan because he taught Hebrew, cannot be called a great preacher himself, because of the inequality of his sermons, which ranged from the sublime to the mediocre, yet he exerted a powerful influence upon the pulpit of Scotland.

Still other preachers owe their fame to their magnificent faith. William Bray, who worked in the Cornish tin mines by day and preached on Sunday and on weekday evenings, was a self-educated man who knew almost nothing about Hebrew and Greek, yet in Methodist Cornwall there are thousands who declare that their Delectable Duchy has never produced a man of more far-reaching influence. His shrewd sayings are quoted commonly today, and the stories of his chapel building and his mighty faith are repeated again and again at every Cornish fireside.

A class of preachers too often overlooked are the missionaries and the pioneers. In some cases these men might not have attracted great congregations in England or Scotland, but their splendid achievements in distant lands has brought them lasting lustre. One might mention William Carey, Henry Martyn, David Livingstone, Robert Moffat and a long list of others, not forgetting the pioneer preachers who went to the American colonies and did much to establish Christianity in a new land.

One need not concern himself too much with a group of preachers who were popular idols of their day. The name of Edward Irving suggests itself, for this brilliant, erratic genius was a man whose preaching attracted multitudes, including many of the élite. His popularity waned almost overnight. Of much greater stability, yet not without peculiarities of speech and manner was Rowland Hill, whose great popularity endured for half a century.

The fame of another class of preachers rests upon their printed sermons. Their spoken discourses may or may not have been extraordinary, but for some reason their books have found many readers, and such men continue to preach years after their death. The catalogue of many a bookseller will reveal the names of men whose writings find a

wide sale, yet whose authors might have been forgotten were their fame to rest upon the spoken word.

There are yet other men whose temporary fame depended upon what the newspapers call "build-up." Reporters discovered that their utterances made "good copy" and were sure to pass the city editor's desk. Some of these preachers were mere sensationalists, others might be called pulpit oddities, but among them were men of a certain amount of worth. Men of the street have been heard to say, "You and I have said exactly the same thing many times, and nobody pays the slightest heed, but when *he* says it, it is printed in all the newspapers."

It is no easy task to determine just what elements enter into a preacher's greatness. Were one to consider merely his outward accomplishments, voice and presence and personality might be mentioned. There is little doubt that George Whitefield had the most magnificent voice in all history. It was of great compass, beautifully modulated, and had a warmth of quality that gave him complete mastery over his great outdoor congregations. Spurgeon had a fine voice, although he spoke in a fairly even tone. His voice was clear and expressive, however, and possessed of warmth. Presence and personality are important outward qualities, for many a man can write good sermons, but lacks the personality that is associated with a great preacher. Joseph Parker, Alexander Maclaren and Principal Rainy have been mentioned as men of stately bearing, and one writer declares that the presence of fifty archbishops and moderators could hardly equal the awful majesty of these three men, as they stood side by side in City Temple.³

A note of urgency and a gift of persuasiveness are important qualities of the great preacher, and without these things eloquence and literary style count for little. A century ago pungency was considered a desirable quality in a preacher, but today one never hears it mentioned. Pathos was held in high esteem a number of years ago, but is regarded by most people of the present time as mere senti-

³ E. H. Jeffs, *Princes of the Modern Pulpit*, (Nashville, 1931), p. 6.

mentalism. Stranger still, irony and sarcasm were often included in the Victorian age as admirable characteristics of a good sermon, while in our day they would not be tolerated.

It is an unfortunate fact that doctrinal solidity and an evangelical appeal are lacking in too much of the preaching of recent years. The sharp controversy over scientific thought and destructive Biblical criticism during the closing decades of the nineteenth century, the so-called new theology of the opening years of the twentieth, and the popularity of the social gospel have all combined to produce a form of preaching that is much more ethical than definitely Christian. Many a sermon of today can scarcely be distinguished from the writings of a cultured pagan. Negative Biblical criticism and the theory of evolution caused many men to lose confidence in the verbal inspiration of the Bible. With the infallible basis of all Christian teaching discarded, one is not surprised to find that men began to question the deity of the Saviour and the validity of the plan of redemption. Emphasis shifted from the salvation of the soul to the salvation of the social order, whatever that may mean. Sermons were not necessarily Christless, but men ceased to bear witness to the Person and work of the Saviour, and began to lay stress upon His admirable outward virtues. One may spend an entire summer in Europe, the British Isles or America and hardly ever hear the Cross mentioned, unless now and then as an example of a generous Man Who died for what He considered a worthy cause.

In selecting the names of the great preachers of bygone generations there is always the danger that men will be named who were influential leaders, but not necessarily great preachers. There has been too great a temptation in the past to include *ex officio* the names of men merely because they chanced to be theologians, prominent leaders or perhaps bishops and archbishops. In the case of Scotland, many of her most prominent professors have been, at the same time admirable preachers. John A. Patten declared: "The view is held that the first requirement of a strong and scholarly ministry is ministerial training of the

finest quality. The teachers in the divinity colleges must not only be scholars but preachers, and so it has come about that some of the most noted Scottish preachers have become professors of theology. After all, a pastor of pastors has an exceptional influence upon the whole life of the Church."⁴ It is safe to include the names of many of Scotland's noted professors among the foremost preachers of their time.

Bishops and archbishops, as a class, have furnished relatively few of the world's great preachers. Some of them were men of marked ability in this respect, but in too many other cases their talents have been along administrative lines rather than preaching. It has been said by someone that if a man is enthroned as bishop or archbishop, his power in the pulpit soon deteriorates. This is an unkind assertion, and there have been men who have proven that it is not always true.

In considering the qualities that must be found in a good preacher, his ability to present evangelical truth clearly and without fear must always be given a preeminent place. A man may be a splendid orator, a master of forceful prose, he may have personality, he may be popular, and yet with it all he may be a poor preacher. Our greatest preachers have always been men who have had something to say. A simple shepherd lad, spelling his way through a Greek Testament which he had walked 48 miles to buy, became the great John Brown of Haddington, Bible scholar and preacher of sin and grace.

In our discussion of trends of preaching throughout the centuries, mention is made from time to time of evangelical truth. Certain men are described as evangelical preachers. This is by no means an endorsement of all the theological opinions of such men. A man may preach Christ crucified and yet be heretical in some other respect. He may declare fearlessly the ruin that sin has caused among men, and he may urge his hearers to repent of their sins and confess Jesus Christ as true God, and as the only Saviour of sinful men. While doing this he may at the

⁴. *British Weekly*, Jan. 6, 1947.

same time hold defective views in regard to Inspiration, or the extent of the Atonement, or the doctrines of Conversion and Election, or in regard to the Last Things. Other men may proclaim sin and salvation in an admirable manner, and yet, out of a mistaken spirit of charity, welcome a notorious errorist into their own pulpits, so that the Saviour is confessed at one service and denied at the next one. Men whose evangelical preaching has been of a high order have been known to protest with vigor at a heresy trial, insisting that every man has a right, in a free country, to preach anything he may choose, even though it be false doctrine. The history of preaching contains many such examples of inconsistency. In the pages that follow, if mention is made of evangelical preaching, the fact must be kept in mind that relatively few men reach perfection in this respect. If a man accepts the inspiration and authority of God's Word, if he warns fearlessly against sin, if he bears witness to Jesus Christ as the only Saviour of sinful men, and if he preaches justification by grace through faith, then one must say that he is an evangelical preacher. Such a man may be confused in regard to the Sunday question, or the doctrine of the Church, or he may be confused in regard to the manner of our Lord's Second Coming. While one cannot deny that such a man preaches evangelical truth in regard to sin and salvation, yet we must express regret that it is truth mingled with error. Honesty compels us to mention without rancor these errors and not pretend that they do not exist.

At the recent funeral of a famous preacher it was said that he had changed the lives of many. This statement suggests another characteristic of great preaching. It implies more than a mere reformation of outward conduct. Effective preaching must make men realize their sinfulness by nature, their need of repentance, the futility of man's unaided efforts to better himself spiritually, his need of a Saviour, and the power of the Grace of God in Jesus Christ our Lord. Preaching that begins and ends with a discussion of "life" and its relationships, and considers it old fashioned to speak of the soul's salvation, will not bear fruit in changed lives. No preacher is truly great unless he can convince his hearers of the hideousness of sin, and their need of

implicit faith in the righteousness and blood of Jesus Christ, and the application of the benefits of His work, through the power of the Holy Ghost, working through divinely appointed means. The preacher who is able to do this is an evangelical preacher, and his labors will bear fruit in the form of changed lives. He will cause men to lay aside all thought of human merit, and he will, through God's Word, build up within them a living faith in Jesus Christ.

Outlines of the History of Preaching have appeared from time to time. Dr. Broadus, one of the early workers in the field, discusses the subject in five lectures.⁵ He divides his subject into five periods: 1. Specimens of Preaching in the Bible; 2. Preaching in the Early Christian Centuries; 3. Mediaeval and Reformation Preaching; 4. The Great French Preachers; 5. The English Pulpit. His material is good as far as it goes, but the very nature of his subject compels him to resort to disappointing brevity.

Professor Pattison wrote an excellent history of preaching.⁶ He includes Western Europe, the British Isles and America. The book is written in an interesting manner, but again the extent of his subject forces him to select but a few of the most noted preachers of each country, and to describe the preaching of each period in merest outline.

The most scholarly work by far is Dr. Dargan's admirable work.⁷ It fills two volumes of about 600 pages each. He limits his subject to the British Isles and Continental Europe, his treatment of each period is much more detailed than that of Broadus or Pattison, but even so he was compelled to omit many names of importance. He planned a third volume that was to cover American preaching, but his return to congregational work and his subsequent death prevented the completion of a work which must long remain the best of its kind thus far published.

⁵. J. A. Broadus, *Lectures on the History of Preaching*, (New York, 1876).

⁶. T. H. Pattison, *The History of Christian Preaching*, (Philadelphia, 1903).

⁷. E. C. Dargan, *A History of Preaching*, 2 vols., (New York, 1905-12).

Dr. Garvie contributed a valuable work to the International Theological Library.⁸ He divides his subject into ten periods of time and he includes Europe and the British Isles. His treatment of American preaching is but fragmentary. He contributes some original material, but his book contains too large a proportion of quotations from earlier writers. His references are largely to secondary sources, rather than to the published biographies of eminent preachers and their published sermons.

Dr. John Ker, one of the earlier workers in the field, has given us a work of 400 pages which is devoted chiefly to the famous preachers of Germany.⁹ His material was offered originally in the form of a series of lectures to the theological students in the United Presbyterian Theological Hall in Edinburgh. While his book is limited in scope, yet it is of interest because of the fact that it offers material in the English language on the history of preaching in Mediæval and modern Germany, down to the year 1875.

A number of writers have contributed valuable works devoted to a single country, or to some particular period of time. The well-known work of Dr. Blaikie,¹⁰ of New College, Edinburgh, is in many respects a model of all that such a discussion should be. He devotes his attention to his native Scotland, and to the period beginning with the sixth and ending before the close of the nineteenth century. He does not include the highly significant period of the Celtic Church. His literary style is simple, animated and gripping, and clergymen of all denominations have read the book again and again, and always with profit.

Dr. William Taylor, formerly a prominent New York clergyman, and well known for his series of books on Bible characters, has written an excellent little book on Scottish preaching.¹¹ The style is popular rather than scholarly, and,

⁸ A. E. Garvie, *The Christian Preacher*, (New York, 1921).

⁹ John Ker, *Lectures on the History of Preaching*, (London, 1888).

¹⁰ W. G. Blaikie, *The Preachers of Scotland from the Sixth to the Nineteenth Century*, (Edinburgh, 1888).

¹¹ Wm. M. Taylor, *The Scottish Pulpit from the Reformation to the Present Day*, (New York, 1887).

like Dr. Blaikie, he succeeds in making the great heroes of the Scottish Reformation, of the time of the Covenanters, the Secessions and the Disruption, seem to live once more and thunder from the pulpit, or preach in some secluded glen or on the open moorland. The style of both Blaikie and Taylor is vivid, and always in the background there is the sound of the surf on rocky headlands, the whine of the wind in the *gleannan* and the sight of the assembling multitudes in their tartans and their balmorals.

Erasmus Middleton has given the world an old, but rather full collection of biographies, filling four volumes.¹² He includes many eminent English, Scottish, Continental and American preachers. He limits his subjects to the evangelical school of religious thought. Middleton is hopelessly lacking in critical acumen, his expressions of praise are copious and his style garrulous.

Much more careful is Hew Scott's vast work in a number of quarto volumes.¹³ He includes only the preachers of Scotland, and chiefly those of the State Church, and many thousand biographies are given, not only of eminent preachers, but religious leaders of all kinds, whether they were eminent for their homiletical gifts or not.

Sir W. Robertson Nicoll, a Scottish clergyman and exegete, who edited *The British Weekly* in so brilliant a manner for many years, has published a book in which he describes a number of leading English and Scottish preachers of the nineteenth and early twentieth century.¹⁴ His literary activity was enormous and his material always bore the marks of scholarship and sound judgment. His series of studies of forty-four great English and Scottish preachers deserves a place of honor beside Dr. Blaikie's book already mentioned.

¹². Erasmus Middleton, *Biographia Evangelica*, (London, 1810).

¹³. Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, 8 vols., (Edinburgh, 1866-71).

¹⁴. W. Robertson Nicoll, *Princes of the Church*, (London, 1921). For the eighteenth century see J. C. Ryle's admirable *Christian Leaders of the Last Century*, (London, 1869).

Dr. Alexander Whyte is responsible for the appearance of three books¹⁵ containing detailed biographies of twenty-two of the most distinguished evangelical preachers of all time, beginning with St. Paul and ending with Dr. Chalmers. These were delivered in the form of lectures, after the evening service in Free St. George's Church, Edinburgh, and by a group of the most prominent clergymen and professors of the nineteenth century.

One might extend this list of books indefinitely, including such early works as those of John Dix¹⁶ and J. B. Waterbury¹⁷ down to the time of E. H. Jeffs,¹⁸ Hugh Sinclair¹⁹ and H. C. Howard.²⁰ Studies of special periods might be included, such as the works on the Puritan era by Brown²¹ and the American Colonial days by Tracy,²² Sweet²³ and others. Dr. Brastow has published detailed and valuable studies of the general field of Christian preaching,²⁴ as well as a discussion of a number of influential preachers. David Beaton²⁵ has made a study of the great Highland preachers, about whom far too little has been said in the past. The works of Henry Fowler²⁶ and W. B. Sprague²⁷ contain an abundance of helpful material.

It would not be difficult to gather a library of almost a thousand volumes of the biographies of individual preachers.

¹⁵ *The Evangelical Succession*, 3 vols., (Edinburgh, 1882-84).

¹⁶ John Dix, *Pen Portraits of Popular English Preachers*, (London, 1852).

¹⁷ J. B. Waterbury, *Sketches of Eloquent Preachers*, (New York, 1864).

¹⁸ E. H. Jeffs, *Princes of the Modern Pulpit in England*, (London, 1931).

¹⁹ Hugh Sinclair, *Voices of Today*, (London, 1912).

²⁰ H. C. Howard, *Princes of the Christian Pulpit and Pastorate*, 2 vols., (Nashville, 1927-28).

²¹ John Brown, *Puritan Preaching in England*, (New York, 1900).

²² Jos. Tracy, *The Great Awakening*, (Boston, 1842).

²³ W. W. Sweet, *Religion in Colonial America*, (New York, 1942).

²⁴ L. O. Brastow, *The Modern Pulpit*, (New York, 1906); *Representative Modern Preachers*, (New York, 1904).

²⁵ David Beaton, *Some Noted Ministers of the Northern Highlands*, (Inverness, 1929).

²⁶ Henry Fowler, *The American Pulpit*, (New York, 1856).

²⁷ W. B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, 9 vols., (New York, 1858-61).

The New York Public Library has almost that number. These range from such admirable things as Barbour's biography of Dr. Whyte,²⁸ Smith's story of Henry Drummond,²⁹ Hanna's account of Dr. Chalmers³⁰ and Simpson's work on Principal Rainy,³¹ to the homely writings of Peter Cartwright, James Finley and W. H. Milburn. Some of these biographies are eulogistic, and written too soon after the death of the man whose story they tell, but all of them contain source material for the discriminating student.

The printed sermons of the great preachers must not be overlooked. Scotland and England have been especially kind to their illustrious princes of the pulpit, for there are many hundreds of volumes of their collected writings. Even in the cases of men of secondary importance, volumes of sermons and collected writings have been issued by some admirer, shortly after the death of the man who produced them originally. Much remains to be done in Wales, and in the Gaelic Highlands and Islands of Scotland, for in too many instances the works of the distinguished preachers of these regions have not been translated into English. The sermons of the most prominent American preachers have been published, although not to the extent that one might desire. Here we have lagged somewhat behind the European countries. Our indifference toward some of our foreign-language and bi-lingual preachers is little short of sinful. The past decade or two has seen a general interest in the works of such European preachers and writers as Kierkegaard, Barth and Brunner, whose partial truths have attracted attention among men of all denominations. It seems little short of calamitous that the sermons and theological writings of such men as Walther, Hoenecke, Wyneken, Sihler, Stoeckhardt and others remain inaccessible to the average American reader. These men presented evangelical truth in a manner that was clear, forceful and complete. Their writings are Scriptural to a degree, and singularly free from the turgid speculation of the half-truths

²⁸ G. F. Barbour, *The Life of Alexander Whyte*, (Edinburgh, 1923).

²⁹ Geo. Adam Smith, *Life of Henry Drummond*, (London, 1899).

³⁰ W. M. Hanna, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers*, 4 vols., (Edinburgh, 1849-52).

³¹ P. C. Simpson, *Life of Principal Rainy*, 2 vols., (London, 1909).

so common to recent preachers and theologians of Germany and Scandinavia. The twentieth century saw the development of a nation-wide Bach Cult, and to a lesser degree a Kierkegaard-Barth-Brunner Cult. As the music of Bach and the writings of the other men whom we have mentioned became known to the American church people, great interest was awakened. Unfortunately such American preachers and religious writers as Walther, Hoenecke, Koren and Pieper wrote chiefly in the language of their youth, because it came to them most readily. Were it possible to publish their works in a form of English that retains all the vigor and clearness of the original, certainly this would prove a valuable contribution to the evangelical literature of our land.

Generally speaking, the history of American preaching has never been told except in fragmentary form. There are several good works on the Colonial period, one or two that discuss fully the Great Awakening, or perhaps the period of the Revolution. Dr. Sweet has published a series of stimulating works on American religious history, Rowe, Sperry and others have made their contributions, but a complete account of American preaching is yet to be written. Such a study must be related closely to the history of preaching in the British Isles, for it is difficult to understand the one unless one is thoroughly familiar with the other. Puritanism was brought directly from England to Colonial New England, just as the Church of England was brought to Colonial Virginia. Thousands of Scottish Presbyterians were colonized in Northern Ireland, and from there they came to the American colonies, moving soon in a solid stream to Western Pennsylvania, inland Virginia, Western New York and Ohio. Methodism came from England to the Middle Colonies. The Baptists came to America from England. These denominations formed the great majority of the population until after the Revolution, and they made a powerful impression upon religious life and thought in the New World. The Lutherans, the Reformed and the Roman Catholics were minority groups until the early nineteenth century, and although they have been influential, yet it cannot be denied that the prevailing religious spirit in America,

even today, reveals strongly its background of Puritanism, Calvinism, Arminianism and Anglicanism.

The older denominations did not seek to evolve new doctrinal standards, or new forms of worship. The early Calvinism in America differed but little from the Calvinism of England and Scotland. When some of the more severe aspects of this were modified overseas, the same thing was observed in America. There was little effort to revise the Westminster Confession, nor did the Anglicans in America seek to draft a substitute for the Thirty-Nine Articles. The Scottish Presbyterian of Western Pennsylvania, if he returned to Scotland, found the same order of worship and the same hymns in use in the Church of Scotland. The American Episcopalian who paid a visit to England found the English *Prayer Book* almost the same as that with which he was familiar in America.

Trends of religious influence appeared simultaneously in Britain and in America. The Great Awakening in America appeared at the same time as the Evangelical Awakening in England, Scotland and Wales, and in each case it had been preceded by a long period of spiritual decline. The reaction that followed the Great Awakening was felt alike on both sides of the Atlantic. The Secessions and the Disruption in Scotland synchronized with unrest and disruptions in America. The problems created by scientific thought were almost identical in Britain and America.

The influence of Continental religious thought upon American church life has been confined largely to those denominations whose founders came directly from Continental Europe to America. An exception must be made of Rationalism and the Higher Criticism. These did not come to America by way of St. Louis, Wauwatosa, Philadelphia and Columbus, as opponents might say. Even these unfortunate disturbances came to America chiefly by way of Edinburgh, Glasgow, St. Andrews, Oxford and Cambridge. Rationalism reached its ultimate expression in the German universities, and the Higher Criticism was a thing of German origin; but it was prominent leaders in Scotland and England who next accepted these false doctrines. It was in their

universities that the teachings of the German Rationalists and higher critics first found a welcome. It was the writings of Scottish and English rationalistic theologians and critics that influenced American religious thought at the outset.

In the nineteenth century immigration began to pour into America from Germany, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Finland and Iceland. They brought with them the Pietism of Halle and the Rationalism of the other German universities, for many of their pastors were university men. However, there were orthodox pastors and teachers among these hundreds of thousands of immigrants. Why then did these German and Scandinavian pastors and theological professors, with their excellent university training, fail to make an impression upon the church life of America? The answer is found in part in the language question. The German and Scandinavian religious leaders who came to America early in the nineteenth century had been educated in their native lands. They learned to preach in English, but their books of sermons and their theological writings were published, as a rule, in their native tongue and not in English. The sons of these leaders, many of whom were born in America, became more proficient in the use of the English language, they were able to preach fluently in two languages, but the theological books and the reference books on their shelves were usually those in languages other than English.

The immigrants who came from Germany and the Scandinavian countries and formed so large a portion of our own Northwest and our Mississippi Valley, were clannish. They kept much to themselves. Missionary societies in Germany, Norway, Denmark and Sweden sent hundreds of well-trained missionaries to America, but these men gathered the people of their own countries, and for years not much attention was paid to people of other backgrounds. Our native population was equally at fault, for the Lutheran church down on the corner is usually called the "German Lutheran" or the "Swedish Lutheran" church, and the Reformed congregation across the street is quite certain to be either "German Reformed" or else "Reformed Dutch," even though these congregations may have used the English

language exclusively for a century or more.³² It is quite true that the Lutherans of the Middle West saved that part of the country from Rationalism a century ago, but this was due to the fact that the settlers were so largely Germans and Scandinavians. Their influence upon their English, Scottish and Irish neighbors was relatively unimportant.

The Lutherans, especially those bodies united within the Synodical Conference, avoided pulpit and altar fellowship with the Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists and other denominations. No Lutheran, if he were conservative, would preach in a pulpit if it involved silence in respect to some distinctive doctrine. He was thoroughly trained in this respect. He may have found much in common with a thoroughly conservative Southern Baptist, yet the difference of opinion in regard to the mode of baptism, and the subjects to be baptized, proved a barrier. He might have been in agreement with a conservative Scottish Presbyterian in regard to sin and salvation, yet the Lutheran laid stress upon Baptismal Regeneration and the Real Presence of the Lord's Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Altar, and this proved a barrier.

The Roman Catholics remained a minority group until after the Revolution, and their great strength today may be attributed measurably to the later tides of immigration and to their schools. They were not sufficiently numerous in Colonial and Revolutionary days to leave a lasting mark upon early American religious thought; and it cannot be denied that the prevailing spirit in America, even today, is Protestant. Where the Bible is read in the public schools, it is invariably the so-called King James Version, and not the Douai translation. Where the school children are taught to sing hymns, one is quite likely to hear "O, little town of Bethlehem" and "The first nowell," rather than "Tantum Ergo" and "Salutaris," although in recent years "Silent Night" has become generally popular.

³². A recent book, *The Church across the Street*, by R. D. Manwell and S. L. Fahs, (Boston, 1947), contains the incorrect statement, "When you attend a Lutheran service, however, you may find that the prayers, readings, and even the sermon are all in a foreign tongue. . . . Slowly all the churches are introducing the English language." (p. 33).

The influence of the Roman Catholic Church is increasing, and the consecration of a new bishop or archbishop usually is given much prominence in the daily press, and it usually involves a procession through the streets of the city where the event takes place. The election of a Presbyterian moderator or a Lutheran synodical president creates very little interest. However, it cannot be said that Roman Catholic preaching has had much influence upon the Protestant pulpit. The lectures on great men of the Bible by such Protestants as Alexander Whyte, William M. Taylor and George Matheson have been echoed in hundreds of American Protestant pulpits. The succession of sermon books relating to the social gospel, and to spiritual psychiatry, are sold in quantity and their material used as a basis for countless sermons in Protestant churches. However, even so gifted a preacher as Msgr. Fulton J. Sheen, while admired by many Protestant clergymen, has not yet been imitated by non-Catholic preachers. The influence of the Roman Church is increasing, yet America remains essentially Protestant, Calvinistic and mildly Puritanical, insofar as the majority of her preaching is concerned.

CHAPTER I

THE PERIOD OF THE CELTIC CHURCH

Most people assume that the Roman Catholic Church flourished in England, Scotland and Ireland from earliest days until the Reformation. This assumption is based upon the writings of such historians as Gildas, Adamnan, Bede, William of Malmesbury, Ailred of Rievaulx and others. These ancient historians were all men of learning, but the writing of history in their day was not a matter of exact scholarship. The Venerable Bede was perhaps the most eminent of them all, yet he admits that his entire life was spent in the monastery of Jarrow, in the north-eastern part of England. He depended upon the monastery library for his sources, and in his day, a library with seven or eight hundred volumes was considered a good one. Bede made every effort to distinguish between true history and mere legend, yet he states things in his history¹ that present-day research is compelled to reject. The early historians whom we have mentioned were all Roman Catholics, or else friendly toward the Latin Church. They were all aware that Rome had a powerful rival, the Celtic Church, which had been influential in northern Europe and the British Isles for several centuries. However, human nature being such as it is, one may hardly expect these historians to call attention to the priority of the Celtic Church, nor to expatiate upon its great missionary zeal and its evangelical character.

Later historians depended to a great extent upon the writings of these early scholars. Most of them, through pure speculation, assumed that Christianity must have come to the British Isles in the wake of the conquering legions of Claudius. The evidence for such a supposition is flimsy. There are a few passing references in the writings of the Church Fathers, but these are highly rhetorical, and little can be proved from them except the fact that Christian missionaries found their way into many lands.

¹. Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*.

Gildas, Adamnan, Bede and the other early historians were followed by legend-makers, by annotators and by bards and minstrels. Legend-making became a popular pastime, and the writings of Gildas and Bede and the other historians were given an elaborate embroidery of fanciful detail. One class of legend-makers was in the habit of declaring that the early missionaries arrived in Britain on a millstone. Others, not to be outdone, spoke of magic bowls of gold or silver that were transported swiftly through the air by angels; and of houses that were picked up bodily by the Virgin Mary and moved from one country to another. Startling miracles were ascribed to the early missionaries, and supernatural deathbed scenes were related in great detail. After a time many of these things, by frequent repetition, came to be regarded as history.

The annotators form a different class. They accepted the writings of the early historians, but added marginal comments and footnotes, and these were often idle speculation. In this manner names and dates became confused. An energetic missionary named Petrock was declared by some annotators to be St. Patrick, and incidents in the life of one were made part of the history of the other. There were three famous missionaries called Columba, Comgall and Columbanus. These men were contemporaries, and endless confusion has been caused by annotators who ascribed to Columba the Gaidheal the achievements of Comgall and Columbanus, both of whom were Irish Picts. Early geography was based upon Ptolemy, and one of his famous blunders caused confusion until recent times.

The bards, minstrels, and story writers did much to pervert true history. They formed a highly imaginative group, beginning long before the days of Caedmon the poet, and ending with Sir Walter Scott and Tennyson. Every reader is aware of the mass of fanciful material that such men wove about the meagre facts concerning the historic King Arthur, who lived during the time of the Celtic Church. So fabulous did the Arthurian poetry become that men are not lacking today who are ready to reject the few facts of King Arthur's career along with the many spurious incidents.

One of our most eminent authorities on all things Celtic declares that the historians of the Middle Ages rewrote the biographies of the early Celtic Christians with the deliberate intention of lessening the importance of the Celtic Church and striving to increase the prestige of the Latin Church.² These men, he assures us, did not hesitate to lift men bodily out of their true century when such a thing served their purpose. Other historians, unwilling to declare that intentional garbling of history took place, tell us that the historians of the Latin Church fell into the common error of describing the Celtic Church in terms with which they were familiar. Thus it was easy for them to assume that the *ab* of the Celtic Church was really an abbot, and that the *muinntir*, or missionary training school was really a monastery. Since the Latin Church had diocesan bishops, their historians proceeded to elevate every prominent Celtic Christian to the rank of a bishop. Since the young men of the Latin Church often went to Rome for their higher education, the Mediaeval historians assumed that this was true of the Celtic Church as well. Thus it is that we find historians of the early and later Middle Ages attributing to the Celtic Church a form of government and a system of doctrine that would have proved puzzling to any Celt, differing as they did in so many respects from the Latin Church.

So thickly was the true history of the Celtic Church overlaid with legends, annotations and revisions that as recently as half a century ago certain authorities declared that it was a matter of utmost confusion. Today the true facts are known. A group of careful historians have devoted great attention to the subject, and they have purged the true history of the Celtic Church from the heavy veneer of legend and confusion that had become attached to it. Old documents were examined, old Celtic dialects were studied critically, and it was soon possible to separate the early writings from later additions made by fabulists, annotators and imaginative writers. Fortunately the Celts

². Archibald B. Scott, *St. Ninian and the Founding of the Celtic Church among the Britons and Picts*, (Edinburgh, 1916); *The Pictish Nation, its People and its Church*, (Edinburgh, 1918); and *The Rise and Relations of the Church in Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1932).

have left us hundreds, in fact thousands, of ancient Celtic crosses, ogham stones and various other reminders of their busy lives. Many of these are inscribed stones. The traditional sites of ancient churches have been excavated, and the ruins of great training schools have been identified. As early as the year 1835 the excavations of William Mitchell, Esq., brought to light the ancient church of St. Piran, among the sand dunes of the north Cornish coast. The location of Ninian's great missionary center, *Candida Casa*, at Whithorn, is known beyond question, while the church and the other buildings (restored) on the Isle of Iona off the west coast of Scotland, stand as visible reminders of Columba and his community. Old inscribed stones have been deciphered and ancient Celtic manuscripts in the great libraries of Europe have been scrutinized. The subject of Celtic Christianity is no longer a thing of confusion.

In the early Christian centuries the people of the Celtic race occupied a large part of the European continent and the British Isles. This fact has never been questioned, although a certain school of German authorities, relying upon speculation rather than upon a study of existing monuments, advanced the theory years ago that the British Isles were inhabited by a mixed population composed of Angles and Saxons in the South, and Celts and Picts in the North and West. This was not the case until the middle of the fifth century. Britain was solidly Celtic, except for the Roman army of occupation, until about the year 448 A. D., when Vortigern, a Celtic chief, invited the Angles to come and assist him during a period of internal warfare. About the same time other Angles arrived by sea, landing near the mouth of the River Humber on the east coast. The Angles who came to assist Vortigern were allowed to remain, and the relations were friendly. Those who landed on the east coast at the Humber's mouth came as enemies and remained as invaders. They pushed westward, cutting off the Picts who lived in Alba, which we call Scotland.

Christianity in Britain was due neither to the Roman legions nor to the Teutonic Angles, for both were pagan. There is every reason to believe that St. Hilary of Poitiers,

(310-368), a Celt of Gaul, and St. Martin of Tours, (c. 336-400), a Sabarian Christian living in Gaul, deserve more credit than they have received in the past. Both of them belonged to the Celtic Church in the Continent, and both were filled with missionary zeal. Hilary was an evangelical Christian who had employed all of his fiery Celtic eloquence in protesting against the secularism and imperialism of his day. In 356 he was exiled to Phrygia, where he had access to complete Bibles. In his day Bibles were copied laboriously by hand, and fortunate was the man who could possess the Gospels, the Psalms and the writings of Moses. In the East, Hilary found complete Bibles and theological writings of various kinds. He preached vigorously against the theory that the bishops of the Latin Church were custodians of the truth, and he pointed men to the open Bible and to Jesus Christ the only Saviour. He bore witness to "the Word of God in the Scriptures, which alone prescribed belief for Christians, and is the rule for the morals of all men." Between 361 and 368 A. D. he returned to Poitiers, and at once used his private inheritance in founding a community at Poitiers where he trained young men to go out and preach among their fellow Celts. Hilary himself preached far and wide, and brought many to a knowledge of Christian truth, and he directed the men whom he sent out, two and two, among the people of Gaul.

One of the most promising pupils who attended Hilary's school at Poitiers was a young man named Martin. He had been born in Pannonia, and is often said to have been of Roman parentage. It is more probable that his parents were Celts living in Hungary, for we find Martin preaching to the Celts with great acceptance, and educating others to preach among the Celts. Hilary gave him a building in which to train his missionary preachers, and Martin named it *Logo-Tigiac*, or "the bright white house." These schools of Hilary of Poitiers and Martin of Tours were based upon the methods of Basil and the Eastern Church and not upon Rome. Hilary is remembered as the writer of the *Te Deum* and other Christian hymns, while Martin of Tours looms large in Church History because of his memorable defense of the Nicene Creed against the Arian heresy. Men often

overlook the fact that these two men were Celtic Christians and not Latin, and that their greatest fame lies in the fact that they gave to the Christian Church in western and northern lands a remarkable system of education. Their schools were not monasteries, but *muinntir* as they called them, meaning "family," "relations," etc., where young men were trained not to withdraw from the evil world, but to go out and face it, preaching the truths of Christianity and seeking to evangelize the pagan people.

To the *muinntir* of St. Martin of Tours came a bright young Briton from what is now known as Scotland. His name was Ninian. After completing his studies at Tours, Martin sent him back to his own country to win it for the Christian Church. Ninian was a young man of admirable qualities, and St. Martin loved him as though he were his own son. It was a memorable day in the year 397 A. D. when Ninian returned to Pictland with a few companions who had been persuaded to assist him in the evangelization of the British Isles. It was memorable, for it marks the beginning of written history of Christianity in Britain. Prior to that date everything is pure legend, and if Christianity existed in the British Isles its founders did not leave so much as an altar slab to prove that it existed before the coming of Ninian. Undoubtedly there were Christian missionaries who preached here and there, but not one of them left lasting evidence of his labors until Ninian and his friends landed on the southwestern coast of what is now Scotland, and at Whithorn, near Ninian's home, founded *Candida Casa* which became one of the most important training centers of the Celtic Church. While they were building their chapel and school and circle of huts, word came, telling them of the death of their beloved teacher, St. Martin of Tours. This was in the year 400 A. D. Thus it was that they gave their training center the name of the "bright white hut."

Ninian and his pupils not only preached throughout Pictland, but some of their number went among the people of Ireland and paved the way for St. Patrick. Ninian's training center continued to send out men long after his death, and one of these was St. Finbar. He went to Ireland

and established a school of his own at Maghbile in Ulster. This in turn became the parent institution of the most important training school of Bangor of the Ards in Ulster, which sent its missionaries not only throughout Britain, but to many parts of Continental Europe, where they founded various training schools, among which were the celebrated institutions at St. Gall in Switzerland and Bobbio in the Apennines.

The great Celtic Church was known in the latter part of the third century when a Celtic missionary named Gatian was laboring with success among the Celts of Gaul. Its great strongholds were developed among the Picts of Alba (Scotland) and among the Irish Picts, whom the earliest historians call the Scots, but who were really Irish. Long before the Latin Church became dominant in Britain we find three branches of the Celtic Church at work: the Brito-Picts with their parent institution at *Candida Casa*, the Irish Picts with their most important center at Bangor in Ulster, and the Church of the Gaidheals, with its chief training school on the Isle of Iona, off the western Scottish coast. The Brito-Picts and Iro-Picts were friendly and assisted one another. The Gaidheals were not in communion with the other two groups. However, all three of them were possessed of great missionary zeal, and each of the original training centers had lesser centers as affiliated institutions, and all of these in turn had a chain of *muinntir* or communities of missionaries who carried on an active program of expansion. These Celts proclaimed the Gospel throughout the British Isles, from Cornwall in the southwest to the Shetland Isles in the far north. They were strongly established when St. Augustine of Canterbury came to southeast Britain in 597 A. D., with instructions from the Roman pontiff to evangelize the Angles who had settled in the southeastern part of the British Isles and who had established themselves in the northern parts of England as well.

For several centuries the Celtic Church and the Latin Church labored side by side, each with its own distinctive doctrines and form of church government. The Celts were a clannish people and they not only held aloof from the newcomers from Rome, but they declined to conform to

Rome in certain matters of doctrine, in their manner of worship and in their forms of church administration. As time went on, Rome endeavored to persuade the Celtic Church to conform to the ways of the Latin Church, but it was not until the Synod of Whitby in 664 A. D. that Rome won her major victory in causing the Celts to adopt the date of Easter as observed in the Latin Church. This was 267 years after St. Ninian had introduced Celtic Christianity into Britain. It was not until the year 1109 A. D. that the last strongholds of the Celtic Church finally yielded to Rome, after an eventful history of 712 years of missionary expansion.

Historians and educators, Protestant and Catholic alike, have seemed slow in accepting these facts. Such men are accustomed to seek the origin of every movement in Mediterranean civilization, and their writings invariably begin with a first chapter devoted to the Greeks and Romans. Professor Josef Strzygowski, of Vienna, published an important work³ in 1928 in which he demonstrates the unsoundness of those writers who trace all origins to the Greeks and Romans. Using existing church buildings of ancient date, he shows that other countries and races of people did their full share in establishing Christianity throughout Europe.

Roman Catholic historians have erred when they have assumed that the Celtic Church was closely akin to the Church of Rome. In Mediaeval days, Catholic writers took it for granted that the young Picts and Gaidheals went to Rome for their education, sought the sanction of the Roman pontiff, were made bishops, and that their Church was diocesan and prelatic and her training centers monasteries. Anglican historians of later times repeated these errors, and pictured a form of government within the Celtic Church that was somewhat like that of the Church of England. Even so careful a man as Dr. Simpson gives the impression that the Celts had bishops of the Roman and Anglican kind.⁴ At least one Scottish historian has given us a detailed account

³ J. Strzygowski, *Early Church Art in Northern Europe*, (New York, 1928).

⁴ W. D. Simpson, *St. Ninian and the Origins of the Christian Church in Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1940).

of the Celtic Church, describing it in terms that remind one strongly of the Scottish Kirk.

In the year 1885 Dr. Alexander Macbain, headmaster of Raining's School, read an essay before the Gaelic Society of Inverness, in which he called attention to certain errors that had become firmly established.⁵ Other men published books and pamphlets over a term of years, and among the most important of these were the writings of the Rev. Archibald B. Scott and Dr. W. Douglas Simpson. The painstaking historical research of such men as these was a work of greatest significance, for at last the far-flung Celtic Church stood forth, freed of the many legends, annotations and garblings of history. Where a confusion of contradictory statements had existed there was now order.

The Celtic Church was organized after the fashion of the tribe and the clan, because this was the only form of government with which the Celt was familiar. Missionary expansion was accomplished by means of preaching. Local congregations were not organized immediately, but the Celtic plan of mission work was to establish a *muinntir*, or colony of workers. From these communities, missionaries were sent out two and two, and they went from place to place, preaching wherever they found a group of people. At the head of these communities were *abs*. This was a term borrowed from the East, and the *ab* was merely a superintendent or director of the colony. The Celts had bishops, but these men had no administrative powers, neither was such a thing known as a diocese. The bishop was an ordinary clergyman, under the oversight of the *ab*, and he differed from the other clerics of the community only in the fact that it was he who was responsible for the celebration of Holy Communion. Bishops and archbishops, such as one finds in the Roman Catholic and the Anglican Churches were unknown. The Celts did not go to Rome for their training, for Rome was remote, and many of them were hardly aware of its existence. The jurisdiction of the pope was not recognized by them.

⁵. *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, vol. II, p. 50.

Historians of the older school were well aware that the Celtic Church had been influential, but they gave exaggerated importance to the work of St. Columba the Gaidheal, and made his training school at Iona responsible for much of the evangelization of Britain and even Continental Europe. They knew but little of the great centers *Candida Casa*, Bangor in Ulster and a number of affiliated communities and schools.

Mr. Archibald B. Scott, Dr. W. D. Simpson and others have done much to make clear the distinction not only between the work of the Brito-Picts, the Iro-Picts and the Gaidheals, but they have brought order out of the confusion that once existed in regard to these and other tribes who inhabited the British Isles. Mr. Scott, with his scholarly knowledge of tribes, languages and early history, has given us several notable works.⁶ Dr. Simpson has made a study of the ancient monuments and inscriptions, of which the Celts left many.⁷

We learn from Mr. Scott that the term *Briton* was applied to any Celtic native of the British Isles from the Isle of Wight on the south to the Shetland Isles on the north. However, the Roman legions who invaded Britain with Caesar and Claudius, as well as later historians on the Continent, restricted the term *Briton* to the people who lived south of Hadrian's Wall, and who had been made subject to the Roman occupation.

The word *Scots* has been responsible for much confusion in the past. To us it denotes the people of Scotland, but in early times it meant the people of Ireland. This is the sense in which Adamnan the historian uses it. Prosper of Aquitaine tells us that Palladius went to the "Scots

⁶ A. B. Scott, *St. Ninian and the Founding of the Celtic Church among the Britons and Picts*, (Edinburgh, 1916); *The Pictish Nation, its People and its Church*, (Edinburgh, 1918); *The Rise and Relations of the Church in Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1932); *St. Columba, (Columkill), the Gaidheal*, in *Trans. of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, 1912, pp. 15-66.

⁷ W. D. Simpson, *Origins of Christianity in Aberdeenshire*, (Aberdeen, 1925); *The Historical St. Columba*, (Aberdeen, 1927); *On Certain Saints*, (Aberdeen, 1928); *The Celtic Church in Scotland*, (Aberdeen, 1935); *St. Ninian and the Origins of the Christian Church in Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1940).

believing in Christ,"^s namely the people of Ireland who had accepted Christianity. St. Columbanus and St. Gall were Irish Picts, yet the writers of Continental Europe called them Scots. It was not until after the tenth century that the Latin historians applied the name Scots to the Gaidheals who lived in a part of Scotland.

The word *Pict* was applied at first to the Celtic people who did not yield to the Roman invaders. Some writers tell us that it is a word of Latin origin, meaning "the painted men," and they believe that the Picts painted themselves before going into battle. At first the term was applied to the people who lived near Hadrian's Wall. Later it was applied to the Celts who lived in a large part of the country known today as Scotland, and their land has been called Pictland, Pictland of Alba and sometimes merely Alba.

The *Gaidheals* were Iberian Celts who had come originally from Spain and Iberian Gaul and had settled in Ireland. They are also called *Gaels*. They formed a military caste the purpose of which was to subjugate the Iro-Britons and the Britons. Later they crossed the Irish Sea and occupied a portion of southwestern Scotland. St. Columba the missionary was a Gaidheal. Their relations with the Picts were not friendly, and the Gaidheals had their own church, which had no fellowship with the Brito-Picts and the Iro-Picts.

The term *Caledonian* originally meant a Pict who lived in the Forest of Celydonn. Today it is applied to any inhabitant of what we know as Scotland, and that country today is sometimes called Caledonia. The *Cymri* were the people who lived in what is now Wales. A few other terms call for explanation. *Cruthen* is the name given by the c-using Celts to the tribes of British origin who inhabited the south and east of Ireland. The *Atecotti* or *Caeth*, (plural = *Caith*), were persons displaced by war or invasion, who wandered in the woods and on the moors. The *Maeatae*, or *Miathi* were the Midlanders of northern Britain from the Firth of Clyde line northward. The *Dal-Riads*, or Dalriads were Irishmen who left Dal-Riada in Antrim as an organized naval and military force, and went to Argyll about the year

^s. *Chronicle*, Migne, *Patrologia latinae*, 51, 595.

506 A. D. Although their number was small, yet they hoped to gain a foothold and exercise rulership in the territories that they invaded. They were not Gaels by blood, but were of Iro-British Celtic stock. It was chiefly within their territory that Columba and his associates labored.

In making these distinctions we have followed chiefly the Rev. A. B. Scott,⁹ whose understanding of these early inhabitants of the British Isles is based upon laborious research. Although he differs in some respects from such historians as Green, Cheyney and the school text-book writers, yet his careful study of primary sources and his knowledge not only of the Gaelic language but of the Old Celtic dialects entitles him to a high place among authorities. Where Mr. Scott's exact distinctions are kept in mind, the history of the spread of Christianity in ancient Britain becomes clear: where they are ignored, one is compelled to say with the earlier writers that the history of the Celtic Church is a thing of utmost confusion.

Defective knowledge of geography is another source of misunderstanding. Mention has already been made of Ptolemy's blunders. For almost fifteen centuries this famous geographer was accepted as an authority of high standing. He was accurate in many respects, but he made a blunder in calculation that caused perplexity and resulted in much garbling of history. According to his calculations, Scotland was relatively small in area, and it extended eastward into the North Sea, forming a right angle with England. Early historians followed Ptolemy, unaware of his error in making calculations. Thus when the older writers speak of the "south" part of what we know as Scotland, it is really the eastern part. When they speak of the "north," it is actually the true western part of that country. The south boundary of Scotland, from sea to sea, is but 70 miles; while the length of Scotland from north to south is 260 miles. If we include the Orkney and Shetland Isles, the distance is 410 miles. Thus it is that early historians, following Ptolemy's famous error of geography, looked upon the territory evangelized

⁹ A. B. Scott, *The Rise and Relations of the Church in Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1932), pp. 53-64.

by the Pictish church as one of a mere 70 miles in length, when in reality it was 410 miles.

Names of people and places were confused in a reckless manner by the older historians, given as they were to mere speculation rather than to the examination of primary sources. Thus the true St. Paldy was said to have been Palladius, a man sent by the pope to combat the heresy of Pelagius, and whose effort to evangelize Ireland was unsuccessful. St. Brignac was declared to have been St. Bridget. Columba, Comgall and Columbanus were thought to have been one and the same man, and thus the work of St. Columba the Gaidheal, important as it was, was given much greater scope than the true facts justify, and to the detriment of his contemporaries and successors. Glaston in Scotland was declared by speculative writers to have been Glastonbury in Somerset, and we meet with the ridiculous statements that St. Ninian had a retreat at Glastonbury and that St. David lived there, and founded the abbey there.

Absurd anachronisms are too common in the writings of early historians to call for more than brief mention. A biography, the *Old Life* of St. Ninian existed, as well as the biographies of other early missionaries of the Celtic Church. Men attempted from time to time to rewrite and expand these documents, and in so doing they fell into errors that are amusing. The early biography of St. Patrick was rewritten a few centuries after his death. Not only were legends included, but St. Patrick was described as making a journey to Rome, and as receiving ordination from St. Martin of Tours. Even a casual examination of dates will disclose the fact that Patrick was but eleven years of age when St. Martin died. Men who had been in their graves for almost a century were declared in utmost seriousness to have been disciples of St. Patrick or of St. Columba. At one period the lives of the early Celtic missionaries were rewritten, and each one was described as a bishop, in the face of the true facts, namely that bishops of the administrative kind were unknown throughout most of the history of the Celtic Church. Writers who took too much for granted have declared that the Celts taught transubstantiation, which had no existence until the Latern Council of 1215

A. D., long after the Celtic Church had ceased to exist. The cup was not denied to the laity until the Council of Constance in 1414. The Celtic Church had never heard of purgatory, which was an innovation of the Council of Trent, 1545 A. D.

The Pictish Church was founded shortly after 397 A. D. and it flourished until 890 A. D. The documentary history of the Iro-Pictish Church begins with the founding of Bangor in Ulster in 558 A. D., and Bangor in Ulster remained its most important training center until it was destroyed by Viking raiders in 822 A. D., and ninety of its adherents slain. A remnant carried on the work for some years after that date. The Church of the Gaidheals begins with the founding of the community at Iona in 563 A. D. This center was destroyed by the Vikings in A. D. 806, and forty-eight of its clerics put to death. In A. D. 825 another disastrous attack upon Iona took place. The Gaidhealic Church was absorbed eventually by Rome.

Perhaps more harm was done to the memory of the Celtic Church by the legend-makers than by the men who garbled history, or by those guilty of anachronisms. A legend is not necessarily untrue, for there are legends that may be based upon facts, such as the traditional account of the martyrdom of Simon Peter. However, a careful historian will not take seriously such traditions as those which describe Celtic missionaries raising men from the dead, or floating through the air on a bright cloud. One comes upon such absurd things again and again; but in the earliest biographies of such men as Ninian, Piran, Patrick, Columba and others, we find no such ridiculous statements. These legends were added gradually through the centuries, and each generation seemed willing enough to add to the mass of fables that already existed. Some of these things are interesting enough, yet many of them are the inventions of a superstitious age, or else an attempt to add to the prestige of some race or religious sect. The days of prelacy were especially given to legend making. One of the old legends that is familiar enough is that of Glastonbury, Somerset, about 140 miles west of London. According to the fabulists, St. Joseph of Arimathea, with the twelve companions so

common to early legends, came to Glastonbury in the year 63 A.D. One version of the legend declares that he was a wealthy merchant, and came to Britain seeking the tin which was found in the Cassiterides, which have been identified with Cornwall and the submerged Lyonesse, a small kingdom that was believed to lie to the west of Cornwall, but was submerged after a great earthquake. Making his way from Cornwall toward London, Joseph and his companions came to the Isle of Avalon, which rose above the marshy lands of Somerset. Winter set in, and they decided to remain until Spring. The local king, finding them to be men of peaceful demeanor, granted them twelve hides of land, to be forever tax-free. There they built a little church of wattle and daub, and there, according to legend, the Gospel was first preached in northern lands.

The Glastonbury legend was taken seriously in the Middle Ages. That a small building of wattle and daub existed cannot be doubted, for Mr. Frederick Bligh Bond, the archaeologist, found traces of it during his extensive excavations at Glastonbury. Believing that Joseph of Arimathea built this chapel, a great abbey grew up on the spot. It was rebuilt from time to time, as excavations disclosed. The last abbey that stood on the site was a building of enormous size: 594 feet in length. It was destroyed by Henry VIII; and Richard Whyting, its last abbot, was hanged, drawn and quartered because he refused to surrender his abbey to Henry. The ruins exist to this day, and its thick stone walls range from two or three feet to as much as eighty-five feet in height. Mr. Cram has described it at length,¹⁰ although he and several others who have published accounts of Glastonbury belong to the old school of historians who take the legend of Joseph of Arimathea seriously, even to the ancient hawthorn tree just inside the present abbey gates, which is said to burst into bloom at Christmas time. It is hardly necessary to say that certain fabulists have made a bishop of Joseph of Arimathea, and have declared that his eloquent preaching won many of the men of Avalon to Christianity.

¹⁰. R. A. Cram, *The Ruined Abbeys of Great Britain*, (Boston, 1905), pp. 27-47.

The fabulists declare that a man named Donald King of Scots embraced Christianity in 203 A.D., and sent to Rome asking that a missionary be sent to his kingdom. Another legend declares that St. Regulus, or Rule, came to Scotland in 369 A.D., landing at St. Andrews. Several versions of this legend exist. According to one of them, St. Regulus was directed by a heavenly vision to go to Patras in Greece, where the bones of St. Andrew were buried. He took some of the relics of the Apostle to what is now Scotland, where a Pictish king and all his nobles received him with great veneration, and a church was established which was to become the mother church of all the Picts. It is needless to say that Bishop Regulus was a pure invention. The historic St. Regulus, or Riaghail, lived three centuries later than the legend would have us believe, and his association with St. Andrews in Scotland is merest speculation. Nevertheless an ancient church is still shown to the credulous tourist and declared to be the one built by St. Regulus. It has a tower 21' square and 110' high, and attached to this is a fragment of a church 20' wide and 26' long. The architectural style of this church, and the character of its masonry, place it without question in the period between 1120 and 1145 A.D., or more than seven and one-half centuries later than the supposed missionary venture of the mythical St. Regulus. Mr. J. R. Walker shows six large plates of this church in his work on the ancient churches of Fifeshire.¹¹

Countless legends might be mentioned. Tertullian declares that the truths of Christianity were proclaimed in many lands, and among them "those localities of the Britons hitherto inaccessible to the Romans . . . the name of Christ has reached all these places, and now reigns there."¹² This was written about the year 200 A.D. Thirty years later Origen declares that Britain and the Moors have been led "to call upon the God of Israel."¹³ The Venerable Bede

¹¹ J. Russell Walker, *Pre-Reformation Churches in Fifeshire*, (Edinburgh, 1895).

¹² Tertullian, *Adversus Iudaeos*, c. 7.

¹³ Origen, *Fourth Homily on Ezekiel*.

asserts that Lucius, king of the Britons, entreated Emperor Marcus Antoninus Pius to make known to him the teachings of Christianity. "He soon obtained his pious request, and the Britons preserved the faith which they had received uncorrupted and entire, in peace and tranquility, until the time of the Emperor Diocletian."¹⁴ This strange request of Lucius was made some time after 161 A. D. About the year 300 A. D., St. Alban is said to have suffered martyrdom in Britain, under the persecutions begun by Diocletian in 293 A. D.¹⁵ There is no documentary evidence to prove that such a man as St. Alban ever existed.

It is quite possible that there were Christians among the Roman soldiers stationed in Britain. From the time of Julius Caesar's invasion of 55 B. C. onward, Britain was an occupied country. Claudius came a century later with four legions of seasoned soldiers and attempted to set up an organized Roman state. It may be that there were Christians among these invaders, and it is possible that Christian missionaries followed in the footsteps of the Roman conquerors. It is said that there were three Britons present at the Synod of Arles which convened in 314 A. D. Their names survive, and all of them are said to have been bishops. There were doubtless three men from Britain at the Synod of Arles, but the account must be taken with caution, since two of them are said to have been bishops of London, and the third from York. Just why London should have *two* bishops has never been explained. Many historical events have been veneered in later days by embellishments, and the account of the Synod of Arles seems to be no exception.

Several of the ancient churches of Continental Europe have become so crowded with comparatively modern images, framed paintings and tapestries that the structural lines of the building are actually concealed. One longs to remove these later accretions in order to behold the original glory of the old church. The same thing may be said of Christianity in Britain. Historic facts are there, but generations of fabulists have added much that is merest con-

¹⁴. Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, I, 4.

¹⁵. *Ibid.*, I, 7.

lecture in some instances, and deliberate falsehood in others. Trained historians have been striving for years to remove the things that are untrue, and gradually the true story of early British Christianity is coming to light. A powerful Celtic Church, standing aloof from foreign influences, is revealed. It is evangelical, for it maintained a number of powerful missionary training centers, where men were educated and taught to preach the truths of Christianity. Just how closely they adhered to the teachings of the inspired Word of God it is difficult to say. If we can believe the early historians, these missionary preachers must have defended the truth. St. Martin of Tours, the founder of this work among the Celts, was scourged by the Arians because of his fearless defense of the Person of Jesus Christ as set forth in the Nicene Creed, and which was denied by the Arian heretics who taught that our Lord was not of one substance with the Father. St. Martin has suffered many things at the hands of the garblers of history, who have all but obliterated his true history by means of foolish legends and spurious miracles. St. Ninian was trained by Martin, and he in turn trained his missionary preachers at *Candida Casa*. The Venerable Bede admits that the pagan Picts "having left the error of idolatry, had received the Faith of the Truth from the preaching to them of the Word, by Ninian,"¹⁶ although he embroiders his statement by declaring Ninian to be "bishop, a most reverend and holy man of the nation of the Britons."¹⁶ Ninian was an *ab* rather than a bishop, for the Brito-Pictish Church knew of no such thing as diocesan bishops. Here Bede was interpreting history in terms of his own day. A number of statements might be quoted to suggest the possibility that the Celtic missionaries were diligent in teaching the truths of Scripture as they understood them. Certainly they bore witness against the Arian heretics, and the heresy of Pelagius.

Ninian, Finbar, Columba and other great leaders possessed their own manuscript copies of the Gospels, the Psalms and in some cases the Law of Moses. Some of the most beautiful manuscripts of today are Celtic. St. Finbar was a famous copyist, and was jealous of his own beautiful

¹⁶. *Ibid.*, III, 4.

manuscripts of the Scriptures. There is the absurd legend that St. Columcille went to Tours and rifled the grave of St. Martin and brought back with him the copy of the Gospels that had been buried with that great missionary to the Celts.

This love of the Gospel, and this missionary zeal was wholly lacking at the Synod of Arles of 314 A. D. It was called to establish the imperial power of Constantine over the Church, and one may search in vain for any evidence of evangelical fervor or of missionary zeal. If the three "bishops" from Britain who are said to have been present at Arles were Celts, they must have sought in vain for that fervid missionary spirit that was so characteristic of both the Pictish Church and the Church of the Gaidheals.

While most of Continental Christendom was setting up monasteries, and encouraging men to withdraw from the evil world, the Celtic Christians were founding training schools, and chains of affiliated *muinntir*, or colonies of active missionary preachers. They were sending out men who had been trained to preach, and to preach with great forcefulness. They had no thought of gaining holiness by withdrawing from the world. Rather did these Celtic Christians face the evils of the world and seek to remedy them by winning individual believers to the truth. It is not to be assumed that these Brito-Celts were without fault. They had their faults, and their serious faults, but at least they preached the truth as they understood it. Ancient historians declare that they stressed the teachings of the Four Evangelists and the Apostles. The Bible was held in highest esteem by them, the early historians say, and memorizing of the Psalter was required of the members of the *muinntir*. The work of copying the Scriptures occupied much of the time of the members of these communities when they were not engaged in preaching missions.

It is quite true that early Roman Catholic writers charge the Celtic Church with teaching "pestilential heresies," but we need only to read further in order to discover what they were. One such "heresy" was the fact that the Celts observed a different date for Easter; a thing that Bede

condemns severely.¹⁷ Then their free form of government was looked upon by the Latin Church as disorder, for the Celtic bishop was a minor clergyman without authority and without a diocese. There is no evidence that the Celtic Church knew anything of transubstantiation, or of saint worship, or of adoration of the Virgin Mary. Thomas Maclaughlin, the Scottish historian, may be taking too much for granted when he declares: "The great subject of the teaching of those early missionaries was the simple truth of the Gospel of salvation. It was *Verbum Dei*, the Word of God. Adamnan says of Columba, that from his boyhood he was instructed in the love of Christ.¹⁸ When he resolved upon his missionary expedition to Scotland this was the great principle that governed him; he sought a foreign country 'for the love of Christ.' For thirty-five years, his biographer tells us, he lived 'a good soldier of Christ' in his adopted island. He was in every sense a missionary of Christ, and there can be no room to question that, like the great Apostle of the Gentiles, Christ and Him crucified was the great object of his teaching. To the work of the Holy Spirit his biographer gives ample place. He tells us¹⁹ that by the grace of God he preserved the integrity of his body and the purity of his soul, and, in detailing the experience of the saint, he attributes it to 'the Holy Spirit which filled his inmost soul.' From all these we can gather what the nature of the faith of these early missionaries was, and the nature of the instruction which they conveyed to others."²⁰

The Celtic Church and its several branches was not strongly centralized, differing in this respect from her later rival, Rome. Daughter communities were not subject to the parent *muinntir*, but were largely self-governing, yet retaining a connection with the mother community. Although the Celtic Church flourished as a great missionary agency for several centuries, yet she had a weakness. She

¹⁷. Venerable Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, III, 3-17.

¹⁸. *Vit. Col.*, Pref. sec.

¹⁹. Pref. sec.

²⁰. Thomas Maclaughlin, *The Early Scottish Church*, (Edinburgh, 1865), p. 182.

made no attempt to establish permanent congregations as we understand such things today. Of parish lines and dioceses she knew nothing. All of this seems strange to us, but one must not overlook the fact that Celtic life was not feudal and not even urban. It was tribal, and thus it was that a Christian community became the center of Celtic religious life. From these many scattered communities missionary activity radiated. Great stress was laid upon preaching, and very little upon organization. Since the Celts lacked congregations, these affiliated with conferences and synods, their work lacked permanence. The Latin Church was introduced into Britain in 597 A. D., with the coming of St. Augustine of Canterbury. With its organized congregations and its strong central form of ecclesiastical government, the work of the Latin Church was permanent. For a time the Celtic Church and the Latin Church were entirely independent, then Rome sought gradually to persuade the Celts to conform, at least in outward matters. The date of Easter was one subject of sharp controversy, and it was not until after the Synod of Whitby in 664 A. D. that the Pictish and the other branches of the Celtic Church yielded to Roman practice in regard to the date of Easter, and in respect to tonsure. The decline of the Celtic Church was gradual. The great center at Iona was destroyed during the Viking raid of 794 A. D. The Pictish branch of the Celtic Church continued until the year 842, when Kenneth MacAlpin, king of the Gaidheals, seized the Pictish throne in Fortrenn. The absorption of the Pictish Church by the Church of the Gaidheals was gradual, and remnants of it existed here and there until after the beginning of the tenth century. Dr. MacEwen devotes an important chapter ²¹ to the decline of the Celtic Church and the gradual growth in influence of the Latin Church, but many important facts have been brought to light since his untimely death in 1916.

Celtic Christianity had an important part in the Christianization of Northern Europe and the British Isles. It is incorrect to say that Goths, Vandals, Huns, Lombards and Vikings extinguished the light of the Gospel and created

²¹ A. R. MacEwen, *A History of the Church in Scotland*, vol. I, (1913) pp. 86-102.

five or more centuries of darkness in Europe. While these invaders did much to hinder the work of the Latin Church, yet it was precisely at this period that the Celtic Christians kept the light of Christianity burning in northern lands.

CHAPTER II

THE GREAT PREACHERS OF THE CELTIC CHURCH

ONE is justified in declaring that many of the leaders of the Celtic Church were admirable preachers. Again and again does one come upon evidence of this fact. In every period of Church History the Celts have been noted for their fervid eloquence, their religious zeal and their missionary activity. Hilary of Poitiers and Martin of Tours aroused the Gauls of northern Europe, and the preaching of these men brought thousands to a knowledge of the simple truths of the early Christian Church. Not only did they declare the truth, but these men protested against error, for we find Hilary crying prophet-like against such evils of his day as the secularization of religion, and the support by the Church of imperialism. He preached against Constantius II, who had asserted that "the only Rule of Faith is my will." He denounced the bishops of the Latin Church who had declared that they alone were the custodians of the truth. Hilary pointed his hearers to the open Bible, "which alone prescribes belief for Christians." St. Martin of Tours had an important part in exposing the Arian heresy, and his fearless defense of the truths set forth in the Nicene Creed is enough to give him a place among the greatest preachers of his age.

It was such men as these who dreamed of the evangelization of the British Isles, at that time so largely pagan. They thought of the expansion of Christianity in Britain just as we of today think of the spread of the Gospel in China and India. They established schools in which they trained young men, teaching them not only the doctrines of the Word of God, but training them to preach. Thus when Ninian and his companions went to Whithorn, on the north shore of the Solent in what is now Scotland, they were well prepared for their task. They went out among the pagans of Pictland Alba, declaring the truths of Scripture in a manner that caused thousands to accept Christianity. The training school that they founded on the model of St. Martin's school at Tours became the alma mater of scores

of eminent preachers. Not only did these men go throughout northern Britain, but they found their way to Ireland, Wales, Cornwall and England. Later they went to the Continent of Europe, establishing centers of the Celtic Church and founding training schools, some of which rose to world fame.

People of the Celtic race are noted to this day for their fiery eloquence, and many such preachers have attained great distinction in the Scottish Highlands, in Wales, in Cornwall and in Ireland. Not only did the early missionaries of the Celtic Church possess a tireless missionary zeal and the picturesque eloquence of their race, but they had utmost respect for the teachings of the Scriptures. Other races and communities have produced heretics in abundance, but we find very few such men among the early Celts. Pelagius was one of these, but the fact must not be overlooked that he was an orthodox Christian in his homeland, and it was not until he had journeyed afar, and had come among strangers, that he became a heretic. Taken as a whole, the Brito-Picts, the Iro-Picts and the Gaidheals defended the truth for almost five centuries before their doctrinal decline became evident.

One is not justified in saying that these early Celts were orthodox in all matters, but we do know that they defended the great truths of evangelical Christianity. They seemed to understand the great truths of sin and salvation, and the "detestable heresies" that the Latin historians hold against them prove to be such things as their date for the celebration of Easter, their refusal to accept the supremacy of the pope and the jurisdiction of the Latin Church, their refusal of the Roman type of tonsure and other such matters. The Celtic Church seems to have held rather lax views in regard to the Church and the ministry, for they do not appear to have attached great importance to the Christian congregation, nor to the call. Declaring that they followed the simple methods of the Apostles, the Celtic missionaries went from place to place, preaching to all who cared to listen. They seem to have had no organized congregations and no regularly called pastors. Their churches, apparently, were not much more than preaching stations, and their workers were

itinerant preachers, who met with brilliant success in sowing the seed of the Word and turning many from paganism to Christianity. However, they do not appear to have held in high esteem the spiritual relationship between a duly called pastor and a permanently organized congregation. Their clannishness led them to look upon such things as peculiarities of the Church of Rome. Thus the Celtic missionaries were content to be "awakeners," calling the people to repent of their sins and to believe in Jesus Christ as their only Saviour. In this respect the results were conspicuous, but one cannot escape the thought that their work would have been more permanent had they been willing to be more than merely circuit-preachers. When orthodox Christianity is introduced into a new country, such missionary methods may be useful, but in the course of almost five hundred years one might be justified in looking for greater results in the form of strongly organized congregations.

The Celts built their places of worship, and the remains of many of these have been identified, yet it would seem that their congregations were not much more than groups of converts who assembled to hear whatever itinerating preacher happened to be present. It is quite possible that additional research on the part of scholars who have access to old stone monuments and ruined churches, as well as to the oldest chronicles that exist, will produce evidence to show that Celtic religious life was built upon a much more permanent basis than that which we have described; and should such be the case, the writer of these lines reserves the right to modify these statements, nor is he to be held accountable until such evidence is produced.

In giving an account of some of the more important leaders of the Celtic Church, we shall include men who may be presumed to be eminent preachers, either because there is documentary evidence of this fact, or because the results of their labors is proof of their faithfulness in declaring the truths of God's inspired Word. Not only eloquence, but learning, zeal for the truths of Scripture, persuasiveness and other qualities are presupposed.

Modern authorities who have made a study of the leaders of the Celtic Church are agreed that they deserve a rightful place in the evangelical succession. Dr. W. G. Blaikie, professor of Apologetical and of Pastoral Theology at New College, Edinburgh, says of the preaching of the Celtic Church leaders: "the first feature to attract our notice on every side is *its thoroughly Biblical character*. It was most emphatically a ministry of the Word. . . . What they read, what they copied, what they delighted in, was the Holy Scriptures. What they preached was *Verbum Dei*. Of their boundless devotion to the Scriptures we have a striking proof in the fact that Columba, with his own hand, is said to have transcribed the Gospels, and also the Psalms, three hundred times."¹

Dr. Blaikie calls attention to the fact that Dr. J. H. A. Ebrard of Erlangen, who wrote a notable work on the Celtic Church,² came to the conclusion that the Celts were evangelical. Mr. Hill Burton sums up Ebrard's conclusions as follows: "It had a full right to be called an evangelical church, not only because it was free from the power of Rome, and always showed a determination, whenever the Roman Catholic Church came in contact with it, to appeal from the authority of Rome to the Holy Scriptures as the only supreme authority; but above all, because its inner life was penetrated and stimulated by the inner form and substance of the evangelical church. . . . To the Culdees the Holy Scriptures were no text-book containing a list of lawful doctrines, but the living word of Christ. They taught with all sincerity the innate sinfulness of the natural man, the reconciling death of Christ, justification by faith without the aid of works; above all things the worthlessness of all outward works, and regeneration as life in Him that died for us. The sacraments were to them signs and seals of the one grace through Christ, and as such held only a second place

¹ W. G. Blaikie, *The Preachers of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1888), pp. 19-20.

² J. H. A. Ebrard, *Die iroschottische Missionskirche des sechsten, siebenten, und achten Jahrhunderts*, (Gütersloh, 1873).

in their teaching. They denied the efficacy of saints, angels and relics, and urged to a very pure and heavenly life.”³

Dr. Blaikie rightly observes that some of the fragmentary writings of the early Celtic preachers which have come down to us make it clear that these men distinguished between those who had already become Christian believers and others who had not yet accepted the Christian faith. The *Instructiones* of St. Columbanus belong to the former class. However, when the Celtic preachers faced a gathering of non-Christians, their preaching was adapted to the needs of their hearers. They urged upon their hearers the fact that “after man had rebelled against God, God made a wonderful plan, not to destroy him, but to save him; how Jesus Christ, the Son of God, came into our world, born of a Virgin, to execute that plan; how He did execute it by dying on the cross in the room of man; how He rose from the dead and is now in Heaven, whence He is to come again to this earth to gather all His people together and dwell with them in glory, in holy and everlasting joy. . . . We can almost picture to ourselves the strange look of these wild barbarians when the missionaries, with tearful eye and trembling lip, told them of the manger of Bethlehem and the cross of Calvary. What else could have dispossessed the old gods from their hearts at a stroke, spite of all they had learned from their fathers? What else could have turned these shaggy men and women, hardly less wild looking than the cattle on their mountains, into devout and earnest followers of a crucified Jew.”⁴

One is hardly justified in saying that the Picts and the Gaidheals were able to reduce their teachings to so precise a system of theology as those ascribed to them by Dr. Ebrard and Dr. Blaikie. It is quite probable that the Celts taught the great truths of Christianity, but we doubt that they thought of the Sacraments in the Calvinistic sense of “signs and seals of the one grace through Christ,” as Dr. Ebrard would have us believe. It is equally doubtful that

³ J. Hill Burton, *A History of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1853), vol. I, pp. 404-405.

⁴ W. G. Blaikie, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.

the Celts were the skilled diplomats such as Dr. Blaikie describes, and able in their theological system to leave room for those who rejected the omnipresence of the risen and ascended Lord, as well as for those who might look for a millennial kingdom upon this earth. The Celts had attained a fair degree of civilization, and it may be going somewhat too far to describe them as "shaggy men and women, hardly less wild looking than the cattle on their mountains."

Insofar as their teaching of evangelical truth is concerned, and their great love for the Bible, both Dr. Ebrard and Dr. Blaikie are entirely correct, for years of painstaking study by trained scholars have brought to light nothing that would disprove the thoroughly evangelical character of the missionaries of the Celtic Church. Mr. A. B. Scott, in the most important of his several works, declares on the closing pages: "These men could preach the Gospel with the unmatched eloquence of the Celt; but they did more, they lived the Gospel."⁵

St. Ninian, († c. 432)

One of the earliest missionaries to the British Isles was St. Ninian. It is unfortunate that a man who deserves a place among the greatest missionaries of the fifth century, has been treated so unfairly by historians. Certainly St. Ninian was as eminent a man as St. Patrick, St. Columba or St. Boniface, yet our leading encyclopaedias and Church histories give these men lengthy notice, while Ninian is given but a few lines, and these are usually incorrect in several respects. Not much has been known in regard to Pictish Christianity until recent years, and even at best there have been historians who have assumed that Celtic Christianity was but a branch of the Latin Church. Religious and racial rivalries have been responsible for some of the misunderstanding. Then we have always had a superficial form of scholarship which assumes that every impulse, whether religious or secular, must of necessity originate in Greece and Rome. Such men, because of their lack of accurate

⁵. A. B. Scott, *The Pictish Nation, its People and its Church*, (Edinburgh, 1918), p. 529.

information, look upon the multitude of Celtic peoples, who occupied so large an area of Europe, as mere barbarians.

Little is known of Ninian's boyhood days. He was born on the north shore of the Solway. There is no evidence that he ever visited Rome, for the Celts were not in communion with Rome until centuries later. Certain reference books assure us that Ninian went to Rome and was consecrated bishop, but this is idle speculation, for Latin Christianity was not introduced into Britain until the coming of Augustine of Canterbury 165 years after Ninian's death. The Celts were intensely clannish, and their love of national liberty led them to look with suspicion upon other races; and rivalries existed even among the several branches of the Celtic race itself.

It is quite true that Ninian received his education abroad. He was trained at *Logo-Tigiach*, the famous school of St. Martin of Tours; and the fact must not be overlooked that St. Martin was not of the Latin Church. He was a Pannonian, and he labored among the Gaulish Celts at a place where Gatian, himself a Gaulish Celt, had spread the teachings of Christianity at the end of the third century. *Logo-Tigiach* was not, in Ninian's day, a great university with a theological department. Its name, translated literally, means the Bright-White Hut. St. Martin built a modest school of white stone, and grouped about it were the small stone huts in which the men and boys lived. The entire institution was known as a *muinntir*, which means "family, people, inhabitants or community." It was looked upon as a religious household. These little communities, composed of a teacher and his followers, were common to the Celtic Christians, for the Celts were accustomed to the clan, or "relationship," rather than to the imperial form of government of the Romans.

These little communities were training schools, and when the young men completed their studies, they were sent forth by their teacher as missionaries. In Ninian's case, he was sent back to his home land, and directed by St. Martin of Tours to evangelize his countrymen. He returned to his native Britain about the year 397, or possibly

early in 398 A. D., and with a few helpers he at once began to build a *muinntir* or community of his own. The place is known today as Whithorn, Wigtownshire. As Ninian and his companions were building their missionary center, they learned the sad news of the death of their teacher, St. Martin. Out of respect to his memory they decided to model their community as closely as possible to that of Tours. It became known eventually as *Candida Casa*, although it is possible that this name originated 298 years after Ninian's death, when most of Galloway was taken by the Angles and made subject to the English crown and the Latin Church.

St. Ninian became the first missionary to the North. He established his colony 166 years before that of St. Columba of Iona, yet by the irony of fate Columba the Gaidheal is known throughout the world, while St. Ninian is practically unknown. Columba was one of the greatest missionaries of the Celtic Church, and he deserves all the praise that has been given him, but in our admiration for his great missionary zeal we dare not overlook St. Ninian.

Ninian came to Pictland as a Celtic Christian to labor among fellow Celts. His speech was so closely akin to that of the Picts that they understood him readily enough. When Columba began his work among the Dalriads, it was necessary for him to speak to them through an interpreter. The territory in which Ninian labored was an extensive one. Until a few years ago Pictland was looked upon as a place of little importance. For this Ptolemy is responsible. Through an error of calculation he described the country that we know today as Scotland as a small peninsula extending eastward into the North Sea, and forming a right angle with England.⁶ As a matter of fact Pictland of Alba included much of what we call Scotland, and the territory evangelized by St. Ninian and his followers extended from the Solway Firth, in the southwest of Scotland, to the Shetland and Orkney Islands on the north, and to the 500 islands of the Hebrides on the west. Throughout this territory Ninian and his followers journeyed, and proclaimed, in the words of

⁶. Ptolemy's map of the world is shown in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th ed., (1929), vol. 14, p. 838.

Ailred, "the truth of the Gospel and the purity of the Christian faith, God working in him and 'confirming the Word with signs following'." ⁷

At the outset, and until his own missionaries could be trained, it appears that Ninian had to seek help from the communities of Celtic Britons who dwelt south of the Wall of Antonine, as well as from St. Comgall's missionaries at Bangor in Ulster. The importance of St. Ninian's labors may be realized from the descriptions given us by Archibald B. Scott, in his several works on Ninian and the Pictish Church.⁸ Not only does he mention many places where Ninian worked, but by means of outline maps he locates the centers established by St. Ninian and his immediate followers.

Later missionaries have underestimated the great work of Ninian and other Celtic missionaries because they failed to establish a form of Church government with which the Latin Church was familiar. It is quite true that the Celtic method of evangelization differed from that of Rome. The Latin Church, perhaps without realizing it, built up a system of religious government that recalls the civil government. In the secular world, the local community was subject to the State, and the State in turn to the Emperor and his staff. In the Latin Church the local congregations were subject to their bishops and archbishops, and these in turn were subject to the tituli and the Pope. The Celts knew nothing of such forms of government, for their form of organization was tribal. It was but natural that their method of religious work should follow forms with which they were familiar. Thus it was that a chain of religious "families" should come into being, each such *muinntir* the center of missionary activity, and with no such things as bishops, archbishops, cardinals or popes.

The Pictish Church was succeeded by the Gaidhealic Church, and this was absorbed eventually by the Roman

⁷. Ailred, *Vita Niniani*, ch. 6.

⁸. A. B. Scott, *St. Ninian and the Founding of the Church among the Britons and Picts*, (Edinburgh, 1916); *The Pictish Nation, its People and its Church*, (Edinb., 1918); *Rise and Relations of the Church in Scotland*, (Edinb., 1932); *St. Columba (Columkill) the Gaidheal*, in the *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, 1912, pp. 15-66.

Church. Later historians, either because they did not understand the distinctive church life among the Picts, or in some cases in order to present their own Church in as favorable a manner as possible, described the work of St. Ninian in a most inaccurate manner. They declare that he placed bishops over dioceses, and built up a hierarchy that was wholly unknown among the Celts of his time. The clannish spirit among his people would not have accepted such a system, neither would their intense love of racial liberty have accepted the jurisdiction of men of other countries and races. Ailred, who wrote an account of Ninian's life, was not a careful scholar, and his biography contains not only absurd anachronisms, but examples of garbled history as well. The story of Ninian's life was told by later historians who did not hesitate to attribute to his work a form or organization that did not exist until centuries after his death.

The fame of St. Ninian as a preacher rests upon statements of his biographers, who declare that he proclaimed the Gospel in its purity. It is certain that he possessed a manuscript of at least the Gospels and the Psalms, for it was he who brought the St. Martin's Gospel from Tours to *Candida Casa*. In some accounts this manuscript is described merely as the Gospels, again the Gospels and Psalms are mentioned, while in the Kalendar of Cashiel it is said to have included the Mosaic Law as well. It was the manuscript known as St. Martin's Gospel that was owned later by St. Finbar, who took it to Ireland where it was copied by Columba. Since Ninian brought this manuscript to Britain, it would lend weight to the statement of Ailred his biographer that Ninian proclaimed "the truth of the Gospel and the purity of the Christian faith." That he must have done this in a persuasive manner is attested by the fact that many religious centers were established as results of his preaching. Archibald B. Scott, in his *Pictish Nation, its People and its Church*, mentions nineteen such centers that have been identified with certainty. These were not congregations in the modern sense, but each one was a *muinntir*, or missionary center, made up of a spiritual family, and from whence missionary activity went forth.

Both Ailred and Bede speak of Ninian's ability as a preacher, and there is every indication that preaching, as a method of making known the Gospel, was held in high esteem by the Pictish Church. Later writers of the rival Gaidhealic Church give but grudging credit to him, but it must not be forgotten that the Gaidheals, in their writings, sought to further their own prestige, and made it appear that their own missionaries Christianized Britain. Their historians could not ignore St. Ninian entirely, but they passed lightly over his extensive work as though it were a matter of slight importance. Early accounts of Ninian's life were written, but these were edited and amended by later scribes, and their alterations and marginal notes were often merest speculation, and in some cases deliberate garbling of the truth.

Much scholarly work has been done in recent years, and in no respect have Ninian and his followers suffered. He was a great missionary, an influential preacher, and the true pioneer in the northern parts of the British Isles. The Pictish Church was in full communion with the Christian Church of Celtic Gaul, which was centered in Tours. At the time of the barbarian invasions, when communication with Gaul was cut off for a century and a half, it was Ninian's *Candida Casa* that became the center of the Brito-Celtic Church.

To say that five centuries of darkness came over the Christian Church during the barbarian invasions and the centuries that followed, is sheer nonsense. The influence of the Latin Church was greatly restricted, but it was precisely then that the Celtic Church flourished in the British Isles, and sent forth a multitude of missionaries. Literally hundreds of place-names exist to this day as silent witness to the labors of these tireless men.

St. Piranus, (352-430)

St. Piran or Piranus, the great apostle to Cornwall, was born about the year 352 in County Ossory, Ireland, although historians of a certain school of thought would have us believe that he did not flourish until a century or more later. During the first thirty years of his life he was not a Christian,

but about the year 382 a Christian layman persuaded him to make a careful study of the Scriptures, which among the people of the Celtic Church generally included the Gospels and the Psalms, sometimes the Mosaic Law. As a result of his diligent study of the Scriptures, and the instruction of the Christian layman, Piran accepted Christianity and was baptized. He established his abode at a place called Saiger, on Lake Fuaran, where he met with great success in the evangelization of the non-Christians living in that region.

Piran was not content to remain in Ireland, for the missionary zeal so characteristic of the early Celtic Church had possessed him. About the year 385 he crossed the Irish Sea, landing near what is now Perranporth (Piran's port), in Cornwall. With him were his mother and several companions, said by some writers to have been SS. Ives, Burian, Columb, Eval, Mewan, Erben, Wenn and Enedor. These early missionaries labored in Cornwall, as place-names of today bear witness, but whether they actually went there with Piran cannot be proved.

Piran went to a place which became known as Perranzabuloe, or Piran's sands. It is a bleak area of shifting sand dunes, facing Perran Bay. There, close to the sea, he built a little chapel of stone, and a small dwelling close by for himself. This spot is eight miles northwest of the present cathedral town of Truro. He preached to the Celts who were found in the vicinity, and with his companions journeyed throughout the northwestern part of Cornwall, establishing missionary centers and working with great success among the pagans, many of whom were converted to Christianity.

At his death, St. Piran called his assistants to his bedside, admonished them to "search the Scriptures daily," and, according to his modern biographer, he warned them against the coming of Antichrist, whom he declared would attempt to overthrow the work of the Celtic Church and set up a foreign church in its stead.⁹ Then, ordering them to

⁹. C. T. Collins Trelawny, *Perranzabuloe, the Lost Church Found*, (London, 1872).

dig his grave, and as he lay dying he repeated the Scripture verse: "I heard a voice from Heaven saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them."¹⁰

Legends without number have been added to the simple life story of this great missionary preacher. The tamperers with history have declared Piran to be a faithful follower of St. Patrick, overlooking the fact that Patrick was not yet born in 385 when Piran began his work in Cornwall. Then there is the inevitable legend of his visit to Rome for further light, and his consecration as bishop. Other legend-makers have declared that he returned to Ireland from Rome, accompanied by five other bishops. Perhaps the most absurd legend of all is the ever-present millstone upon which he is said to have floated to Cornwall, and with him his mother Wingela and his five fellow prelates, to teach doctrines that were unknown until centuries after his death.

The little church that Piran built at Perranzabuloe was buried by shifting sand dunes. In 1835 the traditional site of this buried church was excavated under the direction of William Michell, Esq., and the church, roofless, but otherwise in a good state of preservation, was brought to light. The Rev. William Haslam¹¹ and the Rev. C. T. Collins Trelawny¹² each published accounts of the finding of the ancient church. Within it was an altar-tomb, under which were found three human skeletons, one of them seven feet six inches in length. The ruined church was neglected for years, and its unprotected rubble was allowed to crumble by action of the elements, and through the vandalism of tourists. Finally it was protected by means of a concrete vault, and thus it remains to this day. The church is but 12 feet 6 inches wide by 25 feet 6 inches long, inside measure, with stone walls two feet thick. It is a simple rectangle with a small arched doorway in the south wall,

¹⁰. *Ibid.*

¹¹. Wm. Haslam, *Perran-zabuloe*, (London, 1844).

¹². *Op. cit.*

and two small windows near the altar. Its side walls are 13 feet high, and its gables, at the time Mr. Haslam and Mr. Trelawny measured them, were 19 feet in height. It is possible that the crumbling walls that one sees today are those of the original chapel of St. Piran, but more than likely the structure was rebuilt about the fifth or sixth century, and the old materials utilized. An enormous number of human skeletons were discovered close by, many of them in ancient kistvaens, or stone chests. The fragmentary ruins of what appears to be a dwelling may be seen close to the chapel.

St. Patrick, (c. 389-461)

In considering the career of St. Patrick it is difficult to distinguish between history and legend. An abundance of material is available, and so frequently does he appear, and in places so far removed from one another that one is tempted to term him the ubiquitous St. Patrick. This has led some writers to suggest that there must have been two or more men bearing the same name, or perhaps it is possible that the deeds of other missionaries came to be attributed to him. Certainly he was a man of exceptional energy.

Of his early life little is known, and the several accounts of it are contradictory. He seems to have been born between the years 380 and 389, and there are reasons to believe that the latter is the more probable date. The place of his birth is uncertain. Dumbarton on the Firth of Clyde, Daventry in England, Glamorganshire in Wales, the valley of the Severn, and even Gaul have been suggested. Several countries have claimed him. His father is said to have been a Christian and a wealthy land-owner, and his grandfather a presbyter. His original name was Sucat, Succat or Sukkat. One account declares that he was living at his father's or his grandfather's country place on the "west coast," and was captured in a raid, taken to Ireland and sold into slavery. His own writings mention this fact, but even these documents have been edited from time to time by men who were not always careful of their geography

and of dates. Patrick was given the task of herding cattle, and is said to have remained in Ireland for six years.

He escaped from slavery and made his way to a port where he joined a ship that carried a cargo of Irish wolf-hounds. At the end of three days they reached land, described variously as England and as Gaul. A journey of 28 days overland followed, and the men and their wolf-hounds came close to starvation in the forests. One legend states that Patrick met St. Martin of Tours and studied with him at his missionary training school. This cannot be taken seriously, for St. Martin died when Patrick was but 11 years of age. However, the fabulists do not hesitate to change the date of his birth to 373 A. D., in order to make this possible. Assuming that his ship carried him to Gaul, it is possible that he met Germanius of Auxerre, but his course of study must have been limited, for St. Patrick himself complains from time to time in his writings of his imperfect education, while his enemies went so far as to declare that he was almost illiterate.

Any account of St. Patrick must be regarded with caution, for it was customary in early days to rewrite the stories of famous men and great events, and the scribes of those days were not critical historians. Mere conjecture was often set forth as the truth, the deeds of one man were often confused with another of the same name, and geography and chronology were often inaccurate. Place-names in England or Ireland were confused with names of similar sound in Scotland, Wales and Gaul. Some early writers lacked an exact knowledge of developments, making monasteries out of communities that were missionary training schools, and placing bishops over men who never heard of a bishop.

St. Patrick returned home eventually, and there, according to legend, he is said to have had a dream. He saw a man who identified himself as one Victoricus, from Ireland, who brought him letters and a message from the Irish people, saying, "Come, holy youth, and henceforth walk among us." According to some fabulists, Patrick had been baptized in infancy, but it is more probable that he was a grown man before this took place, and the act seems to

have been performed by St. Caranoc the Great, one of St. Ninian's first missionaries to Pictland.¹³ The fabulists declare that he was made a bishop, but this statement was so common among later tamperers with history that it cannot be taken seriously. Among the Celts a bishop was a minor office, and the "ab" was the overseer of a community. The legend that he went to Rome to secure the sanction of the pope cannot be taken as authentic, for the Celtic Church at that time was not under the jurisdiction of Rome.

St. Patrick had some knowledge of the Scriptures, for he quotes the Bible in his writings. He began his work in Ireland about the year 432, and is said to have preached throughout Ulster, Mayo and Armagh. The pagan Gaidheals were hostile to him, and he was unable to reach more than the outposts of their lands. These same men, in later years, rewrote the life of St. Patrick and attempted to claim him as one of their own number. Tradition states that he visited Loigaire, the high-king of Ireland, at his palace of Tara, and preached before the king, the foremost men of his kingdom and the pagan priests. One version of this legend declares that the king accepted Christianity, but it is more probable that this was Conall, the king's brother. St. Patrick enraged the pagan priests by lighting a fire at Easter time, when such fires were forbidden, since it was by chance the same season when certain Irish ceremonies were being conducted. His defense before the king was so persuasive that he is said to have been pardoned, and given considerable freedom of action.

Of the many legends attributed to him, that of the shamrock is one of the most probable. A noted pagan interrupted him in the midst of a sermon, demanding that he prove that there is a Triune God. How can one, plus one, plus one, equal three? St. Patrick stooped and plucked a shamrock. "How many leaves do I hold in my hand?" "One sir," declared the pagan. "Yes, but do you not see three leaves?" "But, sir, I see but one stem." The pagans discussed the matter among themselves, and re-

¹³. Archibald B. Scott, *The Pictish Nation, its People and its Church*, (Edinburgh, 1918), p. 109.

turned later saying, "We are not able to say, sir, for while we behold three leaves, certainly there is but one stem." "If you cannot explain so simple an object as the shamrock, then do not question so profound a truth as that of the Holy Trinity," replied Patrick.

St. Patrick was a man of great missionary zeal, and he is said to have been a preacher of surpassing power. Although he himself declares that his education was limited, yet he was able to speak with great persuasiveness, and his presentation of Christian doctrine won many converts. None of his actual sermons survive. Even his writings must be regarded with a certain amount of caution. There is a *Confession* that is attributed to him, and a *Letter Against Coroticus*, both of which may be more or less authentic. Of the *Dicta Patricii*, two may be genuine. It is only fair to say that these writings have been edited again and again, and often colored to suit the ideas of later copyists. Archibald B. Scott, an eminent modern authority on the Brito-Pictish Church, believes that the life of St. Patrick was rewritten by partisans who sought to exalt the prestige of Armagh, and to make it appear that this was the seat of Northern Christianity.¹⁴

Contemporary scholarship is bringing to light many new facts in regard to early Christianity in northern lands, and critical research has made a good start toward disentangling the many contradictions in regard to early races, tribes, chronology and geography. Even the Venerable Bede is an unsafe authority, for he knew only the geography of Ptolomy, he had not traveled widely, and his access to original sources was limited. Much valuable work has been done in recent years, and much more remains to be done. When certain leading encyclopaedias know little or nothing of so important a subject as the Pictish Church and St. Ninian and his associates, and when they are content to print garbled accounts of St. Patrick and St. Columba, it is evident that there is still a task to be done. Most people assume that St. Patrick was an Irishman, a Roman Catholic, a bishop, and the first missionary to enter Ireland. Dr.

¹⁴. A. B. Scott, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-49.

Latourette, however, believes that St. Ninian's influence reached Wales, and may have reached Ireland as well.¹⁵ Certainly there must have been missionaries from Gaul in Ireland before St. Patrick's time, but even these men will not lessen the fame of the eminent missionary whose name is so closely associated with Ireland.

St. Servanus, (c. 460-c. 543)

St. Servanus, also known as St. Serf, was one of the noted successors of St. Ninian. His father was Proc, and he was a prince of one of the tribes of the Britons. The mother of Servanus was Alma, an Irish Pict. The exact date of his birth is unknown, but it seems to have been about the year 460 A. D., for we know that his important school at Culross existed in the early years of the sixth century. It is possible that Servanus received his education at St. Ninian's *Candida Casa*, for about the beginning of the sixth century or shortly before we find him actively engaged in mission work in Pictland of Alba, the present Scotland. Later he continued the work of St. Ninian along the Forth and into Fifeshire. He labored among the Britons of Strath-Clyde, and we find evidences of his churches at Dunbarton, Abercorn and a number of other places.

Culross was his most important field of labor, for it was there that he established an influential training center where various men of prominence received their education. Among his most illustrious pupils was St. Kentigern. In Scotland there is an old legend that may have an element of truth in it. It is said that an open boat drifted into the Firth of Forth one morning, and in it was a beautiful young woman who proved to be a Pictish princess. In her arms she held a young child. She was a young woman of singular devoutness, and according to the legend she had been outraged by a man who had loved her. This enraged her father, who set her adrift in an open boat and allowed the tides to carry her where they might. Later the Mediaeval fabulists revised this legend and declared that she had conceived miraculously. The boat drifted to the shore near

¹⁵. Kenneth S. Latourette, *History of the Expansion of Christianity*, vol. I, (New York, 1937), p. 222.

Culross, and the students at the training center brought the young princess and her child before their teacher, St. Servanus. Servanus took the infant in his arms, and so impressed was he with its beauty that he exclaimed over and over, "*Mo chaoimh! Mo chaoimh!*" that is, "my beloved one! my beloved one!" Servanus is said to have adopted the child as his own, and to have taken personal charge of the education of the little lad. He called him his *Mungo*, or loved one, but when the child grew up he was more often known as Kentigern. All of this may be merest legend, but it is the tale that is told to this day when one visits the site of Culross.

The true life of Servanus has become obscured by many legends and pretended miracles. Historians of the fanciful school, in their eagerness to give everything a Greek or Roman origin, lifted Servanus bodily from the century in which he lived and made him an associate of Adamnan the Gaidheal, at Iona, thus transferring him to a church with which the Picts had no fellowship, and to a branch of the Celtic race that was hostile to the Picts. In the sixteenth century these writers of spurious history went so far as to transfer Servanus to Ireland. They declare that Pope Celestine sent Palladius to Ireland, where he "found there the holy Servanus," whom he persuaded to conform to the Latin Church. Palladius, the legend-makers declare, ordained Servanus to the office of a bishop and made him his own suffragan. All of this is nonsense, for there is nothing in the early records to indicate that Servanus was aware that Rome existed, and we find his center at Loch Leven resisting the missionaries of the Latin Church when they finally came to the British Isles, and they continued to resist until the twelfth century.

The miracles ascribed to St. Servanus by the Mediaeval scribes are childish. One of them declares that a poor crofter killed his only pig in order to provide food for Servanus and his followers. When Servanus learned of this, he performed a miracle, and the pig was found alive and well in the crofter's pen. Another legend tells us that a thief stole a sheep from Culross, and when Servanus charged him with the theft, the bleating of the sheep was

heard whenever the thief opened his mouth. Another legend is told at Dunning, where the people were terrified by a dragon that destroyed many of the inhabitants. With only his staff as a weapon, Servanus slew the dragon. These idle tales are perpetuated in various churches in Britain, in the form of stained glass and sculpture, wherein Servanus is shown with a pig and a dragon at his feet. In Glasgow Cathedral is a modern carving showing St. Kentigern with a robin and a fish.¹⁶ According to the legend-lovers, St. Servanus found a robin in the snow. He took it to his cell at Dysart and nursed it back to life, and the robin was forever after his companion. One day Kentigern, the adopted son of Servanus, killed the robin by mistake. So great was the grief of Servanus that Kentigern breathed upon the robin and brought it back to life. These old legends are told to this day, and in many an old-world church one may see these early Celtic missionaries clad in elaborate vestments that were unknown in their day, and with the legendary dragons, sheep, fishes and other things that came to be associated with them. Foolish legends are remembered, but it requires the labors of patient scholars to translate the fragments of old Celtic writings in libraries and museums, in order that we may know that these old Celtic Christians were great missionaries and great preachers of the simple doctrines of primitive Christianity. These scholars have extended their researches to the ruins of ancient churches and *muinntir*, and even to forgotten churchyards. The writer of these lines can well recall a visit paid to an ancient church in the North Country. In an adjoining field a group of men were excavating a primitive churchyard, bringing to light book-clasps of elaborate workmanship, occasional coins and other objects by which authentic history might be verified. Even old wells have yielded coins and other metal objects that throw light upon early races of men.

Great numbers of Celtic crosses, with their beautiful ornamentation, as well as inscribed stones, still stand as monuments to the Christian people of the great Celtic Church. Bells and chalices, buried in haste when the Viking

¹⁶ Francis Bond, *Dedications of English Churches*, (Oxford, 1914), pp. 105-107.

raiders came, have been discovered from time to time, while pottery of the Celtic period has, more than once, served to verify the existence of some church or some training school that was old and lichen-covered when the merciless Vikings swept down upon the Celtic communities and with sword and torch ended the history of many of them.

St. Drostan, (c. 470-c. 540)

The exact date of Drostan's birth is not known. We know from history that he was a contemporary of St. Finbar, and that his companions were Colm, Medan and Fergus. These facts, together with the knowledge that he founded his community at Deer about the year 500, would seem to place the time of his birth at about 470 A. D. He was a Briton, but that term was applied to any Celt from the Isle of Wight on the south to the Shetland Islands on the north. His father is said to have been a prince of Demetia, South Wales, and his nephew was Aedhan the False, king of the Gaidheals. This royal lineage must be taken with certain reservations, for it is found again and again in early Celtic legends. Celtic imagination is vivid, and the ancient bards, and even the historians, often adorned the true history of their heroes with a supposed royal lineage, a journey across the sea on a millstone, and the inevitable twelve companions.

Drostan was also called Drost, Drust and even Trust. His authentic history begins with his coming by way of the sea to Aberdour in Aberdeenshire, about the year 500 A. D. It is safe to assume that he had been trained in a British or a Pictish *muinntir*, where, as was so often the case, he must have served his apprenticeship as student, instructor and travelling missionary before he was sent out to establish a training center of his own. The educational system of the Celtic Church was not a superficial thing, and few men were authorized to establish a community before they had attained the age of 30 or 35 years.

Landing at Aberdour, together with his companions Colm, Medan and Fergus, the subject of our sketch established a community at that place. Then, proceeding inland to the lowlands of Aberdeenshire, he established at a place

called Deer another community that was to become famous. From these centers the men that he trained were sent out in all directions, some of them going as far afield as Caithness and the Orkneys, and throughout all the northern part of Pictland of Alba.

The *muinntir* that St. Drostan established at Deer had an honorable history, and hundreds of men were trained and sent out to play their part in the evangelization of Northern Europe. After six centuries under Brito-Pictish leadership, the training school at Deer was taken over by a group of Gaidheals who had become influenced by the Latin Church. These men were energetic missionaries, but it is to be regretted that they compiled the famous *Book of Deer*, which is well known and easily accessible in our day, and which has been used by some historians as source material. In this book, which is really a comparatively short document, St. Drostan and his great labors are passed over as unimportant, and a speculative annotator goes so far as to amend the original document and declare that Colm, one of Drostan's companions, was none other than St. Columba the Gaidheal, and that he, not Drostan, was the real founder of Deer. One must give all honor to the Gaidhealic Church for its splendid missionary accomplishments, yet it is to be regretted that the Gaidhealic historians are noted for their carelessness in regard to dates and facts. A feeling of unfriendly rivalry existed between the Gaidheals and their fellow Celts, and it is by no means rare to find that their historians attempt to exaggerate their own labors, and to belittle the work of their brother Celts in other branches of the Celtic Church. Were one to accept the writings of certain Gaidhealic historians at their face value, then St. Columba and the community at Iona deserve credit for the evangelization of all the British Isles, Scandinavia, Iceland and much of Continental Europe. This garbling of history was accomplished in some cases by a careless confusing of names. Thus the name of St. Colm, by wishful thinking, is made but a variation of the name of St. Columba, just as the labors of St. Petrock, by other historians, are attributed to St. Patrick. Careful historic research was not one of the accomplishments of many of

the early writers who attempted to preserve for posterity the Church history of the time, and even such eminent men as Bede, Ailred and Adamnan were not in all instances careful in their verification of facts. All too often have Mediaeval and modern historians followed blindly in the footsteps of these speculative and inexact early writers. A lengthy historical essay appeared recently in a reputable theological journal. It attempted to set forth the true history of early missionary expansion, but even a casual reader will discover that it is a network of absurd contradictions and serious anachronisms. It is all too evident that the essay was written hastily and based upon sources that have been shown during the past fifty years to be entirely unreliable.

St. Finbar, (c. 490-578)

Another zealous missionary, with whose name one meets frequently was St. Finbar of Maghbile, later of Dornoch. He was an Irish Pict, and was born toward the end of the fifth century. He began his studies with St. Caolan, but in 520 he was sent to *Candida Casa* for further study. There he became a student, teacher and finally a missionary. At *Candida Casa* he became interested in fine manuscripts of the Scriptures. A copyist of exceptional talents, he made his own beautiful manuscripts of the Gospels, the Psalter and the Mosaic Law. He is said to have taken the first complete manuscript of the Gospels to Ireland, and among the Celts "the Gospels" included the Psalms as well. However, some authorities believe that this so-called "St. Martin's Gospel" was brought to Ireland from Tours, in Gaul, either by early missionaries or by some Christian who had been driven out of Gaul in times of invasion, and who fled to the British Isles for safety. It was one of St. Finbar's cherished manuscripts of the Scriptures that Columba succeeded in copying without the consent of Finbar.

In 540 Finbar became *ab* of a community at Maghbile, in Ulster, which he himself had founded. It developed into a community of some importance, having its own ships to carry the missionaries to Britain proper. On one of these

tours, Finbar sailed to Ayrshire, where he conducted an extensive preaching mission, reaching numbers of people with the Gospel. He carried on important missionary activity in the eastern part of the counties of Ross, Sutherland and Caithness. Next he founded a colony, as well as several churches, at Dornoch. He was a friend of St. Comgall the Great, head of the powerful community of Bangor in Ulster. At a time when the center at *Candida Casa* was isolated because of an invasion of the Angles, St. Finbar persuaded Comgall to help *Candida Casa* by supplying missionaries for places that St. Ninian's followers were unable to reach.

There is a legend in Cornwall that St. Finbar carried on missionary work there; and on the hillside above the town of Fowey is a church today that is called St. Finbar's. Tradition says that it was founded by Finbar himself, but whether this was the Iro-Pictish Finbar, or another missionary with a similar name, it is difficult to say. Cornwall is full of such legends, and perhaps there is no place with so many towns and villages named for Celtic saints. The coming of Finbar to Fowey cannot be verified, for there appears to be no evidence in the form of stone monuments, to throw light on this possible phase of his activity. His community at Dornoch owned the ships that might have carried him down the west coast of Britain, around Land's End and up into the estuary to what is now Fowey. Stone monuments are common in the vicinity, and there is every evidence that Celtic Christianity flourished in Cornwall.

Much confusion has existed in the past because of the fact that St. Finbar's name has been given in many forms. Mr. A. B. Scott lists the following: Finbar, Finnian, Fin-Bar, Finnioc, Gwynan, Winnan, Findbar, Find, 'nBar, Barri and Finberrus.¹⁷ Thus was it written in various localities visited by this energetic missionary, and by people of various tribes. Careless bards and writers have attributed the usual legends to him, many of which have been shown by recent careful research to be pure fiction.

¹⁷. Archibald B. Scott, *The Pictish Nation*, (Edinburgh, 1918), p. 130.

St. Cainnech, (516-600)

St. Cainnech, or Kenneth, was an Irish Pict, and not a Gaidheal, as is sometimes stated. He was born in that eastern part of Ireland known as Irish Pictland. He was educated at the school of Finian the Wise, a Briton who maintained a training center at Clonard. From there he went to St. Mobhi's school at Glasnevin, and remained there until the school was broken up by a visitation of the plague. The statement that he went from Glasnevin's school to Columba's Isle of Iona is idle speculation, for the early biography of St. Comgall excludes any such idea.¹⁸ However, Cainnech did go to Doac, in Glamorganshire in 544 A. D., and studied at St. Cadoc's center. Then we find him going to Drumachose, in Irish Pictland, and establishing a community of his own. After meeting with considerable success, he crossed the Irish Sea in 562, and with St. Comgall he visited King Brude, sovereign of the Picts, when Comgall was persuaded to lend the assistance of his well-staffed training school to the distressed Brito-Pictish Church, whose most important training center had been virtually isolated due to Teutonic invasions.

After this visit Cainnech labored for a time among the western Picts, establishing a number of stations, some of which may be identified today. Next he crossed to Fife, where Servanus had labored. One of his foundations was at St. Andrews, which in later days became the chief church of much of Pictland of Alba. In 578 he returned to Ireland, leaving trained men to carry on his work in Pictland proper. He settled at Achadh-Bo, in what is now Queen's County, and where an influential Iro-Pictish center grew up as a fruit of his labors. In many respects Cainnech's center at Achadh-Bo was exceeded in importance only by *Candida Casa* and Bangor in Ulster, and certainly St. Cainnech is worthy to be named among the great Pictish missionaries. He trained many men who became prominent, and who went throughout the British Isles and crossed the sea to the Continent. One of these was Ferghil, called "the geometrician," whom we come upon some years later in

¹⁸. *Vita St. Comgalii*, c. 44.

Salzburg, where he labored with notable success, and rose eventually to a position of importance.

Some of St. Cainnech's foundations may be traced today, but in many cases his work, as well as that of many of the other great Celtic missionaries has become obscured by later foundations. As we have said, it was not the custom of the Celtic Church to "dedicate" its centers of activity. Such names as "St. Peter's," "St. Paul's," "St. John's," and "St. Mary's" are almost certain indications of the influence of the Latin Church. Celtic foundations often took the name of their founder, but this was merely a name, and not a dedication. When the Latin Church supplanted the Celtic Church, which was between 1068 and 1153 A. D. in northern Britain, and somewhat earlier in the south, the Celtic churches were often given new names, and thus their original Celtic character cannot always be determined. The names of Ninian and Comgall and Cainnech and Piran cling to many a church to this day, although they are not dedications in the usual sense of the word. In other cases, churches founded by the Celtic missionaries were given new names, and are often mistaken for Latin foundations. Thus when Dr. Otto Seebass, of Leipsic, describes one of the great Celtic missionaries as founding a church and dedicating it to the Virgin Mary,¹⁹ he is describing something entirely foreign to the practice of the Celtic Church in all its branches. There are churches today of Celtic foundation, yet bearing names that are typically Roman Catholic, and there are monasteries and abbeys today that were originally Celtic *muinntir*. In such cases it means that the Latin Church, from about the tenth century and onward, established churches on spots where older Celtic churches had stood. In most cases they gave these churches the familiar names associated with Roman Catholic places of worship.

The multitude of towns and villages in Cornwall, for example, that still bear the name of some Celtic missionary, are mute evidence of the fact that the tireless Celtic missionaries made their way to unnumbered communities, established preaching stations there, sometimes *muinntir*,

¹⁹. O. Seebass, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, (Gotha, 1876 sqq.)

and often built churches for the convenience of any who might come and worship within them whenever the missionary made his rounds. We mention Cornwall for there, more perhaps than in any other place, the ancient Celtic names have survived. A glance at any map of the Duchy of Cornwall will reveal such unfamiliar names as these: St. Non, St. Austell, St. Ives, St. German, St. Breage, St. Budoc, St. Buryan, St. Piran, St. Breock, St. Eval, St. Endoc and St. Endellion. This list of place-names that exist to this day might be increased to a hundred or two, each one evidence that a preaching station or a church once stood there, and that it owed its beginning to the labors of a Celtic missionary.

St. Kentigern, (c. 518-603)

St. Kentigern, also called St. Mungo, is believed to have been the son of a Pictish princess and grandson of Urien Rheged, one of the early kings. When a small boy he received instruction from St. Servanus, who called him "Mungo." At the age of 15 he left the *muinntir* of Servanus at Culross and studied for a time with Fergus, at Carnoch near Airth. When Fergus died, Kentigern buried him at one of St. Ninian's stations, on the Molendinar, at Glasgow, and then organized a community of his own. He led a mission to the uplands of Aberdeenshire, and sent some of his men toward the Orkneys. There is no evidence that he went to Rome, as the speculative writers declare.

Joceline his biographer stresses the fact that Kentigern was an unusual preacher, "the Lord working with him and giving power to the voice of his preaching."²⁰ Once, in the woods near Glasgow, Kentigern came upon a madman who lived with the beasts of the forest. He proved to be none other than Myrdinn (Merlinus Caledonicus, or Llallogan), an eminent Pictish bard, whose perfervid verses had caused a battle that resulted in great loss of life. Upon hearing this Myrdinn became insane. Kentigern dealt with him with great patience, and in time Myrdinn was restored to sanity.

²⁰. Joceline, *Vita St. Kentigerni*, ch. 34.

About the year 570 Kentigern fled to Llan-Elwy, following some trouble with Morkan, a petty king. During this exile he made a missionary tour among his fellow Britons who had been driven out by the Angles and the Brito-Picts. He established eight foundations in north-western England. He was recalled from Llan-Elwy in 596 or shortly thereafter by Rhydderch, the first Christian king in Britain, who gave his protection to the Christian Church. However, Rhydderch was not baptized in Ireland by the disciples of St. Patrick, as Joceline his biographer asserts. Joceline overlooked the fact that all of St. Patrick's followers, whose names and lives are known, were dead by this time. Kentigern returned to Glasgow and reorganized his community at that place, and Glasgow became one of the important missionary training centers for workers among the Picts. He is known to have conducted four important missions: in Glasgow and vicinity, on the eastern borders of Galloway, in Pictland of Alba, and in the Orkney Islands, Norway and Iceland. The last of these four missions was not made by Kentigern in person, but by means of trusted followers whom he sent. A number of churches and communities of believers were the result of each mission. Joceline, in his biography of Kentigern, gives us an account of these missions.

In writing the biography of St. Kentigern, Joceline had an *Old Life* of this famous leader, which he quotes extensively. All manuscripts of the *Old Life* seem to have perished, although Joceline's quotations are sufficiently numerous to make a restoration of it possible, and it is a simple matter to distinguish between the original biography and Joceline's speculative additions. The original life of Kentigern is simple and clear: Joceline's expansion of the account is often biased, and with anachronisms that diminish greatly its historical value.

The absurd assertions of such bungling historians as Joceline of Furness would reveal themselves readily enough, even had the *Old Life* of St. Kentigern never existed. Let us suppose that some modern biographer might tell us that John Wesley made extensive use of the motor car in connection with his preaching tours, and that he reached mil-

lions of listeners by means of radio broadcasting. Every reader would realize immediately that motor cars and radios did not exist two centuries ago. Joceline's embellishments of the life of Kentigern are equally ridiculous. Kentigern was ordained more than half a century before Augustine of Canterbury introduced Latin Christianity into Britain. In Kentigern's day such a thing as doubting the validity of the Celtic method of ordination was unheard-of. Joceline must have been fully aware of this, yet we find him making the audacious assertion that Kentigern was so uncertain in regard to the validity of his ordination that he made the long journey to Rome in order to receive the form of ordination that was considered by Joceline to be the only valid one. In the days of the great Celtic missionary preachers whom we have been describing, such a thing as doubting the validity of one's ordination was unknown.

All authorities agree that St. Kentigern was a man of singularly fine personality. Even when yet a boy he was called "Mungo," that is, the beloved one, by his teacher Servanus. Later his fellow Christians applied the same term of affection to him, because of his exceptional ability to give comfort to others. Even during those trying years when he was compelled to flee before the wrath of his grandfather's enemy Morkan, we find Kentigern touring the hills of Cumberland, seeking out his own displaced countrymen who had fled before the Angle invaders, and establishing eight preaching stations among them. There, in the deep glens, well removed from their pagan foes, we behold scenes that anticipate by eleven centuries the experiences of those bands of freedom-loving Scotsmen who gathered by night in the lonely glens to hear the words of comfort that were preached to them by men who feared neither the landed aristocracy nor the leaders of a corrupt Kirk. With the same brave spirit Kentigern, at great personal risk, gathered his congregations of exiled Christians and with that moving eloquence for which the Celt has always been famed, he offered to his homeless fellow countrymen the consolation of God's Word, urging them to cast aside all fear, and to bring together all their troubles and commit them to the

hands of a loving Saviour, with confidence that He stands ready to see them safely through their present distress.

Upon his return to Glasgow, we find Kentigern preaching the same message of consolation to the people throughout that region. Great political changes had taken place during his exile, and Christianity had become disorganized and its people distressed. Kentigern immediately set out upon a missionary tour, making a circuit of all the Christian centers, gathering the people and assuring them with that urgency for which he was so well known, that no harm could befall the true believer who, in simple faith, trusted in the promises of God's Word. The disorders among the Glasgow Christians were not doctrinal matters, but were due solely to political changes which threatened their liberties; as well as the confusion that had been caused by the coming of great numbers of refugees who had fled before the barbarian hordes. The reader need not be disturbed when he finds that Joceline the historian mentions gross heresies that were prevalent among the Celtic Christians, for presently we discover that Joceline's "grievous heresies" are the usual ones of the Mediaeval scribe, namely the refusal of the Celts to recognize the authority of the Latin Church, their refusal to conform to Rome in regard to the date of Easter, and the absence among the Celts of a hierarchical form of church government.

Kentigern was one of the great preachers of the sixth century and one of the most eminent missionaries of that period. Not only did he undertake a number of extensive missionary journeys himself, but he trained and sent out other men to do the same work. A man of tireless missionary zeal, it had long been Kentigern's desire to visit the Orkneys, the Shetland Isles, and even more distant places, but old age came upon him, and this wish was never fulfilled. However, history records the fact that Kentigern sent his assistants to preach the Gospel not only in the Orkney Islands, but in Iceland and Norway as well. Objects wrought in stone and in metal of well-known early Celtic design, have been discovered in Iceland and in Scandinavia. These bear silent witness to the fact that Celtic communities had existed in those countries long before the time of the alleged

conversion of Olaf Tryggvesen the sea pirate. The presence of churchyards, and even of a buried church bell, disclose the fact that these Celtic communities were Christian.

St. Petrock, (fl. 550)

St. Petrock, who was active during the middle decades of the sixth century, was one of the Celtic missionaries to Cornwall and probably to Devon. The place of his birth is uncertain, and both South Wales and Cornwall have been mentioned as possible places. Tradition says that he studied for 20 years in Ireland. His name seems to have been Pedroc or Pedrog, which in time became Petrock. He lived for a time in Padstow, Cornwall, and during the early days of his missionary activity he became acquainted with St. Sampson, a missionary from Glamorgan, who is said to have labored in the Scilly Islands, in Guernsey and in Brittany, and whose name is associated with St. Sampson's Church in Golant, Cornwall, as well as other places.

Later St. Petrock went to Bodmin, Cornwall, where he established a center of missionary activity. Centuries later this community was taken over first by the Benedictines, who built a priory on the spot. Later it was given by Warelwast to the Austin canons. In 1177 one of them rifled the grave of St. Petrock and carried his bones to Brittany. This caused a great scandal at the time, and King Henry II ordered the return of Petrock's remains to Bodmin. The case in which they were kept is said to exist to this day.

Petrock seems to have been a man of considerable energy, for we find traces of his work throughout Cornwall and Devon. In the latter place no less than twelve churches still bear his name, and since the Celtic Church did not dedicate its places of worship to men until a late period, it is probable that these churches were founded by Petrock. Bodmin Church, which occupies the site of St. Petrock's *muinntir* or center of activity, is the largest parish church in the Duchy of Cornwall. The present building is of Mediaeval date, and its low, massive, four-pinnacled tower was once crowned by a lofty stone spire which was destroyed

by lightning in 1699. To the south and east of the present church are remains of earlier buildings, including a roofless chapel. A well, said to be that of St. Petrock, still exists. Celtic crosses and other granite monuments are common in the district.

Many foolish legends have been attached to the true history of Petrock, including the statement so common to the fabulists that Petrock came of a royal Iro-Celtic family. Needless to say, his history was rewritten in later centuries, and he was described as going to Rome for more light. These legends are contradictory, as is so often the case, one variation declaring that he went to Jerusalem, and yet another that he went to India. From there the legend-makers transport him in a shining bowl to a lonely island, where he is said to have lived for seven years, returning to Cornwall and slaying a dragon which had been causing terror there. These idle tales are common enough, and most of them are of comparatively late origin.

St. Columba, (521-597)

St. Columba, or Columkille, founder of the Church of the Gailheals, and of the community on the Isle of Hy, or Iona, was of royal lineage. His father was great-grandson of Niall, high-king of Ireland. He was born in 521 A. D. at Gartan in Donegal, and received a thorough education. Not only was he familiar with two languages in addition to his own, but he was a skilled copyist, and made with his own hand a number of copies of the Scriptures. He studied with St. Finbar, or Finnian, at Maghbile, and in due time was ordained deacon, then presbyter. He attended St. Mobhi's school near Dublin, but when the school was closed because of the plague, he returned to his own Clan Conaill. Mobhi, his teacher, died of the plague; Columba remained with his clan.

At the age of 24 Columba became chaplain to Prince Aedh, living at Derry for almost 17 years. He did not evangelize Ireland at this time, as certain historians declare, for at this stage of his life his interests had been diverted to political matters rather than religion. However, he never

lost his interest in the Scriptures, and like Finbar, one of his early teachers, he loved beautiful manuscripts. Finbar was the proud owner of a very famous manuscript that included the Gospels and the Psalms. Columba asked to be allowed to make a copy of it, but for some reason Finbar hesitated. During Finbar's absence, Columba made a copy of it. When Finbar learned of this, he demanded that Columba surrender the copy, and when Columba refused, Finbar appealed to King Diarmait, who issued an order that has since become a proverb: *Le gach bo a boineau, agus le gach leabhar a leabhran*, that is, "as the calf goes with the cow, so must the copy go with the book."

This decision irritated Columba, but he surrendered the manuscript. Shortly afterward a fugitive fled to a church for sanctuary, but the king violated the rights of sanctuary, ordered the fugitive taken and executed. Columba's fiery temper was aroused, and he went among the people protesting against this outrage. His stormy eloquence caused an uprising, and the battle of Cul-Dreimhne (Cool-drevny) was fought with great loss of life. This led to Columba's excommunication. His friend St. Molaise interceded for him and the penalty was modified, but at Molaise's advice Columba went into voluntary exile, promising "never to see Ireland again."

With the inevitable twelve companions so typical of Celtic accounts, Columba made his way, in 563 A. D., to the Isle of Hy, now called Iona, off the west coast of Scotland, and just out of sight of Ireland. The island is but a mile wide by three and one-half miles in length. There they built a church and a guest house, and huts for themselves. This little cluster of wattled huts, with their thatched roofs, was the beginning of a great missionary training center. The story of its founding and of its later history is familiar to all, and most of the older historians go so far as to say that Iona was the fountain-head of all northern Christian missionary activity.²¹ Important as was St. Columba's work,

²¹. For example Thos. MacLaughlin, *The Early Scottish Church*, (Edinburgh, 1865), Chapters XII-XVI, and Wm. F. Skene, *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, (Edinburgh, 1867), Intro., and *Celtic Scotland*, 3 vols., (Edinburgh, 1876-80).

yet the work of his community at Iona has been exaggerated. Columba was a Gaidheal, not a Pict, and in later days the Gaidheals sought to exalt themselves in the eyes of their rivals, the missionaries from Rome. They rewrote historical documents and made it appear that St. Ninian and the Pictish Church were insignificant. They described the Church of the Gaidheals in such a way as to make it appear that it was they who had Christianized Northern Europe. In later days, when Rome absorbed the work of the Celtic Church, her historians accepted the history as rewritten by the Gaidheals, and to it the legend-makers of Rome added embellishments of their own. In modern times Dr. Skene, the historian, followed this garbled history, describing Iona as the mother church of the North, and gave Columba credit for the work actually done by St. Ninian, St. Moluag, St. Donnan, St. Maolrubha and many others.²²

This absurd history was taken in utmost seriousness by the editors of standard encyclopaedias and authors of reputable Church histories. In the year 1885, Dr. Alexander MacBain read a memorable paper before the Gaelic Society of Inverness. He declared that Columba had "swallowed up into his own fame all the work of his predecessors, companions and contemporaries, and deprived generations of pioneers and missionaries of their just fame."²³ This led other men to conduct historical research, striving to separate the truth from later distortions of fact, and to distinguish between true history and mere legend. Years of laborious study, by such men as Mr. Archibald B. Scott, Dr. W. Douglas Simpson, Dr. Alexander R. MacEwen and others, brought facts to light that have proved revolutionary. Dr. MacEwen died in 1916 when the work was in its early stages, but Scott, Simpson and others have carried it on, and a number of highly significant books have appeared in succession.²⁴ Dr. MacEwen was a trained historian of great learning, Dr. Simpson a recognized authority on the ancient stone

W. F. Skene, *Op. cit.*

lex. MacBain, in *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, XI, p. 150.

Footnotes 2-5 above, also Alex. R. MacEwen, *A History of Church in Scotland*, 2 vols., (London, 1913-1918).

monuments that still exist in profusion in all lands where the Celtic tribes dwelt, while Mr. Scott's wide knowledge of the ancient Celtic tribes and their languages, proved of highest value.

It is unfair to St. Columba to lessen in the least the importance of his work, for his school at Iona trained many missionaries and sent them among the Dalriadic Scots who had come from Ireland to the borders of Pictland in what is now Scotland. It is equally unjust to St. Ninian and the Pictish Church to distort history and make it appear that Columba was the great Apostle to the North. Columba was a great missionary and a preacher of rare power, but he could not have preached to the Picts. Their language was so different from that of the Gaidheals that even Bede tells us that upon two occasions when Columba conversed with the Picts, he was compelled to use an interpreter. Hostility existed between the Picts and the Gaidheals. Not only was it tribal rivalry, but the Picts had their own Church, and they were a very clannish people. The Pictish Church antedated that of Columba by a century and a half, and they resented any effort of the Gaidheals to attempt missionary work in Pictland of Alba, or Scotland. Adamnan, the early historian, knows of no missions of the Gaidheals in northern Pictland. It is evident, as Dr. Simpson shows, that conditions forced Columba to work among his own countrymen, the Dalraidic Scots from Ireland, who had invaded the lower borders of northern Pictland. There was either open hostility, or else a complete absence of co-operation between the older Pictish Church and the later Church of the Gaidheals, founded by Columba.

Columba was a man of great influence among his own people. Ancient writers declare, perhaps with some exaggeration, that his voice was so powerful that his preaching could be heard for a mile. This sounds absurd, yet the fact must not be overlooked that within living memory there was such a man in Wales. Owen Thomas, (1812-1891), a famous preacher in his day, preached in the open air at Bangor to enormous congregations. His sermons could be heard distinctly on a clear evening by people who assembled in Anglesey, across the Menai Strait.

An exceptional preacher himself, St. Columba trained his most promising pupils to preach, imparting to them some of his own great zeal, and sending them out among the Dalriadic Scots, and later to people living in much more distant places. Adamnan wrote a life of Columba but 80 years after the great missionary's death. It was based upon an earlier biography written by Cumen the Fair. In the year 1845, a German scholar, Dr. Ferdinand Keller, discovered Dornbene's copy of this ancient biography of St. Columba, in a library at Schaffhausen, and it has been published. From all accounts Columba and his followers were preachers of simple evangelical truth. They had their copies at least of the Gospels and the Psalms, and one important part of the work at Iona was making exact and beautiful copies of these. Columba himself was a tireless copyist, and some of his ardent admirers declare that he made 800 manuscripts of the Gospels and the Psalms with his own hand. Columba laid stress upon music, and he prepared a hymnal for his followers. His biographers describe him as an unusually fine singer. His voice was of great power and compass, yet capable of much sweetness and restraint when he united with his companions in their morning and evening hymns of praise.

The death of Columba is familiar to every school boy. On the last day of his life he paused to stroke an old white horse that belonged to his community at Iona, remarking to a companion, "The old horse seems to realize that I shall not be here much longer, and in this realization it is wiser than most men." That night Columba went over to the church and it was there that the attack came that proved to be his last. After his death his followers found upon his writing table a copy of the Psalter which he was writing, and the last verse that he penned was: "They that seek the Lord shall not want any good thing."²⁵

After a long and illustrious history, Iona was destroyed by Viking raiders and its buildings destroyed. Those that exist today date from the twelfth century. The missionary

²⁵. *Ach orra-san a dh'iarras an Tighearn cha bhì maith air bith a dhith.* — Ps. 34, 10.

training school has been revived by the Church of Scotland (Presbyterian), and under the leadership of the Rev. Dr. George F. Macleod, fourth baronet of Fuinary-Morven, and a grandson of the famous Dr. Norman Macleod, men are once more being trained for missionary activity, which they carry on in Scotland's great cities.

St. Comgall, (c. 525-602)

St. Comgall the Great, one of the most famous of the Irish Picts, was born in the earlier part of the sixth century. Various accounts are given of his young manhood, and it is not always possible to distinguish between history and mere legend. He comes into prominence in 558 A. D., when he went with a group of companions to Bangor in Ulster, and founded what was destined to become one of the most influential training centers of the entire Celtic Church. It was called Bangor of the Ards of Ulster, to distinguish it from other Bangors. St. Comgall's great center trained hundreds, perhaps thousands of missionaries, a number of whom became famous. The *Spelman Fragment* declares that Bangor in Ulster numbered 3000 persons. At least three tribes were represented among those at Bangor, and it is said that even a few converted pagans of the Teutonic tribes were members of its community. We know that there were lands attached to this great center, so that supplies for its maintenance might be produced, and it is possible that the 3000 persons attached to Bangor of the Ards included farm laborers and their families.

The chief activity at Bangor was its training school, and we are told that Latin, Hebrew and Greek were among the subjects taught. Music was given an important place, for the choirs of Bangor were famous, and its devotional services were choral, several choirs taking their turn at singing what, possibly with exaggeration has been called continuous praise. One of the most distinguished pupils of Bangor in Ulster was St. Columbanus, who went to Gaul and founded the great community of Luxeuil in Bergundy. Other daughter colonies were the famous St. Gall in Switzerland, Anagrates and Bobbio in the Apennines. Mr. A. B. Scott declares that "St. Comgall was one of the most successful organizers of

Christian missions in history. The missionaries inspired and taught by him ranged from between the mountains of Mar in Pictland to the Apennines in Italy."²⁶

In 562 St. Comgall sent Moluag and some helpers to Pictland, where he himself had desired to go. The work begun by Ninian a century before had not died out by any means, but it had become difficult because of invasions of the Angles, which had cut off *Candida Casa* from its many affiliated centers of activity. St. Comgall himself, accompanied by St. Cainneth the Pict, and, it is asserted, St. Columba the Gaidheal, journeyed to Inverness to seek permission from the Pictish king for their work in his territory. St. Moluag worked in the Hebrides, as well as on the western mainland of the Pictish country, and in central and northern Pictland. St. Columba devoted his missionary activity to the Gaidheals who had settled in the southwest of what is now Scotland. The men of Bangor established three great centers of activity, from which their workers were sent out throughout the surrounding country. In 565 Comgall paid another visit to Pictland, establishing, among other things, a center on the Isle of Tiree, where there is a church bearing his name.

Certainly St. Comgall was one of the greatest missionaries of his time, and his institution at Bangor in Ulster was known everywhere. A life of Comgall exists, but as usual, it has been edited and even rewritten. The Gaidheals, who were men of great missionary zeal, and who had an important part in the evangelization of the northern parts of Europe, were not always truthful historians. With a reckless disregard for facts, they tried to make it appear in their writings that St. Comgall and St. Cainnech were followers of St. Columba the Gaidheal. As a matter of fact it was the Picts who educated St. Columba.

The great institution founded by St. Comgall at Bangor in the Ards of Ulster flourished until the year 822, when it was destroyed by Viking raiders, and 90 of its workers slain. In 1102 A. D., a Roman Catholic monastery was built on the

²⁶. A. B. Scott, *The Pictish Nation, its People and its Church*, (Edinburgh, 1918), p. 235.

site of this famous old Iro-Pictish community. The Celtic Bangor had existed from 558 A. D. until its destruction in 822 A. D., a period of 264 years. After its destruction by the Vikings, a few of the brethren who had escaped with their lives, attempted to revive the work. Bangor in Ulster was continued, but on a much smaller scale, for more than a century. St. Comgall the Great, founder of Bangor, will ever be remembered as the man who guided the destinies of this famous Celtic community for over 44 years.

Other important centers of the Iro-Pictish and the Brito-Pictish Churches existed. One of these was Achad-Bo Cainnech, an Iro-Pictish community of considerable influence, in what is now Queen's county. It was founded in 578 A. D., twenty years later than Bangor in Ulster, by St. Cainnech, or Kenneth. Yet another important center of administration was at Glasgow. It was a community of the Britons of Strath-Clyde, and was founded in 553 A. D. by the famous St. Kentigern, often called Mungo. Nearby was a smaller center at Govan, a Brito-Pictish community founded some time before 590 A. D. Then there was an Iro-Pictish center at Paisley, founded by St. Mirran sometime between A. D. 560 and 590.

Candida Casa, Bangor in Ulster, Achadh-Bo Cainnech, Glasgow, Govan and Paisley were all important centers of administration and supply. Each of these in turn had its chain of local centers of administration and supply, and a map of the north of Britain shows a far-flung network of these centers from which the contemporaries and successors of St. Ninian, St. Comgall, St. Cainnech, St. Kentigern and the various other leaders of the Celtic Church went out as workers, declaring the simple truths of early Christianity to the tribes that dwelt in the British Isles.

St. Dewi, († 601)

St. Dewi, commonly known as St. David of Wales, was born in the earlier part of the sixth century. His father was Non, a Celtic chieftain who became a cleric in later life. Dewi studied for a time with Paul the Aged, a blind cleric who is supposed to be the same as St. Paldoc or Paldy, and

who dwelt at one time at *Candida Casa*. Later Dewi studied at a place described in ancient writings as Rosnat. This has led to much speculation, and earlier writers understood it to mean "the vale of roses," and suggested that it might mean the present St. Just-in-Roseland, in Cornwall, or a valley in Wales, or even the Isle of Wight. In more recent times it has been discovered that Rosnat or Rosnant is the old Irish name for Whithorn, where St. Ninian's *Candida Casa* is located. The locality is called Whithorn to this day, and is so identified on the maps of Scotland.

During his stay at that place, Dewi lived for a time at Glaston. This has led historians not only to declare that he went to Glastonbury in Somerset, but some writers went so far as to say that he founded the world-famous abbey at Glastonbury. All of this is idle speculation, for Glaston was the place where St. Ninian was accustomed to retire for study and meditation, and a cavern is still shown where he is said to have lived while there. The absurdity of the Glastonbury legend is apparent when one learns that Dewi dedicated his supposed abbey to the Virgin Mary. This identifies the legend with much later times, for in the sixth century the Celts did not dedicate their churches nor their communities. It was late in their history, when they became influenced by the Latin Church that we find such dedications.

Not much is known of St. Dewi's true history, and there is a legendary Dewi and an historical Dewi, just as is the case with St. Patrick. Legend-makers tell us that Dewi went to Wales and established a "monastery" there, and that he was an archbishop. As time went on, these legends grew. One of the bolder fabulists declares that the Synod of Brefi was called in order to condemn the heresy of Pelagius. This synod was, according to idle legends, attended by a large number of bishops. At its conclusion a great multitude gathered to learn the results of the discussions. The bishops arose, one by one, and attempted to address the gathering, but none had a voice of sufficient power to make himself heard by all. At last one of those present remembered Dewi, who was a man not only of superior eloquence, but whose voice was one of great power. Dewi was called in, and he addressed the great gathering

for an hour. All heard him distinctly, and so persuasive was his eloquence that nothing more was heard of the Pelagian heresy in that district from that hour onward. So impressed was the synod of bishops that Dewi was at once made archbishop of Wales, where he ruled for his remaining days with great wisdom.

These absurd legends cannot be taken seriously, for they presuppose a form of church life and organization that was unknown among the Celts until long after Dewi's death. Unfortunately a man named Rhygyfarch wrote a biography of St. Dewi, and he states these things as historic facts. Rhygyfarch's *Vita* has been published, and many modern historians accept it as authentic, unmindful of its anachronisms and contradictions. Rhygyfarch speaks of a sapphire altar that was presented to St. Dewi by the Patriarch of Jerusalem. At the death of Dewi this altar was encased in leather and never used again. It was not until the days of the historian William of Malmesbury that the legend was invented which declares that this was the identical sapphire altar (or superaltar) that was part of Henry VIII's booty when Glastonbury Abbey was pillaged and burned by Henry's orders. William of Malmesbury died about the year 1143, but a sapphire altar existed at Glastonbury in his day, and remained in the abbey until Henry VIII's time. Malmesbury declares that St. Dewi's bones were translated to Glastonbury in 966 A. D., but this is mere conjecture. It is true that Glastonbury Abbey was the Westminster Abbey of its day, and many famous men, including King Arthur, are said to have been buried there, but extensive excavations during the early decades of the twentieth century furnished no conclusive proof that St. Dewi was among the illustrious dead who were interred beneath the pavement of Glastonbury Abbey. Geoffrey of Monmouth, the historian, adds to Dewi's reputation by declaring that he was an uncle of King Arthur. Dewi is called St. David in Wales, and is patron saint of that country. Thirteen churches in the county of Pembroke alone are dedicated to him, but all of these are Latin rather than Celtic dedications. The Roman Catholic Church adopted St. Dewi in 1120 A. D., when he was canonized by Calixtus.

St. Moluag, (c. 530-592)

St. Moluag, an Irish Pict, was born about 525 or 530 A. D. He was trained at the great center at Bangor in the Ards of Ulster where the great scholar and missionary St. Comgall was *ab.* After the usual routine of student, instructor and missionary, St. Moluag was sent with several companions to work in Pictland, now Scotland. St. Comgall himself had always desired to work in Pictland, but had satisfied himself by supplying *Candida Casa* with workers when the work of that important center had been made difficult because of invasions of the Angles which at times all but isolated *Candida Casa*, located as it was in the southwestern corner of Pictland proper. Before undertaking work in Pictland, St. Comgall went with two influential companions to visit the Pictish king, who lived at Inverness, securing from him permission to send his missionaries from Ireland to Pictland. Because of tribal jealousy and at times open hostility, the Gaidheals were compelled to limit their work in Pictland to their own tribesmen who had settled on the borderland. Language differences added greatly to this difficulty. No such hindrances existed in the case of St. Comgall, and his assistants. The feeling between the Iro-Picts and the Brito-Picts of Scotland was not one of jealous rivalry, while the dialect of the one group could be understood readily enough by the other. The difference in language was hardly greater than that existing today between an Irishman and an American, as far as the spoken word was concerned.

Moluag, having established himself in Pictland, reveals to us the missionary genius of the Celtic Church by establishing three strategic training centers at Lismore in Lorn Island, at Rosemarkie on the north shore of the Inverness firth, and at Mortlach in Banffshire. Associated with each of these three centers were a cluster of lesser communities, or preaching stations with workers in residence. It must be remembered that the missionary methods of the Celtic Church differed from those with which we are familiar today. Where we would seek to establish permanent congregations in large cities and smaller towns, the Celts found it to be more prudent to establish major training centers

with a number of lesser communities of workers attached to each. This fitted within the framework of their tribal form of government, and their clannish traditions. From their Christian settlements their missionaries went forth preaching to people wherever they found them gathered. Their first great object was to sow the seed of the Word, and to win the pagan tribes from their false religions. Churches were erected in the course of time, but it is quite possible that these were merely convenient places of assembly, rather than organized congregations with local self-government.

St. Moluag trained scores of missionaries at his three great centers, and these men ranged throughout Pictland, not only serving the preaching stations of their Brito-Pictish brethren who were cut off from their parent institution, but Moluag and his missionaries reached hundreds of people who were what might be called today the unchurched masses. With at least their manuscripts of the Gospels, the Psalms and often the Epistles of St. Paul, they went from place to place, preaching the simple doctrines of primitive Christianity, calling upon the people to forsake their sins and to believe in Jesus Christ.

St. Moluag died in 592 A. D. It was but five years after his death that Latin Christianity was introduced into the southeast of Britain by St. Augustine of Canterbury and his companions. With the coming of Augustine, the Celtic Church was to have a powerful rival, destined within a few centuries to supplant entirely the Brito-Picts, the Iro-Picts and the Gaidheals. The Italian missionaries declared that the Celtic Church was a corrupt organization, for the Celts observed Easter Day at a different time as compared with Rome, the Celts would not adopt the Latin type of tonsure, they knew nothing of diocesan bishops, and they had heard but vaguely of the Bishop of Rome, neither would they recognize his primacy. The Celts, moreover, were content to establish missionary centers rather than monasteries, and preaching stations rather than organized congregations under the jurisdiction of a bishop and resident priests.

Such things as the date of Easter, tonsure and the absence of a territorial form of church government under

prelatic oversight were not factors that contributed to the decline of the Celtic Church's influence. However, when the Latin Church declared that the Celtic method of establishing preaching stations (as we might term them today), rather than strongly organized local congregations, was an evidence of weakness, perhaps they were correct. The method of relying upon missionaries — that is, preachers who travel a circuit and conduct preaching missions here and there — is an excellent thing insofar as the evangelization of a pagan tribe, or a country is concerned, and here the Celts met with brilliant success. The weakness of this method lies in the fact that it is less permanent than the slower manner of missionary expansion, which lays stress, as the Italian missionaries did in southeastern Britain, upon establishing congregations. This statement does not imply that the method of St. Moluag and his associates was bad and that of St. Augustine good. Each form of missionary expansion has its merits. From the Celtic Church we can learn, by their widespread success, that there is room for "missioners" who travel a circuit of considerable extent, and visit a chain of preaching stations. Such men are what Dr. A. C. Zabriskie would call "awakeners." Their work is important, but not necessarily permanent. Following them might come missionaries of the parochial type, who would gather the people thus awakened into permanent congregations, each with its local pastor and its staff of local office-bearers. Had the Celtic Church sent trained men in the wake of their remarkable pioneer preachers, and formed strong local congregations, the story throughout the British Isles, Gaul, Italy, Switzerland and among the Teutonic tribes might have been a different one.

St. Columbanus, (543-615)

St. Columbanus, or Columban, was one of the Celtic missionaries who carried the Gospel to Continental Europe. He was born in the land of the northern Irish Picts, between Louth and Loch Erne. He was educated by Sinell, a pupil of Finnian of Clonard, at Loch Erne. Then he decided to go to St. Comgall's Bangor in Ulster for his further education and his theological training. The scene that took place in

the little cob cottage of his mother is pathetic to a degree. His old mother was reluctant to see him leave home and cast his lot among strangers. She pleaded with him not to leave her, and when her tears and hysterical entreaties failed to dissuade him, she flung herself across the threshold of their cottage, wailing pitifully. This continued for some time, and at last the young man, sore of heart, stepped over his mother's form, bade her farewell, and set out upon the career that was to make him famous.

After spending some time at Bangor in Ulster first as a pupil and then as a missionary preacher, he crossed the Channel to Continental Europe and made his way to Burgundy. He established centers at Anegray in 590, and at Luxeuil. He was not long in Continental Europe before he became involved in a dispute with the missionaries and bishops of the Latin Church. They opposed him because of the fact that he celebrated Easter according to the chronology of the Celtic Church, because he would not adopt the Roman tonsure, and for other practices that they deemed heretical. They urged him to submit to the authority of the local bishop and the Bishop of Rome.

Columbanus was resolute. He refused to recognize the authority of Rome, but declared in letters to his opponents that he accepted only the authority of the Celtic Church, and especially of the community at Bangor in Ulster. He explained in detail the practice of the Celtic Church in regard to the date of Easter, and he testified against the practice of the Roman Church in regard to diocesan bishops. He warned his Latin neighbors against the danger of too close a relation between their Church and the civil authorities. He declared that the simpler and more evangelical usages of the Celtic Church were more thoroughly in keeping with the Apostolic Church than theirs. He even went so far as to write a letter to the Bishop of Rome, questioning his growing authority, and calling attention to the points of difference between the Latin and the Iro-Pictish Churches.

The controversy continued for some time, and in 610 Columbanus had to withdraw from Luxeuil. He preached among the Alemanii and the Suevi. He made his way to

Lombardy, to Bregenz in the Tyrol, and to Bobbio in the Apennines. Much might be said in regard to his labors in those places, and accounts of his important work are available.²⁷ His community at Bobbio became a strong center of missionary training, his pupils going out on missionary tours after the manner of the parent school at Bangor. A catalogue of the library at Bobbio, as it was in the tenth century, exists. At that time it contained some 700 books, among them the famous *Antiphonary of Bangor*, which gives us information in regard to the form of worship used by the Celtic Church. It is now in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. The Bobbio library contained a manuscript of the Gospels which Columbanus was accustomed to carry with him wherever he went. Other books included a commentary on the Psalms and a commentary on St. Mark, both with notes in the Pictish language. The celebrated *Muratorian Fragment*²⁸ was among the manuscripts in St. Columbanus's library. Other books included theological writings and a number of volumes of the classics. The libraries at Bobbio and at her sister community St. Gall, contained many books that disappeared, due to the fact that learned men of the day borrowed books and neglected to return them.

Misunderstanding has been caused in the past because of the fact that early historians declared that St. Columbanus was a Scot. Later historians repeated this statement, citing ancient sources. The fact was overlooked that in early days the Irish people were called Scots; and it was at a much later date that this term came to be applied to the residents of northern Pictland.

Columbanus was a tireless missionary, an able teacher and a preacher who possessed his full share of the fiery eloquence for which the Celts were famous. The usual fables have attached themselves to him, and the usual garbling of history has taken place at the hands of historians, Mediaeval and modern, who disregard the fact that Colum-

²⁷. Jonas, a contemporary, wrote the *Vita Columbani*.

²⁸. Discovered in Milan in 1740. It deals with the Canon of the New Testament, and supplements the Canon of Laodicea.

banus refused to conform to the Latin Church, and allowed himself to be banished from Luxeuil rather than accept the authority of his Latin neighbors and their bishops. Throughout his life he was an unconformed Celt of a resolute sort, and any effort to present him in any other light is pure absurdity. However, it is only fair to say that it was not entirely his disputes with the bishops of the Roman Church that caused Columbanus to withdraw from Luxeuil and go to Switzerland. He was a preacher of almost apostolic fervor, and his fiery Celtic oratory gave offense to many, including the royal family. At Anagrates he preached a series of sermons against the sins of the day, and he did not hesitate to rebuke publicly King Theodoric, grandson of Brunhilda, because of his immoral living. The king professed repentance and sent Columbanus gifts of choice foods and wines. Aware of the fact that the king's repentance was not sincere, Columbanus returned the gifts to Theodoric, with the stern words: "It is written, 'The gifts of the wicked are an abomination to the Most High'." The king, alarmed at the great influence of Columbanus, came in person to the *muinntir*, hoping that he might persuade the great preacher to cease his terrible denunciation of the evils of the day. Columbanus not only refused to listen to the king, but he declared that his community was not subject to the king's command, neither would he allow himself to be silenced either through gifts or through persuasion. The weak king was inclined to let matters drop, but his strong-willed grandmother, the former Queen Brunhilda, used her influence, and Columbanus was cast into prison. There his impassioned eloquence converted many of the prisoners to Christianity, including the prison-keeper and his wife.

After his release from prison Columbanus, mindful of the dispute between himself and the Latin Bishops, and the hostility of the royal family, withdrew from Luxeuil. He was not the first Celtic missionary to Burgundy, as is commonly supposed; for when he went to Anagrates, west of the Vosges, he and his companions were close to starvation, and in the old *Vita Columbani* we read of the Celtic *ab* named Carantoc, who had a community not far away, and

who sent food and other supplies to the missionaries at Anagrates.

During the waves of barbarian invasion much of the early history of these great Celtic missionaries was lost. Only fragmentary accounts have come down to our day, as ancient manuscripts, sometimes in the Celtic languages, are discovered in the libraries of Europe, as have been the books from St. Gall and Bobbio. Thus it is that a few of these great missionaries, men such as Ninian, Comgall, Columbanus, Gall and others, emerge from time to time from what was once half legend, and the old manuscripts have been bringing to light the authentic life story of these eminent men. Theirs was a missionary zeal exceeded only in Apostolic days, as we see them preaching throughout Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Cornwall, England and finally Gaul, Germany, Switzerland and Italy. As their romantic story is being brought to light, slowly but surely, these men are filling the strange gap that once appeared between Apostolic and Patristic days and the time of the rise into power of the Latin Church.

Of Columbanus, Mr. A. B. Scott, the great authority on all things Celtic, said long ago: "As a missionary few can compare with him. As a disciple of Jesus Christ, his personal example and life were blameless. His moral courage was apostolic. . . . He simply remained by what he had been taught in a Church that by its isolation had heard nothing of the innovations of the Roman Catholics. His ideal of Christianity was more apostolic than the ideals of the Church that persecuted him in Luxeuil."²⁹

St. Gall, (c. 545-627)

An Irish-Pictish missionary who did his share toward the evangelization of Continental Europe was St. Gall. He was born about the year 545 in the north of Louth on the Ulster border, and was a son of Kethernac Mac Unnchun, according to an old Pictish manuscript. Historians of the old school have given the date of his birth as late as the

²⁹. From an essay in *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*. vol. 29, p. 64.

year 614, but this is clearly impossible, since we know that he accompanied St. Columbanus to Switzerland in the year 610, and settled there while Columbanus went onward to Lombardy. Research conducted by scholars able to read the old Pictish and Gaidhealic manuscripts would make the year 545 the probable time of St. Gall's birth.

He received his education at the great school of St. Comgall at Bangor in Ulster, and in time he became a scholar of considerable ability. When Columbanus set forth to establish missionary work in Continental Europe, St. Gall was one of the men who accompanied him. This was in 585 A. D. when Columbanus was 42 years of age and Gall 40 years. Whether he assisted in the founding of the centers of learning at Anagrates and Luxeuil it is difficult to say. When next we hear of him is in the year 610, when Columbanus found it necessary to leave Luxeuil and to explore the regions around Lake Constance in Switzerland. Columbanus left Gall in Switzerland, and the latter settled in 613 at a spot 19 miles west of what is now Constance. There he established what was in time to become one of the world's greatest centers of learning, and which bears his name to this day. The exact date of the founding of St. Gall's *muinntir* must have been soon after he established residence there. Certainly it cannot have been 640 A. D., as one standard encyclopaedia declares, for St. Gall died in 627 A. D.

The center became one of great importance, and many missionaries were trained there and sent out to work in places throughout Europe. From earliest times the library of St. Gall was famous. Its catalogue, made in the ninth century, lists 533 books and manuscripts, 30 of which were in Celtic. From this library came the noted *Codex Boernerianus*, with the Pauline Epistles and parts of the Gospels in Greek, until recently in the Royal Library of Dresden; as well as the *Codex San Gallensis*, which contained the complete Gospels, lacking one page, in Greek, with a Latin interlinear translation. Both were written by the Iro-Pictish scribes about a century after St. Gall's death.

About the year 748, St. Gall's Celtic *muinntir* was taken over by the Benedictines and it became a monastery of the

Latin Church. It continued to be a place of great influence. In the year 1416 its library had grown to such fame that we read of one Poggio, a Florentine scholar, who came with two companions to study at St. Gall. When they departed, they took with them two cart loads of books and manuscripts. At the time of the famous Council of Constance, 1414-18, scholars came to St. Gall to borrow books, many of which were not returned when the council ended. Mr. A. B. Scott notes with pawky humor that the priceless manuscripts of the Gospels and Epistles were left untouched by the theologians of the Council of Constance.³⁰

The evangelical character of St. Gall and the many men whom he trained at his *muinntir* may be realized when one considers the number of manuscripts of the New Testament that this training school possessed. By good fortune many of the books and manuscripts from the centers established by the Celts on the European continent are still in existence among the treasures of several great libraries. Little attention was given by European scholars to the study of Celtic writings that still exist. In our own day several men have studied these ancient manuscripts, yet much remains to be done in distinguishing between the writings of the Iro-Picts and the Brito-Picts on the one hand, and those of the Gaidheals on the other. Enough has been brought to light to make a revision of accepted Church History a definite need. The Gaidheals were great missionaries, but careless historians, forever rewriting the story of the lives of early missionaries, and often with a Gaidhealic coloring. Mediaeval historians were even more careless, and their writings are full of contradictions because of inaccurate dates, and because they assumed that the Celtic Church had a form of organization and a system of doctrine similar to that of the Latin Church. Then there was a rivalry, even a hostility, between the Picts and the Gaidheals, and between these and the later Latin Church. Gaidhealic historians were not eager to give full credit to great leaders such as St. Ninian, St. Comgall, St. Columbanus and St. Gall; nor were the Mediaeval historians of the Latin Church careful

³⁰. Archibald B. Scott, *The Pictish Nation, its People and its Church*, (Edinburgh, 1918), p. 44.

to call attention to the centuries of brilliant achievement of the Picts and Gaidheals, and the scores of great missionaries who labored in southwestern England and Cornwall.

St. Aidan, († 651)

St. Aidan of Lindisfarne was born about the year 600 or shortly before. He was of the Church of the Gaidheals, and was trained at St. Columba's *muinntir* on the Isle of Hy, or Iona, off the west coast of Scotland. One day a young prince with a few companions came to Iona for refuge. He was Oswald, a son of Ethelfrid, king of Northumbria, and he brought the news that his father had been slain in battle, (617 A. D.), and those who had defended his cause were compelled to flee for their lives. Not only was sanctuary given to the young Northumbrian prince, but during his stay at Iona he was instructed in the Christian faith, became a member of the Celtic Church, and in due time returned to Northumbria fired with the missionary zeal that he had received from the Celts.

In 635 this Oswald seized the throne of his deceased father from the invaders, and appealed to the community at Iona to send Christian missionaries to preach throughout his kingdom. The first man sent was one Cormac, a devout man, an eloquent preacher, but a man whose sermons contained much Law and little Gospel. His efforts were not successful. Returning to Iona, he told the men of the community that the Northumbrians were stubborn pagans, that all the sermons he had preached to them had yielded very little fruit, and that any further work among them was a waste of energy.

One of the younger brothers, a man named Aidan, arose and suggested that it was the severity of Cormac, rather than the stubborn hearts of the Northumbrians, that had caused his mission to fail. So graciously did Aidan speak, and so fervently did he plead that the work in Northumbria be continued, that the older men of the company were impressed by his words. They urged Aidan to go in Cormac's place. He was unwilling at first, pleading lack of experience, but in the end he consented.

Aidan went to Northumbria late in the same year, 635 A. D., and preached with great success to the Northumbrians, declaring both the Law and the Gospel. He had difficulty with the language at the outset, but King Oswald stood beside him and interpreted as he preached, until he had mastered the language. The Isle of Lindisfarne reminded the homesick young missionary of his old home at Iona. King Oswald granted him the island, and he founded another training school on the model of Iona. While his work was confined largely to the northern part of England, yet it is said that his missionaries went into what is now Scotland, to Coldingham ten miles above the Tweed, and to Old Melrose, two miles from the famous Melrose Abbey, which did not arise until two centuries later. In those places communities were founded. Later legend-makers have, as might be expected, added to the story of St. Aidan's labors, and they followed their usual habit of describing a form of government that did not arise until a much later date. Thus it is that they have made it appear that King Oswald's sister Ebba founded a convent at Coldingham.

Aidan labored among the Northumbrians from 635 to 651 A. D. Of his work and his preaching, Bede the historian says: "His keeping of Easter at a wrong date I do not approve of or praise . . . but this I do approve of, that in keeping his own Easter he pondered, revered and preached, as we do, the redemption of mankind through the Passion, Resurrection and Ascension of the Mediator between God and man, the Man Christ Jesus."³¹ Bede declares further: "His zeal for peace and charity, his continence and humility; his spirit triumphant over bad temper and greed, and contemptuous towards pride and vain-glory; his industry alike in living and teaching the divine commandments; his diligence in reading and in vigils; his authority appropriate to his sacred office in reproving the proud and powerful; and, at the same time, his sympathetic ability to put new life into the poor or to defend them from their oppressors; in short, to summarize all that we learned from those who knew him, he took pains to omit none of those things which he found in the writings of the apostles and prophets, but

³¹. Bede, *op. cit.*, III, 17.

to the utmost of his power endeavoured to perform them all.”³² These are the words of praise of a Roman Catholic historian, paid to a missionary of the Celtic Church that would not conform to Rome.

About the time of St. Aidan's birth, St. Augustine of Canterbury had introduced the Latin Church into the southern part of England. Rome was busy in the south, the Celtic Church in the north. Thirteen years after Aidan's death the historic Synod of Whitby took place, and the Celtic Church gave way to Rome. Colman, successor to Aidan, withdrew from Lindisfarne and St. Cuthbert took his place. A century later, during a Danish invasion, Lindisfarne was destroyed completely. The ruins that one sees there today are of a Norman abbey, built in the eleventh century by the Benedictines.

St. Maelrubha, (642-722)

St. Maelrubha, known as the Red Cleric, possibly because of his red hair and beard, was an eminent missionary to the northwestern part of Scotland. His father was an Irish Gaidheal and his mother an Irish Pict and a niece of no less a man than St. Comgall the Great. Maelrubha was educated at Comgall's celebrated training school at Bangor in Ulster. In 671 a ship set out from Bangor containing Maelrubha and a company of men who were to form his *muinntir*, or colony of missionaries. They made their way leisurely up the west coast of what we know as Scotland, stopping to establish six churches along the way. In 673 A. D. they dropped anchor in the mouth of the Crossan, in northwestern Scotland, and there they founded the community of Abercrossan, later known as Applecross. St. Maelrubha's object in founding a center at that place was because no missionary college existed close by, and it was thought desirable to have such a center from which missionaries could be sent out.

St. Maelrubha labored for 51 years among the Picts of the northwest, in Ross-shire, Skye and Sutherland. The history of his activities is well known, and there are a

³². *Ibid.*, III, 17.

number of traces of his churches, including a ruined stone church, a churchyard and a well on the Isle of Maree, which seems to be one of the many variations of his name. Even his grave, with its ancient stone cross, is pointed out to the visitor today. Maelrubha was still actively engaged in missionary work when he was slain, at the age of 80, by a band of raiders, described as Vikings. This was at Ur-ghard, where the remains of his chapel, as well as his grave, exist. Later historians confused Ur-ghard with the modern Urquart in East Ross, unmindful of the fact that the latter place was not founded until several centuries after Maelrubha's death. Like many of the other great Celtic missionaries, Maelrubha's name has been subject to many different spellings, depending upon local pronunciation. We find him called Maelrubha, Malruf, Maruf, Maolruadha, Malrue, Marou and Mulruny. These variations not only led careless writers to declare that these were different missionaries, but they often confused the activities of other men with those of Maelrubha. One of the most absurd of these accounts is the one in which "Maruf" is assumed to be a Celtic rendering of the name of Rufus of Capua.

Even so noted a Church historian as Prof. J. H. Kurtz allowed himself to fall into grievous errors. Following such unreliable authorities as Bede and Adamnan, and the later Ussher, Stokes, Reeves, MacLaughlan and Skene, Prof. Kurtz's chapter on the Celtic Church is a tangle of anachronisms and contradictions, including the astounding statement that St. Ninian's followers relapsed into paganism after his death, and that the true apostle to the north was St. Columba, an Irishman. It would be difficult to find ten printed pages containing a larger number of historical errors than those of Prof. Kurtz's chapter on the Celtic Church.³³ It is most unfortunate that just such garbled history is taught in many theological seminaries in America and Britain.

Celtic Christianity presented a maze of difficulties that seemed to defy solution, but it was within living memory that a group of men appeared who possessed a scholarly knowledge of the old Celtic languages and dialects, and an

³³ Johann H. Kurtz, *Church History*, 3 vols., (London and New York, 1889), I, 450-459.

understanding of the ancient inscribed stones that remain to this day throughout Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Cornwall, and wherever the Celtic Church was to be found. The amount of labor was enormous, for it was found that the life and achievements of such a man as St. Maelrubha, for example, had been overlaid with an accumulation of legends, misstatements and deliberate propaganda. Sources were plentiful enough, the remains of his churches and his missionary centers were well known, and there were the inscribed Celtic crosses and other monuments to bear truthful witness for those who had the patience to disentangle truth from mere hearsay and from garbled history. In one place a great rock, used by Maelrubha as a pulpit, has been known locally throughout the centuries. Superficial historians without local knowledge, and content to rewrite the errors and speculations of earlier "authorities" have caused many of these great missionary preachers to be looked upon almost as fraudulent. Absurd tales of a Celtic missionary arriving upon a floating millstone are common enough in Britain, as well as the missionary who used a floating cloud as his means of transportation. Careful scholarship will reveal that the ancient word usually translated "millstone" really denoted a *ship*, or a *coracle*, and at once the early records become reasonable. Too many men who consider themselves historians have been mere compilers of the errors of their predecessors, to say nothing of the absurd speculations that they have seen fit to add themselves. Even Skene is an unreliable authority.³⁴ Such men overlook the fact that the Celtic Church and the Roman Catholic Church were rivals, not allies; yet it is the rule, rather than the exception, for the older historians to assume that the Celts were sent to Rome for their education, and then commissioned by the Roman pontiff as missionaries. So well defined was this rivalry, that one might as well declare that Irish Catholics are sent to Oxford and Cambridge for their theological training, as to assume that the Brito-Picts, the Iro-Picts or the Gaidheals went to Rome for their education. The Church of Rome produced many noted missionaries, and

³⁴ W. F. Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, 3 vols., (Edinburgh, 1876), also his *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, (Edinburgh, 1867).

their influence was important. The same may be said of the several branches of Celtic Christianity. The methods differed. Rome extended her influence by means of strong organization, and wherever she planted missions, the work endured. The Celts, on the contrary, chose to spread their teachings by means of preaching missions; and in this respect their methods may be compared to the work of such men as Dwight L. Moody, R. A. Torrey and Gipsy Smith, who went from place to place conducting series of preaching services, rather than attempting to form permanent congregations.

The temporary character of the work of such men as St. Maelrubha has been exaggerated. Permanent congregations grew up later as a result of their work, for we find ancient church buildings that still bear their name; and among the Celts a place of worship known as "St. Maelrubha's Church" is usually evidence that it is a result of his activity, for the Celts rarely, if ever, dedicated churches to men who were not their actual founders.

St. Kilian, (644-697)

Not all the famous missionaries of the Celtic Church confined their labors to the British Isles, nor even to the parts of the continent where the Gauls dwelt. Several of them found their way to the countries known today as Germany and Austria. One of the most prominent of these missionaries was St. Kilian. He is said to have been an Irish Pict, and County Cavan is given as his birthplace. He was educated in Ireland, and became a missionary. He emerges from more or less obscurity in 686 A. D., when he went to Würzburg in Franconia, where he decided to remain. In later days the annotators added the fable that he went to Rome and sought permission from the pope to labor among the Germanic tribes. This is idle speculation, for as has been said repeatedly, the Celts did not accept the jurisdiction of the Latin Church, nor would their clan-nishness have permitted them to consult leaders of other church organizations.

St. Kilian is said to have preached before Duke Gozbert and his followers. The duke accepted Christianity, but

some time later when Kilian learned that Gozbert was married to his brother's wife, he admonished the duke. Geilana, his wife, sent assassins and slew Kilian and two of his companions as they prayed before their altar. This may be authentic history, but it sounds suspiciously like an adaptation of the history of St. John the Baptist, while the murder at the altar may be a confusion in the minds of later historians who may have attributed the circumstances of St. Thomas à Becket to St. Kilian. Later writers added to the story, some of them declaring that Kilian had been made a bishop before leaving Ireland, others insisting that the bishop of Rome consecrated him bishop.

We find the foot-prints of St. Kilian in southern Germany. At Heilbronn, for example, a famous church which still bears his name, is said to have been founded by him. There is no reason to doubt the statement that Kilian had a part in the Christianizing of South Germany. The assertion that he was bishop of Würzburg is a myth, since Würzburg knew nothing of bishops until 741 A. D., some 44 years after Kilian's death.

Among other missionaries of the Celtic Church who went to Germany and labored there, one might mention Fridolin, as well as Trudpert the "apostle to the Black Forest."

The Cele De, or Culdees

The period from the seventh to the twelfth centuries has been described generally as a period of decline. It is certain that written records are few, but this may be due to the Viking invasions, and the destruction of religious communities that took place at the time of these raids. It is not probable that Christianity disappeared entirely.

It was during part of this period that the Culdees appear. The word seems to be derived from *Cele De*, or companions of God. It is incorrect to say that the Culdees were a religious order, but rather does the term denote a certain characteristic that might be found in a man, or in a group of men. These Culdees strove for simplicity of life, seeking to conform themselves to a certain extent to early

Christian customs. Part of their time was devoted to manual labor, and part to conducting religious services, instructing groups of pupils, or caring for the sick and the poor. They gave attention to Bible study. In some cases we find the Culdee living apart from his companions, again we find several of them forming a small community. Celibacy was not required, although some of them chose to live such a life. We find Culdees among the Pictish clergy who fled from Culross and found refuge at Lochleven, and there is mention of Culdees in Ireland and elsewhere. Some of them were clergymen who had fled before the Viking raiders and who sought safety in solitary dwellings, or again in small communities, striving perhaps to continue the declining Pictish Church³⁵ and to evade both the Vikings and the efforts of Rome to bring the Celtic Church under her discipline and organization. Between 794 and 839, according to Scott, the Culdees who had lived in seclusion began to form communities.³⁶ They showed the usual Celtic indifference to a strongly centralized ecclesiastical organization, but chose to live in small groups where there was a certain amount of freedom of action. In the early period of the Culdees there is little evidence of worldliness among them, but as time went on they seemed to lose some of their original zeal, and a spirit of indifference began to appear in some instances. They were conservatives, but it is going too far to say, as earlier writers have done, that they were separatists, much less were they the early representatives of what was called in later centuries Protestant evangelicalism.

They deserve a certain amount of credit, for with all their shortcomings, yet they preserved Scottish Christianity from extinction during the troubled times between the seventh and twelfth centuries.

³⁵. Archibald B. Scott, *The Pictish Nation*, p. 497.

³⁶. A. B. Scott, *Ibid.*, p. 508.

CHAPTER III

THE COMING OF THE LATIN CHURCH

HISTORIANS have made laborious efforts to show that Latin Christianity existed in England from the days of the Apostles and onward. Many of them reject the legendary visit of Joseph of Arimathea to Glastonbury, as well as the legend of St. Alban. They accept the statements of Tertullian and Origin, which prove nothing beyond the fact that Christianity was preached in Britain as early as the year 200 A. D. However, the same historians, with their fixed habit of beginning all things with the Greeks and Romans, are ready enough to declare that there must have been Christians among the Roman legions who dwelt in the British Isles as an army of occupation until the last of them withdrew in 410 A. D. It is quite possible that there were such Christians, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that Christian truths were preached in Britain long before the time of St. Ninian. If Bede's account of King Lucius is true, and not idle legend, it is evident that some one must have made known to him some of the truths of Christianity.

All these things are purely conjectural, and the first documentary evidence that we have of any permanent missionary work on the part of the Western Church, begins with the coming of Augustine of Canterbury, in 597 A. D., exactly two centuries after St. Ninian began his work in the northern part of Britain. Any theory other than this rests upon legend and merest speculation. Had Christianity existed to any extent in Britain, then one certainly would hear of its evidences in the form of the ruins of ancient church buildings, or stone altar slabs, or chalices, such as have been discovered in other lands. Now and then one hears of the remains of some ancient church, but upon visiting the site, the story is always the same: "it is possible that there may be fragments of an ancient church incorporated within the foundations of the present one." Basing one's conclusions upon existing documents and monuments, and disregarding all legends, one can only say that the first permanent Christian work in Britain was that of St. Ninian

the Pict, who began his labors in 397 A. D., and that the Latin Church did not establish a permanent foothold until 597 A. D., with the coming of Augustine of Canterbury. During the two centuries that intervened between Ninian and Augustine, the Celtic Church was supreme.

When Augustine and his companions landed on the Isle of Thanet, in the southeastern part of what we know as England, he must have been aware that in Canterbury, a few miles away, dwelt Ethelbert, the Kentish king, and his queen Bertha. The latter was a daughter of one of the Frankish kings, and she had brought with her a chaplain. Just east of Canterbury was an old building which tradition declared had been a church used by Christians who had been with the Roman army of occupation, long since withdrawn. This old building was used by Queen Bertha and her chaplain as a place of worship; and it is probable that this is the oldest place of worship of the Church of Rome in the British Isles, although certainly not nearly as ancient as a multitude of churches of the Celtic Christians. King Ethelbert was not greatly influenced at the outset, but a few years later he accepted Christianity and was baptized by Augustine.

Whether Augustine was aware of the wide influence of the Celtic Church one cannot say, for the Celts were a clan-nish race, and, despite all fabulists and legend-makers, there had been but little contact between the Picts and Gaidheals on the one hand, and Rome on the other. As soon as Augustine realized the widespread character of the Pictish Church, the Gaidhealic Church and their affiliated groups, he sought to bring them into conformity with the Church of Rome. In 603 A. D., but six years after he landed on Thanet, he arranged for a joint conference with certain leaders of the Brito-Picts. Those who attended the conference were chiefly from St. Dunod's Bangor. Augustine proposed to them that the Celts accept the Latin Church's date of Easter, that they accept the manner of administering Baptism as practiced in the Church of Rome and which differed in some details from that of the Celts, that they accept the authority of Rome and unite with her in the evangelization of the pagan Angles. The Celtic delegates

were not impressed with Augustine's manner, which they declared to be lacking in that meekness and lowliness of heart that they considered so desirable a virtue. They refused Augustine's requests. Augustine pronounced a curse upon them, declaring that they should be slain by these same Teutons among whom he had hoped to establish a mission jointly with the Celts. His curse, strangely enough, was fulfilled in the massacre of St. Dunod's community in the year 613.

From Kent the influence of Augustine's Latin mission spread to Northumbria in the northeast part of England. This was accomplished about 30 years after the landing of Augustine of Canterbury. Edwin, who had become king of Northumbria, had married a Christian princess from Kent. She brought with her a chaplain named Paulinus, who was instructed by the leaders of the Latin Mission to introduce Latin Christianity into Northumbria. They must have been aware of the Pictish *Candida Casa*, and of the training center of the Church of the Gaidheals on the Isle of Iona, and of the activity of the Picts and the Gaidheals in the north of Britain. Paulinus began his work in Northumbria in 627 A. D., and two years later the king accepted Christianity, only to be slain four years later. Paulinus fled with the queen to Kent, and the mission in Northumbria came to an end for the time being.

Meanwhile the influence of Augustine and his fellow workers was beginning to spread into central Britain, and not many years later young Celtic missionaries who had been trained at Lindisfarne made the acquaintance of the missionaries of the Latin Church. In 653 A. D., one of their number, Wilfrid, grew tired of the simplicity of the Celtic Church, and went to Kent, where he made the acquaintance of some of the leaders of the Latin Church's mission. A few years later he made his submission to Rome. Other young Celtic clerics became dissatisfied with the simple evangelical character of their Church, and they began to speak of possible union with Rome. They admired her assurance, and her strong centralization, which they contrasted with their own primitive form of government. They began to make

friends with the Latin missionaries, and to study the claims of the Church of Rome.

The controversial question of the date of Easter continued to disturb the minds of many. The Celtic Church in Britain, Gaul, Switzerland and Italy followed the ancient method of reckoning this date. The Church of Rome, after trying to make use of astronomical cycles of 84 years, 532 years and 19 years, finally decided to use the present method of calculation. About the end of the sixth century Rome sought to secure uniformity in this matter throughout Christendom. As the influence of the Latin Church grew and her mission work began to expand throughout the British Isles, the difference in the date of Easter, and the influence of this date upon much of the Christian Year, became apparent to the people, accustomed as they were to the practice of the Celtic Church. In order to secure uniformity, the Celts were asked to meet with the representatives of the Church of Rome at Whitby, in the year 664 A. D. A brilliant young Celt, Wilfrid, who had made his submission to the Latin obedience a decade previously, was appointed spokesman for the Church of Rome. The Celts chose Colman, a man of deep sincerity, but wholly unskilled in ecclesiastical controversy. The eloquence of Wilfrid resulted in a complete victory for the Latin Church, and the Celts went home defeated.

In the year 688 Adamnan of Iona accepted the Roman date of Easter and the Roman tonsure. Failing to persuade his brethren at Iona, he went to Ireland and urged the people of northern Ireland to conform to Rome. In 710 A. D., Nechtan, king of the Picts, yielded to the Latin Church, and decreed that the Roman date of Easter should be observed throughout Pictland. About the year 729, the community at Iona, after some years of internal conflict, conformed; and this yielding on the part of the most powerful center of the Gaidhealic Church had a far-reaching effect wherever their influence was felt. In 767 A. D., an abbot of the Roman type was appointed over Iona, and the great training center of the Gaidheals became a monastery of the Latin Church, and came entirely under the leadership of Rome. However, in 794 and again in 806 A. D., the Vikings raided

Iona, pillaging the institution and murdering many of the brothers.

Meanwhile the Church of Rome was gaining strength in the South. In 669 Theodore of Tarsus, a Greek who had accepted the Latin rule, was made archbishop of Canterbury. The Latinizing of England proceeded steadily. The liturgy of Rome was introduced in southern, western and northeastern England, and in the midlands as well. Celtic ordination was declared invalid on the grounds that it had not been conferred by diocesan bishops, and many of the young clerics of the Gaidhealic Church began to doubt the validity of their orders, and to discuss among themselves the possibility of seeking reordination from the Latin bishops. In 816 it was decreed by Rome that no Scot should be allowed to minister in Britain unless his ordination had been conferred by the Latin bishops. In 678 Archbishop Theodore established bishoprics at Deira and Lindisfarne, and three years later at Hexham and Abercorn. The bishop of Abercorn was given authority over all the Picts, but the clergy of that Church paid no heed to him. In 686 the English invaded Pictland, and at the great battle Brude and his Picts routed the English army, led by Egfrid, and forced them to flee to their own country.

The period between the eighth and the twelfth century was not a period of great preaching. A hierarchy had been developed, with its archbishops, bishops, priests and deacons. Monasticism had become widespread. Some of the monks were ordained men, priests or deacons, who dwelt in communities and were subject to monastic rule. These men were known as the regular clergy, because they lived by *regula*, or rule. Some of them were men of learning, but many of them were novices, pupils or lay workers on the lands of the monastery. A great monastery might have 200, 300 or even more men in its community, and many of these were uneducated men who plowed the fields, tended the horses and cattle of the monastery, cooked the meals in the abbot's kitchen and served them in the refectory, had charge of the fish pond and the bee hives, and built the many fires that were necessary in winter, and in the case of England about eight months out of twelve. There were other

men who were called the secular clergy, because they did not live in communities, but among the people of the world, or *saeculum*, hence their name.

There has been a sharp difference of opinion among historians as to whether there was preaching in the vernacular. Existing Latin sermons have led some to declare that all preaching was in Latin. Dr. Dargan, who is a judicious authority, suggests that the preaching in the monasteries, where the congregations were composed of monks, was usually in Latin, while missionary sermons and popular preaching may have been in the vernacular.¹

Some of the sermons of Mediaeval days have come down to us. The influence of the older preachers is apparent, and it became the fashion to embellish a sermon with all manner of legendary and allegorical material. The 176 *Homilies*, prepared by Paul Winifried by order of Charles the Great, in the early ninth century, remained for a long time a popular source of sermon material. Preaching became allegorical, and among the common people it was believed that the man who could announce a text and then give it two or three meanings, was a good preacher, but if he could suggest seven or eight meanings he was a preacher of superior merit. Some of the old writers declare that a preacher of those days felt himself bound to give not only the literal meaning of the text, but "the allegorical or parabolic, the topological or etymological, the anagogic or analogical, the typical or exemplar, the anaphoric or proportional and the anystical or apocalyptic." The preacher who was able to expound his text after that fashion was hailed as a man of supreme accomplishments.

Early in the thirteenth century we have records of the coming of the preaching friars to England. Preaching had declined among the parochial clergy, and Dominican and Franciscan preaching friars went throughout the land, preaching everywhere. There is a record of the arrival in England, in 1220 A. D., of thirteen Dominican preaching friars, and four years later we read of the coming of nine

¹ E. C. Dargan, *A History of Preaching*, (New York, 1905-12), vol I, p. 165ff.

Franciscan preachers. It is said that the nine Franciscan preaching friars had increased within 30 years to 1,242. They went among the people, and these men evidently preached in the vernacular, or at least made use of interpreters, where they were not able to use the common tongue. Their style was popular. The parochial clergy did not welcome the coming of these mendicant preaching friars, whose popular style of preaching they criticized, and whose studied eloquence they looked upon as mere vulgar emotional appeal. They declared that such mingling with the common people tended to break down the feeling of high respect for the clergy, and was quite out of keeping with the dignity and the aloofness that was considered desirable between the clergy and the common people. When the friars indulged in eloquent appeals to the imagination and the emotions of the multitudes, they met with the same opposition and the same arguments as did George Whitefield and John Wesley, centuries later. Unfortunately religious zeal is not lasting, and human nature being such as it is, every period of religious awakening is followed by a reaction. As the number of preaching friars increased and as their influence became considerable, there was a loss of the original missionary zeal, and preaching declined once more.

St. Augustine of Canterbury, († 613)

About the year 585 A. D., a monk of the monastery of St. Andrew, in Rome, saw some young men offered for sale in the slave market. Noticing their fair complexions, he inquired as to their nationality, and was told that they were Angles. This incident is said to have stirred within him a desire to go to England as a missionary. He secured permission from the pope to go, and actually started on his journey, but was recalled because of a public protest from the people. Gregory became abbot of his monastery, and in 590 was made pope. Still mindful of England, he sent several missionary preachers, led by a man named Augustine. These men landed at Thanet,² at that time an island just off the coast of Kent, but today, due to shifting sands, a part of the mainland.

². Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, I, 23-II, 3.

In 597 A. D., when Augustine reached England, the king of Kent was Ethelbert. Although a pagan himself, yet he had married a Christian wife named Bereta, or Bertha, a daughter of Charibert, one of the Frankish kings. Bertha had brought with her a chaplain named Luidhard; and on a hill just east of Canterbury they found an old church that was said to have been a place of Christian worship in the days of Roman occupation.

Upon landing, Augustine sent two of his companions to the King, seeking permission to preach within his domain. The king promised to visit the missionaries, but on condition that their meeting be in the open air, for he feared magic. When the King and his attendants visited Augustine, a church service was arranged, which the king attended willingly enough. Augustine preached to the King and his retinue, setting forth the principles of Christianity. At the conclusion of the service the King arose and said:

“Fair indeed are your words and promises, but as they are new to us and of uncertain import, I cannot assent to them so far as to forsake that which I have so long held in common with the whole English nation. But because you have come as strangers from afar into my kingdom, and are desirous to impart to us those things which you believe to be true and most beneficial, we will not do you any harm, but rather receive you in kindly hospitality, and take care to supply you with necessary sustenance. Nor do we forbid you to preach, and win over as many as you can to the faith of your religion.”³

From the Isle of Thanet, where this first service was held, Augustine and his companions went to Canterbury, a dozen miles to the west, where Queen Bertha received them with joy. They were given permission to use the church on the eastern edge of the town, and among the first converts was the King himself.

It is said that Augustine was made archbishop in the year 601. In 603 he consecrated Christ Church, somewhere near the site of the present Canterbury cathedral. Not far away he built a monastery, ruins of which exist to this day.

³. Bede, *Op. cit.*

Whether or not St. Martin's, in the eastern part of Canterbury⁴ contains portions of the ancient church in which Augustine preached, has long been a source of controversy. It has been rebuilt and enlarged from time to time, but parts of it contain Roman bricks and pieces of Caen stone, mixed with Kentish ragstone.

Augustine of Canterbury is said to have been a man of great size and strength. Although no authentic sermons are known to exist, he is said to have been a most effective preacher. With his coming the Church of Rome gained a foothold in the South of England. As time went on, strife arose between the Roman Church in the South and the non-conforming Celtic Church in the North of England, which led to the Council of Whitby in 664 A. D., and the withdrawal of the Celtic Church from the field.

Paulinus of York, († 644)

Of the early life of Paulinus very little is known. He is said to have been born at Rome, and according to other accounts, he was born in Britain and went from there to Rome. He is first mentioned in the year 601, when he was sent with Mellitus and others⁵ to assist St. Augustine of Canterbury, who had begun his work in Britain in 597.

At that time the most powerful king in Britain was Edwin, who ruled over Northumbria, which included at that time much of the north of England and the south of Scotland. A marriage was arranged between King Edwin and Ethelburga, a daughter of Ethelbert, King of Kent. Princess Ethelburga was a Christian, and it was agreed that she should take a Christian chaplain with her, and enjoy freedom of worship. Paulinus was selected to accompany Ethelburga to Northumbria.

Paulinus began to preach the truths of Christianity in Northumbria, and in 627 A. D., two years after his arrival, the King accepted Christianity, and many of his nobles followed his example. Among those who renounced their

⁴. See C. F. Routledge, *The Church of St. Martin, Canterbury*, (London, 1898).

⁵. Bede, *Historia eccl.*, II, ch. 9-20.

paganism was the priest of the temple at Godmandham. Paulinus built a chapel of wood, and then began to build a stone church on the site of the present York Minster. Portions of this church are said to exist in the crypt of the present cathedral. In 633, before the church was finished, Penda, King of Mercia, defeated and slew King Edwin in the battle of Hatfield Chase.

Upon learning of the death of the King, Paulinus fled, taking with him the young Queen and her children. They made their way to Kent, and the Queen returned to her father's home. Paulinus, according to the traditions of the Latin Church, became bishop of Rochester, near London. In 634 he received the pallium from Honorius I.

Paulinus is said to have been a preacher of extraordinary power, for at one place near York he was obliged to remain for a month, preaching and baptizing great numbers of people. This may not have been due entirely to his persuasive preaching, for in early days political considerations often played a part, where such wholesale acceptance of Christianity took place. When a king, or a powerful tribal chieftain became a Christian from conviction, it was comparatively easy to persuade his nobles and his subjects to follow his example. Paulinus was undoubtedly a man of considerable zeal, but it is unfortunate that he fled for his life when King Edwin was slain. Northumbria lapsed once more into paganism until the coming of St. Aidan of Lindisfarne, a few years later.

St. Cuthbert, († 687)

St. Cuthbert was born in Northumbria, which included much of northern England and part of southern Scotland. The exact place of his birth is unknown. He was left an orphan, and in his early years he was a shepherd boy. He entered the monastery at Melrose, where he remained for ten years, and from there he went for a short time to Ripon. In 661 he was made prior of Melrose, and in 664, after the Synod of Whitby, when the Celtic Church was obliged to yield its famous training school at Lindisfarne to the Roman Church, it was Cuthbert who became its prior, succeeding

Coleman. In 676 he retired for a time to a nearby island, but in 684, at the urgent request of King Egfrith, he was made bishop of Hexham. He had but little taste for this office, and he soon returned to Lindisfarne, where he died in 687.⁶

In the year 875 the Danes invaded Northumbria, and the great church at Lindisfarne, and its conventual buildings were destroyed. The monks took up the bones of St. Cuthbert, placed them in an oaken box and fled before the invaders. With them they took the world-famous Lindisfarne Gospels, one of the most beautiful examples of early hand-lettering and illumination ever made. The monks wandered from place to place for twenty years. Once they resolved to go to Ireland, but a fierce tempest drove their ship on a rock, on the western coast of England, and the box containing the Lindisfarne Gospels was lost. Later it was found, washed up on the coast, not seriously damaged. This book of the Lindisfarne Gospels is one of the most valuable treasures of the British Museum today.

It was not until the year 995 that the monks of Lindisfarne, still bearing the oaken chest containing the bones of St. Cuthbert, and the box in which reposed the precious Lindisfarne Gospels, finally found a resting place. There are several versions of the story, but they agree in essential matters, although they differ in detail. The monks were making their way through the woods, and came upon a high cliff, overlooking a river. In the valley they saw a village, and they could hear a woman call to her neighbor and say that she had lost her dun cow. They helped the village people find the cow, and the monks were invited to remain. They built a little church on the edge of the rocky cliff, overlooking the River Wear, and this church, rebuilt and enlarged a number of times, is the present Durham Cathedral.

St. Cuthbert's bones are said to repose to this day just to the east of the high altar, and near the famous Chapel of the Nine Altars. The pavement surrounding his tomb is hollowed deeply, not by the feet, but by the knees of many pilgrims who visited the spot in Mediaeval times. St. Cuth-

⁶. Bede, *Historia eccl.*, IV, ch. 27-32.

bert is said to have been a preacher of rare gifts, and in his lifetime thousands came to hear him. It was not his fame as a preacher that drew the Mediaeval pilgrims to his tomb after his burial at Durham, but rather the legend that his body was incorruptible. Strangely enough, his tomb was opened a number of years ago, and an old clergyman who declares that he was present at the time, says that they found the body of Cuthbert in an excellent state of preservation, — due to the fact that it was petrified.

Wilfrid, (634-709)

This brilliant, erratic churchman was born of a distinguished Northumbrian family in 634 A. D. He was educated at St. Aidan's school on the Isle of Lindisfarne, near the Northumbrian coast. He was a youth of exceptional mental gifts, but his outspoken self-assurance tried the patience of the gentle Aidan. Wilfrid was ambitious, and the simplicity of the Celtic Church irked him. Before he was twenty years old he went to Kent, where the Latin Church was extending her influence.⁷ He was dashing and handsome, and he gained favor at the court of Queen Eanflæd, who was a member of the Church of Rome. There he developed a taste for ritualism. His interest in the claims of the Latin Church led him first to Lyons and then to Rome, where he became acquainted with some of the leaders of the day. Breaking completely with the Celtic Church, he became a Benedictine. He returned to Lyons, assumed the Roman tonsure and spent three years in the study of ritual.

Wilfrid returned to Northumbria about the year 658 a full-fledged Latin propagandist and a foe of the Celtic Church. He lived at Stamford Abbey for a time, and in the year 661 he was made abbot of Ripon, which had become an institution of the Latin Church. Under Wilfrid's leadership the Benedictine rule was introduced.

About the time that Wilfrid became Abbot of Ripon, a man named Colman became *ab* of the Celtic community on the Isle of Lindisfarne. Colman was a learned man, very

⁷. Eddius, *Vita Wilfridii*.

conservative, mild of manner, but wholly inexperienced in intrigue. The leaders of the Gaidhealic Church, mindful of his scholarly gifts, chose Colman as their spokesman at the Synod of Whitby in 664 A. D. This strange blunder on their part was destined to influence history for centuries, because the brilliant, dynamic Wilfrid, a master of intrigue, was selected as the spokesman for the Church of Rome. The Synod of Whitby proved to be one of the most dramatic events in Church History, for much more was at stake than merely the date of Easter and the question of the Roman type of tonsure. On that grim, rocky headland, where the North Sea thunders unceasingly at its base, the contest took place which decided whether the great Celtic Church should continue to influence northern Europe.

For those who would know the details of that notable Synod, Bede the historian describes matters very fully,⁸ but from the Roman standpoint. He pictures clearly enough the mild-mannered Colman, inexperienced in controversy, and the dominating influence of Wilfrid. With a final burst of eloquence and a method of argumentation that suggests the law courts, Wilfrid declared the Church of Rome to be the only true Church, following faithfully in the footsteps of the Apostle Peter. He described the Celtic Church as a group of simple-minded nonconformists, a severed branch of the only true Church of the Prophets and Apostles, standing aloof in their rustic ignorance and refusing to conform to the one recognized Christian Church that had endured throughout the centuries. Turning to King Oswy, Wilfrid pleaded with him, reminding him that he must soon stand at the very gates of Heaven where St. Peter held the keys. Could he, under these circumstances, render a decision in favor of the schismatic Celtic Church, and thus reject St. Peter, the very rock upon which the true Church was founded? Moved by the fiery eloquence of Wilfrid, the king decided in favor of the Latin Church. The complete defeat of the Celts meant not only that the date of Easter, as fixed by the Latin Church, should prevail forever after, but it meant that the innovations which Rome had introduced should be recognized henceforth, and that Rome, and not

⁸. Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, III, ch. 25-26.

the Celtic Church, was to become the ruling force in the North.

About the year 665, Wilfrid was made bishop of York, only to be ejected in 678 in favor of Caedda or Chad. During the winter of 678-679 Wilfrid spent some time in Frisia, preaching with marked success among the pagans. In 680 he visited Rome, where his defense of his work in Britain made a favorable impression. He appeared before a gathering of some 125 dignitaries, purporting to act as spokesman for all Britain, Ireland and Pictland. In 681 he returned to Britain and preached throughout Sussex, where remnants of paganism still obtained, and then he extended his missionary work to the Isle of Wight. While we are assured that he won many from heathenism, yet he became thoroughly disliked in both places. He was restored to the primacy of York in 685 and to Ripon in 686, but in 691 he was once more expelled. In 702 he was excommunicated, but during the next year he visited Rome and pleaded his cause with complete success.

Wilfrid was a handsome man, wealthy in his own right, energetic, eloquent, but declared by his opponents to be arrogant and thoroughly worldly-minded. With all his shrewdness yet he made bitter enemies wherever he went. In spite of his dictatorial ways, he was a preacher of unusual attractiveness, and there were brief periods in his life when he seems to have been moved by a genuine missionary zeal. On such occasions he would abandon his other tasks and spend a few months preaching to the pagans, and, some writers assert, winning them by the thousands with his eloquence. He quarreled with the king continually, and on one occasion he was charged with bribery by his enemies. As a rule he was more than a match for his foes, but in one instance he spent nine months in prison.

The Picts and the Gaidheals despised him, believing him to be conceited, thoroughly unscrupulous and a hypocrite. They regarded him as a renegade Celt who had betrayed his own Church into the hands of a group of proselytizing foreigners. Even Roman Catholic writers are by no means unanimous in their attitude toward him. Bede

does his utmost to excuse the shortcomings of Wilfrid, and to dwell upon the qualities that he considers admirable. Several biographies exist, at least one of which was written shortly after Wilfrid's death.

Willibrord, (657-738)

Willibrord, or Wilbrord, was born about the year 657 in Northumbria. His biographer Alcuin tells us that Willibrord's father was a Saxon, and elsewhere we are assured that he was an Angle. The father of Willibrord was a man named Wilgils, who had built himself an oratory which developed into a church with which Alcuin was connected. At an early age Willibrord was sent to Ripon for his education, where he must have been influenced by Wilfrid, who had left the Celtic Church and had become a missionary of the Latin Church. About the year 679 Willibrord is said to have gone to Ireland for further study. Whether this education was received at Bangor of the Ards in Ulster, or at some other Irish training center, is not clear. He remained in Ireland for twelve years.

About the year 690 he set out for North Germany, and we find the customary statement that he took with him twelve companions. They began their work among the Frisians at the mouth of the Rhine, where Rathbod the king befriended him. Speculative historians tell us that Willibrord went to Rome and was consecrated archbishop by Sergius, in 696. In the case of the Celtic missionaries these journeys to Rome are mythical, but in Willibrord's case it may be true when one recalls the fact that his teacher at Ripon must have been Wilfrid. Bede tells us that he returned to Frisia and established himself at Utrecht, preaching throughout the district and establishing churches. He is said to have visited Denmark, bringing back with him thirty boys. In 719 Boniface came from Exeter and assisted him for three years. Boniface declares that Willibrord labored in Frisia for fifty years. No reliable account of his manner of preaching seems to have come down to us, but he is said to have gone throughout Northern Germany, preaching with great success, baptizing and establishing congregations. Among his many activities he established

a monastery at Echternach, not far from Treves. His biography was written by Alcuin⁹ and he is mentioned by Eddius.¹⁰ The Venerable Bede, his contemporary, devotes two or three sections of his history to the work of Willibrord.¹¹

The Venerable Bede, (673-735)

The Venerable Bede was born in 672 or 673 at Monkwearmouth, Durham. His parents died, and at the age of seven he was entrusted to Benedict Biscop, abbot of the newly founded monastery at Wearmouth. An epidemic ravaged the community and the monks died, with the exception of the abbot, the little boy over whom he was guardian and a very few servants. Of those who survived the epidemic none could sing except the abbot and the boy; and for weeks the daily services were conducted with none to officiate but the old abbot and none to sing the responses and the hymns except the child. Finally the abbot could endure it no longer. An instructor in singing was brought to Wearmouth from abroad, and a few others were taught to read music and to sing the hymns and responses.

Bede was a bright boy, and he learned Latin and Greek quickly, and a little Hebrew. He loved music, and it was not long until he was assisting in teaching the novices to sing. He was ordained deacon in 692 and priest in 703 A. D. Meanwhile another monastery had been founded at Jarrow, five miles away, and to this Bede was sent, where he became a teacher. Bede, who has left us a short autobiography, says that he was in charge of the daily music at the abbey, and he tells us that throughout his life he devoted much of his time to the study of the Scriptures, making brief notes each day of their teachings, for himself and for his brethren.

Bede's great fame rests upon his *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*, an extensive and valuable work which he completed in 731 A. D., four years before his

⁹. Alcuin, *Vita Willibrordi*.

¹⁰. Eddius, *Vita Wilfridii*.

¹¹. Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 5, 9-11.

death. It is carefully and beautifully written, but not always with a distinction between things that are documentary facts and those that are mere oral tradition. Except for Bede, many of the early events of English history, and especially religious history, would be unknown today.

Benedict Biscop, the abbot, brought from continental Europe a valuable library, and Bede shows by his writings that he was thoroughly familiar with the classical writers and the Church Fathers. History was his favorite study, however, and he labored for years gathering and sifting his material. While his facilities for critical research were somewhat limited, yet the importance of his history cannot be underestimated. His *History of the Abbots* is another valuable work, except for which much of the religious history of early days would have been lost forever. His commentaries on the Bible are less valuable, for they are marred by the fact that they are largely a compilation of the various opinions of the Church Fathers.

Bede's great ambition was to translate the Bible into the language of the people, but he did not have the courage to undertake it until late in life. He was taken ill, and the only part of this work that was completed was the Gospel of St. John, which he dictated from his bed. Death came to him and halted his work before he could translate anything other than this one Gospel. In the rooms of the American Bible Society, New York, is a striking life-size picture of the aged man, propped up in bed, dictating this Gospel of St. John.

So highly esteemed was he that he has since been known as the Venerable Bede. He was a man of great diligence, too absorbed with his teaching, his preaching and his many writings to accept an invitation to visit Rome, and too devoted to his work to accept the abbacy of Jarrow, when it was offered to him. A number of editions of his history have been published, and his collected writings exist in twelve volumes.

Bede preached regularly to the monks of Wearmouth and Jarrow, and frequently to the people of the two adjoining villages. Many of his sermons survive. Some of them

are his, others seem to be mere reports of his sermons, taken down by the monks, and written less carefully than was Bede's custom. These sermons are generally expository in form, but rather too copiously documented with quotations from the Fathers, and marred at times by fanciful allegory. However, his sermons are clear in their language, and there are times when they reveal deep piety and spiritual zeal. About twenty of his "country sermons," delivered in the vernacular to the village people of Monkswearmouth and Jarrow, have survived. They are simple in language, somber when he describes the doom of the unrepentant sinner, but joyous and rather flowery when he describes the happy state of the redeemed.

St. Boniface, (680-754)

St. Boniface, whose name was originally Wynfrith or Winfrid, was a native of Crediton, near Exeter, Devonshire. He came of an excellent family. Wynfrith was sent to Exeter for his education, and he lived in what is now St. Pancras Lane. Later he studied at Nutcell, near Winchester. While living at Exeter, he heard the sermons of two preaching friars, who described the paganism of Frisia, to which Willibrord, a Northumbrian, had gone in 689. The success of Willibrord among the barbarous Frisians stirred the young Wynfrith. From the top of a high hill north of Exeter he could see the waters of the Channel. There was a low cloud on the horizon, and Wynfrith believed mistakenly that this was continental Europe. He resolved to go to the dark forests which the preaching friars had described, and assist Willibrord in his task of Christianizing the German tribes.

It was not until 716 that his desire was satisfied, and Wynfrith, who had taken the name Boniface at his ordination, set out for Germany. Here he met with bitter disappointment, for the unfriendly attitude of Radbod, the Frisian king, compelled him to return to Devon. The following year he went to Rome, but it was not until 719 that he received a formal commission from Pope Gregory to go to Frisia. Gregory also gave him a letter to Charles Martel, requesting his protection of Boniface. He set out

across the Alps and through the forests until he came to Frisia, where he met his fellow countryman Willibrord. Boniface spent three years assisting the older missionary.

In 722, under the protection of Charles Martel, Boniface went to Hesse and Thuringia, preaching, baptizing and overturning idols. At Geismar his attention was called to the great oak of Thor, and he was told that merely to touch it would mean instant death. Boniface borrowed an axe and felled the tree. He was made bishop in 722, and archbishop ten years later. He reorganized the Frankish church, he founded the abbey of Fulda, and various other communities, and he was tireless in his preaching and baptizing. About the year 745 or 748 he was made bishop of Mainz and given general supervision of the Rhineland districts.

In 754 his old interest in Frisia caused him to return to the scene of his early missionary work. He set out, with some 50 companions. Arrangements were made for a great confirmation service, but a group of Frisians who were hostile to Christianity fell upon Boniface and his companions and all were slain at Dockum.

There is no question that Boniface was a preacher of exceptional force, but historians differ sharply as to his motives. Roman Catholic writers describe him as a man of singular zeal, whose only ambition was to win the heathen Germans to Christianity. German Protestant writers usually take the opposite view, declaring that he was a man of worldly ambition, eager to win Germany not for the Saviour but for the pope. Moderate Protestants look upon him as a man of intense missionary zeal, but who had been led to believe that the power of the Gospel alone was not enough; and that a strong organization was needed to hold what had been won. Thus it was that he sought the protection both of the Roman pontiff and of Charles Martel.

No authentic missionary sermons of Boniface seem to have survived. Perhaps fifteen of his sermons exist, but these give no indication that they were preached to the pagan tribes. They were preached, apparently, to men who had already become Christians. The sermons are based upon Scriptural texts, but their treatment is allegorical

rather than expository, and they seem to stress loyalty to the outward ordinances and life of the Church, rather than Redemptive Christianity. Boniface was a man of singular courage, with a missionary zeal far beyond the average, and a superb organizer; but it is to be feared that he placed more trust in the power of the Church than in Law and Gospel alone.

CHAPTER IV

THE PRE-REFORMATION PERIOD

THE FIVE centuries previous to the Reformation include the great age of church building. Many old Saxon churches existed, but most of these were demolished and larger buildings took their place, at first in the Norman style and then in the Gothic. As new communities were established, these called for yet more new churches. When one considers the dates of the great Norman and the Gothic abbeys, priories and cathedrals, as well as the multitude of parish churches, large and small, the vastness of the undertaking becomes apparent. Edward the Confessor's abbey at Westminster was begun in 1050 and finished at the end of 1065, shortly before his death. The following decade saw the beginning of Lanfranc's Canterbury, of Lincoln, St. Alban's and many smaller churches. During the next decade great churches were begun at York, Hereford, Winchester, Lavington, Ely, Shrewsbury and Worcester, to mention but a few of the more familiar examples. During the following ten years Tewkesbury, Gloucester, Chichester, Chester, Durham, Norwich and Carlisle were under construction. All of these were begun within the short span of 35 years, and we have mentioned but a few examples.

Could one have journeyed through England in those days, he would have seen church buildings under construction everywhere. These ranged from the great abbey churches at St. Alban's and at Glastonbury, both of which were close to 600 feet in length, to such diminutive examples as St. Pancras and St. Catherine's in Exeter, Little Braxted in Essex and Nateley Scures in Hampshire. Many of the more important church buildings were enlarged from time to time, and when Gothic succeeded the Norman, churches were often rebuilt in the new style.

Many of the clergy became architects or master builders. One need only recall such men as Lanfranc of Canterbury, William of Wykeham and Prior Bolton, or Abbot Paul who built St. Alban's, or Bishop Branscombe of Exeter and Grandisson of the same place. One recalls Bishop Carileph

who built the choir of Durham with its early example of a ribbed vault, or Prior Ernulph who rebuilt the choir of Canterbury and continued the work at Rochester. Scores of such names might be mentioned.

With churches under construction everywhere, and the clergy acting as architects or at least as master builders, one will hardly expect to find a great age of preaching. Men who spend much of their time at their drawings, or else on the high scaffolding surrounding a new abbey church, are hardly likely to give adequate time to the preparation of sermons. Thus it is that we do not often find evidences of careful exegetical study, or of doctrinal preaching of the best type. Sermons became fanciful, and there was much allegorizing. Incidents in both Old and New Testaments were "spiritualized," there was much play upon words, and lengthy incidents from the lives of the Church Fathers and the saints took the place of careful exposition. Here and there we find faithful men who sought, to the best of their light, to preach careful sermons, for no age has been wholly without witnesses. During the thirteenth century there was a marked renewal of interest in preaching, although it was too often true that the Church was looked upon as the sure source of salvation, rather than the Cross; and the authority of the Church Fathers, in too many cases, was substituted for the authority of the inspired Word of God. Many a sermon became a mere lecture upon religious history, rather than an exposition of Law and Gospel; and even learned men were content to declare in great detail the incidents in the life of the saints, and to devote scant attention to the important facts of sin and salvation.

To say that preaching did not exist is but an evidence of superficial thinking. There were preachers of learning and influence; but these qualities are not always indications of true evangelical zeal. The Dominicans and the Franciscans were primarily preaching orders. The Dominicans, or Blackfriars, came to England in 1221, the year of their founder's death, established themselves in Oxford and in other university towns, and within 80 years they had set up some 50 communities. Their original purpose was to preach against heresy, but it was not long until some of their lead-

ing men became professors of theology and of canon law in the great universities. The Dominicans were the conservatives and the intellectuals of their day. The Franciscans, or Greyfriars, came to England during the lifetime of their founder, established themselves in Oxford in 1224, and later in Cambridge and other centers of learning. Their original task was to preach to the neglected poor, but they soon established missions in heathen lands, and it was not long until they occupied important chairs in the leading universities. If the Dominicans were the conservative preachers of their day, the Franciscans were the emotionalists of the thirteenth century.

The Dominicans and Franciscans produced many gifted preachers, and these men attracted great congregations. They itinerated, and one reads of great gatherings of people that anticipate the vast outdoor congregations that assembled five centuries later to hear such men as George Whitefield and Christmas Evans. While many of the better men in the centuries prior to the Reformation preached fearlessly against sin, called upon their hearers to repent, and directed them to the merits of Jesus Christ, yet even at best there was a lamentable confusion of the purposes of Law and Gospel, an unrestrained love for allegorical preaching, often a forcing of exegesis and an illogical manner of applying revealed truth to the needs of their hearers. The evangelical note was not lacking, but it was mingled with the supreme authority of the Church, the value of penances, and legends of the saints; and thus an authoritative synergism destroyed the force of whatever Pauline truth the sermon may have contained. Even the Franciscans, who gave the world Roger Bacon, known as the *Doctor Mirabilis*, were unable to distinguish clearly between saving grace, which is an essential, and churchly ordinances, which are externals. They laid stress in their preaching upon such admirable qualities as honest labor and missionary zeal, and they urged their hearers to be content to live in humility rather than to covet riches and power, yet they neglected to say that these things are but the praiseworthy fruits of faith, and not causes that contribute to it. Dr. Dargan, a Southern Baptist conservative, and a recognized

authority on the history of preaching, believes that the preaching friars produced men who were able to call many to repentance and point them to the Cross of Calvary, and while he mentions with regret the shortcomings of much of the preaching in Mediaeval times, yet he believes that enough truth was preached to lead many people to their Saviour. If this be correct, then it is but additional proof that in no age has the Lord been without witnesses. Much chaff was mingled with the wheat, but the wheat was not altogether lacking.

A superficial school of thought existed both in Britain and in Germany during the nineteenth century and men of this school were accustomed to say that the clergy of the 500 years previous to the Reformation were ignorant men who could neither read nor write, and who preached no sermons at all. It is true enough that there were men whose educational background left much to be desired, and it is equally true that there were slothful men who seldom preached. It is not correct to say that there were very few men of learning. There were extensive libraries in the Middle Ages, and many books still exist, despite the fury of Henry VIII. There were monastic schools and there were universities, and men were taught to study. Too often they were content to study the writings of the Church Fathers and the ancient philosophers, yet we find men who wrote commentaries on the Bible, and left behind them exegetical works and sermon manuscripts. It is impossible to say how much of this material existed, for books and sermon material are easily destroyed. Viking raids were common events in the earlier days, and some of the monasteries were sacked and burned again and again. In the days when Henry VIII was in need of funds, more than 1500 religious communities were destroyed, and the records of Henry's commissioners mention large libraries that were sold for wrapping paper. In the days of religious wars, the fanatical soldiers and townspeople destroyed organs, stained glass, carved woodwork and paintings. Books were piled high in the market square and set afire. So much was destroyed that it is impossible to know today, from the few books and

manuscripts that survived in secluded localities, just what might have existed.

The clergy of the Middle Ages did not lack books, but they did not make the best use of the material that they really possessed. Their existing sermons often show an unfortunate mingling of truth and absurd legends, while their tendency to find an allegorical meaning in every incident, and a symbolic meaning in every number, led to much puerile speculation. In the Parable of the Ten Virgins they were so anxious to find some mystical significance in the numbers five and ten that they overlooked the true teaching of the parable.

Even the relatively few sermons that still exist give one an idea of the books that were available to the preachers of the Middle Ages. It is clear that they had the homilies of Origen, Leo the Great, Hilary and Ambrose. They had the sermons of Ambrose, Chrysostom, Jerome, Augustine, Isadore, the Venerable Bede and Bernard of Clairvaux.

Books of homilies occupied an important place in the library of the Mediaeval clergy. These homilies were simple, practical expositions of Scripture, usually in the form of a running commentary rather than a sermon of formal outline. Some books of homilies were suited to the needs of congregations, while others were intended to be used in monasteries, where they were read by one of the brothers to his companions as they sat at the table, probably at the close of a meal. As early as 529 A. D. the Council of Vaux ordered every priest to preach every Sunday, directing him to deliver a sermon of his own composition, or at least to read a sermon prepared by someone other than himself. In case the priest were ill or absent, a deacon was expected to read a homily. Charlemagne ordered sermons to be delivered on all Sundays and festival days, and he urged the clergy to warn the wicked of the eternal torments, and the believers of the glories of Heaven.

The writings of Origen were to be found in the libraries of Mediaeval times. About 200 of his homilies remain to the present time. They are expository in form, but allegory is mingled freely with serious explication. Origen's

popularity soon waned, and for many years the sermons of St. Augustine were not only admired, but used rather freely by many a preacher. About 400 of Augustine's sermons still exist. They include sermons suited to the Sundays of the Christian Year, the greater and lesser festivals, as well as expositions of free texts. His famous treatise *On Christian Teaching* was influential in its day. Its first three parts are devoted to the interpretation of Scripture and the fourth part to homiletics. In his opening chapter Augustine declares that all treatment of Scripture depends upon two things: the method of finding what is to be understood, and the method of setting forth what has been understood. Of these two things he considers the first to be the more important.

The sermons of Leo the Great were popular with the priests of Mediaeval England. Of these, 93 exist to our own day. In his sixty-first sermon of the series, Leo preaches Christ crucified, yet there are other sermons that are mere essays on the cultivation of Christian virtues, in which Leo finds merit. Another well-known homilist was Gregory the Great. He required every priest to be diligent in preaching, and he prepared a series of homilies in order that they might have material for their preaching. These homilies were written in Latin, but with the express direction that they be translated into the vernacular. Sixty-two of these exist today. One of the most popular homilists was the Venerable Bede, and his two volumes of sermons occupied a place of honor in every library, private as well as monastic. Bede's sermons and homilies were edited from time to time, and eventually contained 140 discourses. Paul the Deacon, also known as Warnefrid, compiled a homilarium of 176 sermons, including within the collection compositions of his own, as well as those of other men, such as Maximus, Bede and Leo. Each selection began with the words *Post illa verba texta*, from which was derived the word "postil." The Council of Tours, of 813 A. D., ordered these to be read in the vernacular.

There were many other homilists in the ninth and tenth centuries. Egino of Verona left a collection of 202 discourses, many of which were taken from Augustine and

Leo. Then there was Smaragdus, a French abbot who flourished in the ninth century, and who compiled a book of homilies on the Epistles and Gospels of the Christian Year. Alcuin of York left an important collection of homilies. He was a learned man, who had spent much time abroad, and was familiar with the best libraries of Continental Europe. Rabanus Maurus, of Fulda, issued separate sermons, and sent them out one at a time, explaining that a variety of occupations made it impossible to issue them in book form, and urging the clergy to preserve them and have them collected into a single volume. This was done in many cases, and existing collections contain as many as 163 sermons and homilies. The variety of occupations of which Rabanus speaks, left him little time for original work, for his compositions draw heavily upon earlier writers. His contemporary and friend, Haymo of Halberstadt, put forth a collection of 154 homilies, most of which are singularly lacking in originality of thought. The homilaria of both Rabanus and of Haymo found their way into many an English library.

Perhaps one cannot judge the ancient homilists by the standards of today, for plagiarism was taken as a matter of course, and the Church Fathers and other religious writers were looked upon as a legitimate quarry from which to take homiletical building stones. Whole paragraphs of exposition, applications and fanciful allegorization were taken bodily from the older writers, and often without so much as a footnote or marginal annotation to indicate their source. As soon as a homilarium was issued, it became public property. Such collections were intended for use by the priests and monks, and they made free use of the material, not only in their public preaching, but in their own collections of homilies.

Alfred the Great took a lively interest in preaching, and in order to encourage the widest possible use of the vernacular, he himself provided material by translating the Latin sermons of Gregory, Bede and others into Anglo-Saxon. During the latter part of the tenth century a famous collection known today as the Blickling Homilies, was issued. They take their name from Blickling Hall, in

Norfolk, where an existing copy was preserved. These homilies were edited and translated by the Rev. Richard Morris for the Early English Text Society. Toward the end of the tenth century, Aelfric translated a number of Latin homilies into Anglo-Saxon, and by so doing won for himself a place in every standard text-book on English literature. Issued in three series of about 40 homilies each, these were popular with the clergy of Mediaeval times.

Many libraries, both monastic and private, contained copies of the sermons of St. Bernard of Clairvaux. About 125 of these sermons exist today. They contain references to saintly intercessions, yet in one of them, quoted by Dr. Garvie, he sets forth the doctrine of justification by faith.¹ Bernard's sermons give evidence of originality of thought, their main divisions are clearly indicated, the material is arranged in logical order as a rule, and they sustain his reputation as a preacher of commanding eloquence. His influence upon English preaching of the twelfth and thirteenth century was considerable. To the twelfth and thirteenth centuries belong also the Old English Homilies, many of which have been published by the Early English Text Society.

Aelfric, (c. 955-1020)

Every student of English literature is familiar with the name of Aelfric the Benedictine abbot, often called Aelfricus Grammaticus. His writings are given an important place in Saxon literature, and he is considered one of the foremost prose writers of that early period. Aelfric was a pupil of Aethelwold at the Benedictine monastery at Winchester and later became a monk at the same place. He proved to be a man of considerable ability, and in 987 he was sent as a teacher to Cerne Abbas in Dorset, and a decade later he was made abbot of that community. At another time he was abbot of Ensham, near Oxford. He took a great interest in the education of the clergy.

A number of Aelfric's sermons and homilies have survived to the present time, and while their homiletical

¹. A. E. Garvie, *The Christian Preacher*, (London, 1920), pp. 101-102.

merit is not particularly significant, they are valuable nevertheless because of the light that they throw upon the preaching of that period. These sermons and homilies show no great originality, and Aelfric himself admits that they are based upon Augustine, Jerome, Gregory, Bede, Smaragdus, Haymo and other earlier authors. They are expressed in an admirable form of Anglo-Saxon. His first series is composed of a group of 40 homilies, and they follow the plan of the Christian Year. A second group are doctrinal and historical, and they include an account of the lives and teachings of the Apostles, and incidents in early Church history. The third group are concerned largely with the lives of the saints. The simpler style of the first group seems to indicate that they were preached to people who were in need of instruction in the basic teachings of the Church, while the second group were for hearers who were presumed to have a fuller understanding of Christian doctrine and early Church history.

Aelfric's style is poetical, and some of the sermons fall into a form of rhythmic prose, which is said to become somewhat monotonous, and to suggest the style of a lengthy ballad. His well known sermon on the Nativity of the Lord is written in this manner. In this sermon he not only tells in detail the story of our Lord's birth, but he traces His life, step by step, to the time of the Ascension, thus bringing into his sermon many things that are not included in his text. Aelfric's three series of homilies, and the ten other writings that survive, are valuable because of the information that they give one concerning the doctrines and life of the English church in the late tenth century. The homilies were published in London in 1844-46, and the lives of the saints in 1881.

Aelfric did not accept the doctrine of the immaculate conception, neither did he preach transubstantiation. Dr. A. H. Thompson believes that Aelfric's views on the Sacramental Presence are based upon Ratramnus, a monk of Corbie, whose *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini* tended strongly toward a figurative presence of the body and blood of our Lord in the Eucharist. Aelfric's teachings in regard to these things are contained in his sermon entitled "*Sermo*

de Sacrificio in Die Pascae," (vol. 2, 262ff) and in his *Canons*, (998, Thorpe ed.), and have been quoted frequently by modern writers.

In addition to his sermons and homilies, Aelfric published a Latin grammar with a glossary and an introduction to the Old and New Testaments. He prepared a paraphrase of the first seven books of the Old Testament and the Book of Esther, and in his writings he speaks of the Book of Job. If his sermons are representative of the preaching of his day, then the prevailing homiletical method was somewhat informal, for Aelfric was able to expatiate upon the Flight into Egypt and the slaying of the children of Bethlehem, and turn at once to incidents in the life of St. Cuthbert on the Isle of Lindisfarne. A series of studies of Aelfric's life and writings appeared in a German historical journal in the nineteenth century,² and he is mentioned in a number of histories of English literature.³

Wulfstan of York, (c. 955-1023)

Of the early life of this noted homilist not much is known. He seems to have been a monk of Ely in his earlier days. He is often identified with one Wulstan or Wolstan, who was bishop of Worcester from 1002 to 1023, and who was called Wulstan the Reprobate by his monks, who disliked him. In any case, he was made archbishop of York in 1003, and if Wulfstan of York and Wulstan of Worcester are one and the same, then he was guilty of pluralism. Those who support this theory declare that a man named Leofsi was named as suffragan bishop of Worcester.

Whatever may have been the true history of Wulfstan, he has left to posterity a notable homily, written in an illiterative style, in which he warns of the Day of Judgment, which he believes is at hand. There was great fear in his day that the year 1000 would bring about the end of the world. In his homily Wulfstan paints a gloomy picture of English daily life and conduct, and he urges men to

². C. W. Niedner in *Zeitschrift für historische Theologie*, (Gotha, 1855-56).

³. Among the best is the account in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, 15 vols., (Cambridge, 1932), vol. I, pp. 128-42.

repent and prepare for the coming Judgment. A number of other homilies exist, and are often ascribed to him, but careful scholars nowadays are inclined to question whether they are the work of Wulfstan. He died in 1023, was buried in Ely, and the homilies usually ascribed to him were published in Berlin by A. Napier, in 1883.

St. Wulfstan of Worcester, (c. 1012-1095)

Not to be confused with Wulfstan of York is another man of the same name, who was bishop of Worcester from 1062 until his death. He was born at Long Itchington, Warwickshire, educated at Evesham and Peterborough, ordained about the year 1035 and became a monk and later a prior. In 1062 he was offered the bishopric of Worcester, but declined it; and it was only after much urging that he accepted it. He became involved in a contest with the archbishop of York, who held 12 estates in Wulfstan's diocese, and it was not until 1072 that he obtained the disputed estates, which had been taken over by the crown during the controversy.

At the time of the Norman Conquest, William the Conqueror was so impressed with Wulfstan's humility and "dove-like simplicity" of manner that he allowed him to retain his diocese. Wulfstan was an unassuming man, and his quiet humility at one time led Lanfranc to consider him as a man without sufficient scholarship or administrative ability to perform his duties as bishop, and Lanfranc sought in vain to deprive him of his position. Not only did he live a simple, humble life, but he urged his monks to live in the same manner. He had considerable knowledge of architecture and was known as a great church builder and a restorer of churches. The magnificent Norman crypt of Worcester Cathedral, with its forty or more slender columns, stands to this day as an example of his skill. It is the second oldest of England's four apsidal crypts. In 1084 Wulfstan began to build his new cathedral, which stands to this day, although with many later additions to the original fabric. Portions of its walls and several complete arches are Wulfstan's work, while under a later veneer of red stone is much of his original grey walling. When the new cathedral was

built and the old one pulled down, Wulfstan stood by weeping. To one of his monks he said: "We poor wretches destroy the work of our forefathers only to get praise for ourselves. That happy age of holy men knew not how to build stately churches. Under any roof they offered up themselves living temples to God, and by their examples excited those under their care to do the same; but we on the contrary, neglecting the care of souls, labor to heap up stones." ⁴

Wulfstan of Worcester was a man of meek demeanor, yet when he saw any of his fellow men oppressed, none was more bold in crying out in protest. He was at all times ready to help the poor, and in his sermons he urged that the worthy poor and the afflicted be given proper care. When word reached him that the city of Bristol was a center for the slave trade, he went at once to that city, and in a series of vehement sermons denounced the slave traffic, declared it to be contrary to God's Word, and succeeded in putting an end to the traffic, insofar as Bristol was concerned. When he died in 1095, at the age of 83, he was one of the very last of the Pre-Conquest clergy. He was canonized in 1203. The story of his life was written by William of Malmesbury, and several other old biographies exist; and his name is included in all the standard collections of the lives of the saints.

Ailred of Rievaulx, (1109-1166)

Ailred of Rievaulx, sometimes called Ethelred, was an early historian as well as a popular preacher. He was born of a good family, but whether his birth-place was Hexham, or in the vicinity of Durham, has never been made clear by documentary evidence. He spent his earlier years in the court of David of Scotland, and next we hear of him in the year 1131 as a monk at Rievaulx, a newly-founded Cistercian abbey whose picturesque ruins exist to this day in the wooded valley of the Rye, some 30 miles north of York. For a time he is said to have been abbot of Revesby, Lincolnshire, and in 1146 there is definite evidence that he was

⁴ E. F. Strange, *The Cathedral of Worcester*, (London, 1904), p. 7.

back once more at Rievaulx, where he was abbot until his death. In 1162 he arranged an important meeting between Henry II of England, Louis VII of France and Alexander III.

Ailred was a missionary, a historian and a capable preacher. He took an interest in the Picts of Galloway and found time to visit them. Galloway had been a great stronghold of the Pictish Church, but in the eighth century the Angles had subdued much of the territory, brought it under the rule of the English king, and had caused the reluctant Pictish Church to conform to Rome. Writers who declare that Ailred proclaimed the Gospel to the pagan Picts are guilty of gross ignorance, for Galloway had been thoroughly evangelized by the Celtic Church, and within its borders was Ninian's famous *Candida Casa*. Ailred did not enter Galloway as a missionary to a pagan land, but rather as an itinerant preacher to people who had first received the light of the Gospel in the year 397.

While Ailred is numbered among the early Church historians, yet he is by no means scholarly. His biography of St. Ninian, and his descriptions of the Celtic Church are superficial and popular rather than scholarly. He describes forms of church organization that did not exist until long after Ninian's day. Not only does he call Ninian a bishop, but he declares that Ninian consecrated other bishops, divided the country into dioceses and set up a form of government that was wholly unknown in Ninian's days. Were a historian of our own day to declare that John Knox was an archbishop, that he lived in Princes Street and preached in Free St. George's, these violations of the truth would be apparent to all; but in Ailred's times even the most absurd anachronisms were overlooked. Among a number of other historical writings of Ailred are a life of St. Edward the Confessor and a eulogy of St. Cuthbert of Lindisfarne.

A number of Ailred's sermons have survived, and while they are not lacking in references to man's sinful nature and his need of a Saviour, yet they are marred by his love of allegory and a decided effort to "spiritualize" Scriptural incidents and even words. His sermons are of interest to the student of homiletics because they are typical of an age

in which allegory and far-fetched symbolical speculation occupied far too much of the preacher's time. Ailred died in 1166 and he was canonized in 1191. He is buried somewhere within the walls of the great abbey church, which stands roofless today in the picturesque Yorkshire valley of the Rye, on the edge of Pickering Moor.

Peter of Blois, (c. 1130-1204)

Peter of Blois, dean of Wolverhampton and later archdeacon of London, was not a remarkable preacher, but through the irony of events some 65 of his sermons have survived, while the manuscripts of better men have long since ceased to exist. Peter of Blois was educated in France, and in 1160 he studied law and medicine at Bologna. In 1167 he became tutor to the young king, William II of Sicily. Having decided meanwhile to devote his life to religion, he studied theology, presumably under direction of John of Salisbury. He was called by Henry II to England where he held several minor official positions. About the year 1175 he became chancellor to the archbishop of Canterbury, and two years later he was made archdeacon of Bath. When next we hear of him he is dean of Wolverhampton, where he sought by means of preaching and private admonition to bring about certain reforms. His efforts did not meet with conspicuous success. About the year 1192 he was made archdeacon of London.

Dean Peter's claim to distinction lies in the fact that 65 of his sermons have been preserved. Some of these were written in English, together with translations into Latin. They are interesting in their way, for they reveal the fact that preachers of the twelfth century fell into the same bad habits that are to be found in some men of our own day. Men such as Peter of Blois led busy lives, and a multitude of duties left insufficient time for careful study of their texts. As Sunday drew near they took down from the shelf a volume or two of sermons written by other men, and adapted these sermons to the needs of the hour. Dean Peter was at least an honest man, for he admits that some of his ideas were borrowed from the Church Fathers and from older homilists.

In addition to a collection of sermons, Peter of Blois left behind him various writings, including a number of letters which express discontent because of the fact that England failed to recognize his talents. Although his literary remains are not remarkable, and fail to reflect the exceptional talent that he felt that he possessed, yet his collected writings were published in France and Germany in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, and an edition in four volumes was printed in Oxford in 1846-48. Due to the fact that so few of the writings of Dean Peter's day have survived the ravages of time, he enjoys a distinction that he does not deserve. Almost none of his writings reflect originality of thought, nor do they give evidence of a careful study of the Scriptures. Instead of taking the time to prepare careful sermons of his own, he was content to keep within easy reach the published sermons of other men, and to restate their thoughts in his own words. Had the sermons of better men survived, perhaps the distinction of Peter of Blois might be somewhat less than it is.

Stephen Langton, (c. 1150-1228)

One of the better preachers of the early thirteenth century was Stephen Langton. Since his father's estate was at Langton-by-Wragby, Lincolnshire, it is probable that Stephen Langton was born there. He studied at the University of Paris, and later became a lecturer in theology at that institution. In 1198 he was called to Rome where he became a member of the papal household. In 1206 he was made cardinal-priest, and about the year 1207 he was named as archbishop of Canterbury. His election displeased the King, who not only refused to permit Langton to remain in England, but expelled the monks of Canterbury as well. A long contest between King John and Innocent III took place, in which excommunications and interdicts were employed; and in the end Langton was victorious. His part in causing King John to grant Magna Charta in 1215 is said to have been an important one, and in 1222 he called a church council at Osney that secured corresponding liberties for the Church.

Stephen Langton was one of the leading theologians of the early thirteenth century, and a preacher of marked ability. Many of his sermons have been preserved in the libraries at Oxford, Cambridge and Lambeth Palace, and these are said to be superior to most of the other sermons of that period. Langton was a diligent student of the Scriptures, he wrote several commentaries and expositions, and it is he who, for the convenience of study and reference, divided the Bible into chapters. His historical writings are also of considerable merit. A recent biography worthy of mention is F. M. Powicke's *Stephen Langton*, (1928). Accounts of his life are also to be found in the collected biographies of the archbishops of Canterbury.

Robert Grosseteste, (c. 1175-1253)

More eminent than Stephen Langton, and among English Franciscans ranking second only to Roger Bacon in intellectual gifts was Robert Grosseteste of Lincoln. He was a theologian, philosopher, a leading authority on Aristotle, an educator, reformer, statesman, patriot and sharp critic of both kings and popes. Roger Bacon gives him a place as one of the foremost scientists of the age. Not only was he an eminent preacher himself, but while a teacher of homiletics at Oxford he trained men who became some of the leading preachers of the thirteenth century.

This remarkable man of wide learning was born about the year 1175 at Stradbroke, Suffolk, he studied at Oxford and is said to have continued his education in Paris; and when the Franciscans established themselves in Oxford in 1224, Friar Agnellus, the provincial, invited Grosseteste to become a lecturer to the friars. Thomas de Eccleston speaks highly of his ability and says, "under him they made extraordinary progress in sermons, as well as in subtile moral themes suitable for preaching."⁵ Grosseteste was a secular priest at this time, and a man not quite 50 years of age. Later his name appears as prebend of Lincoln, and then archdeacon of Wilts., Northants. and Leicester.

⁵. *Monumenta Franciscana*, (1858), I, 37.

In 1235 he became bishop of Lincoln, and at once set up a systematic series of visitations during which he found considerable irregularity among his priests. Those who were unfaithful he sought to reform, and he removed seven abbots, four priors and his own dean, and suspended the prior of Lincoln. He laid great stress upon faithfulness in the performance of duty, and where there was slothfulness in the matter of instruction and in preaching, he did not hesitate to deal with such cases. In 1250 he visited Lyons, where he delivered a sharp sermon in which he criticized freely the papal court, in which he found the origin of many evils which had crept into the Church. When the pontiff sought to appoint Italians to English benefices, Grosseteste protested immediately, and in a letter to the Pope he declared that it is the duty of the Roman pontiff to build up the English Church and not to destroy it. He was equally ready to resist the English King, and when the monarch issued decrees that Grosseteste considered harmful to the Church, he refused to recognize them.

Robert Grosseteste left an enormous number of writings. A printed list of his works fills no less than 25 large pages. At least 40 of his sermons remain, and they show him to have been a man of wide learning, of courage, and possessed of skill in exposition. He considered the study of languages part of the necessary equipment of an educated clergyman, and through his influence there was a remarkable awakening of interest in ancient and contemporary languages. Like Luther he loved music, and entertained his friends with the harp. He has been called one of the forerunners of the Reformation, and his warning against the papal system, uttered during his last illness, has been quoted freely by Protestant writers and denied just as emphatically by Roman Catholics. At least six biographies of this eminent man have been published.

John Wyclif, (c. 1324-1384)

John Wyclif was born about the year 1324 at Hipswell, near Richmond, in Yorkshire. He was educated at Oxford, probably at Balliol College, although students of the same name are found at Queen's and at Merton. Some time

before 1361 he was made master of Balliol, and during the year just mentioned he became vicar of Fillingham, Lincolnshire. In 1365 a man named John Wyclif was made head of Canterbury Hall, and deprived of his office in 1370, but it seems evident that this was not the Wyclif who was vicar at Fillingham. Confusion has existed because of the fact that his name has been spelled in various ways: Wyclif, Wycliffe, Wiclif and Wicliff.

About the year 1366 Wyclif began to lecture on theology, in 1368 he was made rector of Ludgershall, Bucks., and in 1374 he became rector at Lutterworth, Leics., a position which he held until his death. He was sent to Bruges in 1374 as a delegate to a peace conference held at that place.

Wyclif's interest in reform within the Church was not due to outside influence, but rather to his study of the Scriptures. His acquaintance with the Word of God convinced him that the Church of his time had departed from the principles of early Christianity. The temporal authority exercised by the clergy did not seem to him to be in harmony with the teachings of the Lord and His Apostles. In his *Summa theologiae* he questioned the right of the pope and the bishops to interfere in secular matters; and he went so far as to declare that in temporal things, the State has greater authority than the pope, the bishops and the priests.

In his *De civili dominio* Wyclif set forth eighteen theses, in which he made uprightness of life a qualification for the exercise of authority and the holding of property. If the clergy cease to exercise their dominion in a righteous manner, then, he declared, the State may deprive them of their rights. If they are guilty of misuse of ecclesiastical property, then it becomes the duty of the King to deprive them of this property.

The writings and the preaching of John Wyclif attracted attention, and in 1377 he was asked to appear before the bishop of London, to be questioned in regard to his views. Wyclif went to see Courtenay the bishop, and accompanying him were the duke of Lancaster, the earl marshal Lord Percy and other influential men. Before Wyclif could be questioned, a sharp dispute arose between the duke of Lancaster

and the bishop, and the meeting broke up without results. Thereupon the pope, Gregory XI, issued a bull against Wyclif, in which the theses of the latter were condemned. Copies of the bull were sent to the leaders of Church and State, as well as to Oxford. In 1378 he was summoned to appear at Lambeth, where the appearance of a great company of people outside the archbishop's palace, and an appeal from the Queen mother caused the bishops to release Wyclif with a warning to remain silent on controversial matters. For a short time he was not permitted to leave his lodgings at Oxford.

Desiring to set before the people the teachings of the Bible, Wyclif, in 1378, established his company of "poor preachers," clad them in simple russet robes and sent them out two by two to preach throughout England. These men were chosen on the basis of their character, their education and their religious zeal, they lived simply, they served without salary, and they were told to preach only the simple truths of Scripture. Wyclif seems to have furnished these men with homiletical material, for there are sermons in his published works that contain curious directions to the "poor priests," suggesting that they may describe in greater detail the evils of false pride and immoral living, and picture the horrors of hell, and the joys of Heaven.⁶ Wyclif declared that "one simple man, if the grace of Christ be in him, is more profitable to the church than many graduates, since he sows Christ's law humbly and abundantly by work as well as by word."

Wyclif soon saw that the Bible must be given to the people in their spoken language. Efforts had been made in the past, but only portions of the Scriptures had been translated into English, such as the Psalms, and the fragmentary translations of the Venerable Bede, Richard Fitz-Ralph of Armaugh, John Trevisa of Cornwall, and others. About the year 1380, Wyclif completed his translation of the New Testament. His friend Nicholas of Hereford translated the greater part of the Old Testament, and his

⁶ E. C. Dargan, *A History of Preaching*, vol. I, (New York, 1905), p. 339.

work was finished by another man, perhaps Wyclif himself. The entire work was revised by John Purvey.

Printed copies were not yet available, and copies of Wyclif's English Bible had to be lettered by hand. A number of copies must have appeared, for about 170 manuscripts still exist, most of them having been produced between 1400 and 1450.

Wyclif's English Bible did not meet with the approval of the bishops and other church leaders, for they believed that no good could come from placing the Scriptures in the hands of the common people. Canon Knighton, of Leicester, is said to have declared: "The Gospel jewel of the clergy has become the plaything of the laity. It has become an evangelical pearl to be trodden underfoot by swine."

Wyclif's English translation was made from the Latin Vulgate. Wyclif knew Latin thoroughly, and preached regularly in Latin and in English. As an educated man, and former master of Balliol, it is probable that he was acquainted with Greek, but whether he had a working knowledge of Hebrew is not so readily ascertained.

In 1381 a revolt of the peasants broke out in England, and the teachings of Wyclif were blamed for this uprising. However, it cannot be shown that his "poor preachers" were responsible, nor Wyclif himself. In 1382 Wyclif suffered a paralytic stroke, from which he recovered partially. The archbishop and some of his bishops declared certain teachings of Wyclif heretical, and others erroneous. A synod was held at Oxford, and Wyclif was present, but nothing was done in regard to his teachings. He began the writing of his *Opus evangelicum*, but another paralytic stroke in 1384 proved fatal. He was stricken at Lutterworth, while at a celebration of mass.

In his theological views John Wyclif was a forerunner of the Reformers of the sixteenth century. In his earlier days he believed the Holy Scriptures and the writings of the Church fathers to be the highest authority in matters of doctrine and daily life. Later he declared that the Bible alone is the highest authority. He believed that the Bible

was not given to the bishops and priests alone, but to the common people; and that it should be available in a language that all could understand. He was not averse to the idea of seven Sacraments, but he believed that only two of them are necessary for salvation. He rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation, and taught that there is a real presence of our Lord's true Body and Blood in the eucharist, but without a change in substance. The saying of mass, or the granting of an indulgence, if paid for, conveys no merit. Auricular confession, he believed, has no Scriptural authority and is not necessary: it is useful, but cannot be made compulsory. Confirmation he held to be of doubtful Scriptural authority. Excommunication is not necessarily valid, even though pronounced by the pope. The decrees of popes and councils are worthless unless they rest upon definite teachings of the Bible. Bishops and clergy must not become involved in civil matters, for these are the rightful prerogative of the civil authorities, and the latter may exercise authority over the clergy in matters of a temporal nature. Extreme unction, he believed, is without Scriptural basis, and may be omitted without harm. He held marriage in high esteem, and in a certain sense a Sacrament. He found no Scriptural basis for various ranks among the clergy, but looked upon popes, cardinals and bishops as offices of human origin. The canonization of saints, celibacy, pilgrimages and penances are to be condemned. Even church music, unless of a simple character, is to be condemned.

As a preacher Wyclif's greatness is unquestioned. His sermons attracted wide attention almost from the start of his career. He influenced not only the common people, who came in numbers to hear him, but he was able to appeal to some of the nobles of his time, who defended him, even though they did not always agree with his theological teachings. He was a fearless preacher, sharply polemical at times, but his chief contribution to the history of preaching lies in the fact that he gave the people the English Bible.⁷

⁷. Among the biographies of Wyclif are John Lewis, *Life and Suffering of John Wiclif*, (Oxford, 1820 ed.); John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, vol. 3, (London, 1855 ed.); G. V. Lechler, *Johann von Wiclif*, 2 vols., (Leipzig, 1873), translated in part by P. Lorimer.

John Colet, (1466-1519)

John Colet was born in London in 1466. His father, Sir Henry Colet, was a man of considerable wealth, and was twice Lord Mayor of London. John, the son, was educated at Oxford, presumably at Magdalen College. He took his degree in 1490. He served St. Mary's congregation at Dennington, Suffolk, and St. Dunstan's, Stepney, London. About the year 1493 he spent some time abroad, visiting Paris and Italy. He made the acquaintance of several noted men, and on more than one occasion he mingled with the crowds that gathered to hear Savonarola preach.

Upon his return to England, Colet was made a prebend of York and a canon of St. Martin le Grand, London. In 1497 he began his famous lectures at Oxford. Fired with zeal for the new humanism with which he had come in contact while abroad, he soon attracted many people. In 1498 Erasmus, then a young man, visited Oxford, and the impression made upon him by John Colet is said to have shaped the entire life of Erasmus. Among those who attended Colet's lectures was a young man of 20 named Thomas More, destined to become one of England's foremost intellectual leaders.

Colet's lectures on the Pauline Epistles attracted great attention, for in presenting his subjects, he discarded the traditional methods of the scholastics and introduced a method that was both new and sensational in those days. He sought to make clear the life and teaching of St. Paul, and the religious and secular background of the Pauline era. These lectures brought great fame to the young humanist.

In 1502 Colet was made a prebend of Salisbury, in 1505 he became a prebend and shortly thereafter the dean of St. Paul's cathedral at London. There he introduced a series of expository sermons, which proved as popular as had his expository studies in the Pauline Epistles at Oxford. He introduced perpetual divinity lectures, three times a week, at St. Paul's.

In 1505 he inherited his father's wealth, and with it he founded St. Paul's School, for the purpose of educating boys in religion and in the classics. It was established in 1509,

and for more than four centuries it has carried on its work. Among its former students have been Camden, Milton, Halley, Pepys, Marlborough, Sir Philip Francis, Jeffreys, André, Jowett and many others.

In 1512 Colet preached before a convention of bishops, and in his sermon he urged various reforms, these to begin with the bishops themselves. This offended the bishops, and he was brought before William Warham, the archbishop, and accused of heresy. However, he was acquitted. In 1515, when Wolsey was made cardinal, it was Colet who preached the sermon on that occasion.

John Colet was one of the most eloquent and influential Roman Catholic preachers of early Tudor times. He was outspoken in his condemnation of the ills of his day, such as pluralism, secularism, the buying and selling of bishoprics and the futility of settling disputes by force of arms. Contemporary writers praise him in highest terms, but the few sermons that remain are likely to prove dull reading. Colet was an eminent preacher, but he lacked the ability to convey to the printed page the fervor of his spoken words.

In 1504 the man who was to be known as Sir Thomas More, wrote a letter declaring that he had been influenced lastingly by Colet's powerful sermons and his life and example.⁸ However, More's biographer believes this to be pleasant humanistic flattery. Sargent speaks of John Colet as a zealous, vehement and courageous preacher, but with no patience for simple folks who paid attention to relics and pilgrimages. However, he mentions the fact that Colet set up a statue of the Christ Child at St. Paul's School, and prescribed the prayers that were to be said before it.⁹ The man who was able to shape the lives of Erasmus and Sir Thomas More, whatever their virtues and their shortcomings may have been, must have been no ordinary man. ♦

John Colet was not only a man who was devoted to the Scriptures, but he led other men to love the Word of God. When the students at Oxford came to him for advice, his invariable reply was, "Hold firmly to the Bible and to the

⁸. Daniel Sargent, *Thomas More*, (New York, 1933), p. 35.

⁹. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

Apostles' Creed, and let the divines, if they like, dispute about the rest." He preached expository sermons at a time when the allegorical method was popular, and after going to St. Paul's Cathedral, he preached through the Life of Christ, the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer. His surviving manuscripts were published in five volumes in London, in 1867-74. His biography was written by Lupton,¹⁰ and several other works contain detailed accounts of his life.

¹⁰. J. H. Lupton, *Life of Dean Colet*, (London, 1887). See also F. Seebohm, *Three Oxford Reformers*, (London, 1887); A. J. Mason, *Lectures on Colet, Fisher and More*, (London, 1895).

CHAPTER V

THE ENGLISH REFORMATION

THE FUNDAMENTAL cause of the English Reformation has long been a matter of dispute. One school of historians would have us believe that its origin may be traced to the desire of King Henry VIII to divorce Catherine of Aragon. Others will tell us that the English Reformation was but a part of a parallel movement in Germany and Switzerland. Again, there are historians who find its origins in the political changes of the day.

For a long time there had been a spirit of unrest both in Church and State. Preaching had declined to such an extent that it is hardly possible to name a preacher of the first magnitude from the time that the last remnants of the Celtic Church were absorbed by Rome in the twelfth century until the appearance of John Wyclif, (1320-1384), and John Colet, (1466-1519). The Angles and Saxons who invaded England and gradually overcame the Celts, became Christians in time, but we hear of few great preachers among them. This decline in preaching had its usual result. Spiritual lethargy set in. The missionaries who came from Rome were excellent organizers and they built up a powerful outward ecclesiastical order, but where do we find among them such evangelical preachers as Ninian, Comgall the Great, Columbanus and Columba?

Gradually the Church lost her influence over the people, and the presence of a religious organization in the British Isles, controlled by a distant foreign center, began to be irksome. In spite of the successive invasions of the Teutonic Angles, Saxons and Vikings, much Celtic remained in the British Isles. The Celts are a clannish people, and they looked upon the Church of Rome as a foreign church. The Angles, Saxons and Vikings who had conquered the Celts yielded to Latin Christianity, but even they were never entirely happy while under the jurisdiction of the pope.

As early as the reign of Henry VII, (1485-1509), we find a growing opposition to the rule of the Church over the State. During the first twenty years of the reign of Henry VIII,

(1509-1547), Cardinal Wolsey's great influence held this spirit in check, but when Wolsey was deprived of his office in 1529, men began to declare openly that the Church had no right to dominate the State.

The preaching of the Lollards did much to prepare the way for the Reformation in Britain. They were not eminent preachers, but plain men who went among the people testifying against the abuses of their day. John Wyclif had organized a company of "poor preachers" whose methods recall those of the men trained by Ninian, Columba and the other great Celtic missionaries. These men, who came to be known as Lollards, went on extended preaching tours. They testified against a Church that held great tracts of land, that collected tithes of the people, that charged a fee for baptizing the children of the poor and for burying the dead. They carried Wyclif's translation of the Bible, or portions of it, and directed the attention of men to the Scriptures, which they declared were the infallible Word of God, and the sole source of Christian doctrine and living. They condemned celibacy, transubstantiation, prayers to the saints and the blessing of such things as altars, bells, vestments and crucifixes. They declared that auricular confession is not necessary to salvation, and that the Church has no right to interfere in matters that belong rightfully to the civil government. The Lollard movement became so widespread that at one time it was declared that one man out of every two was a Lollard. Every effort was made to suppress them, but their influence in the pre-Reformation age was considerable.

The English Bible was also a powerful influence. The invention of printing made it possible to place the Tyndale and the Coverdale Bible in the hands of the people, and these Bibles contained footnotes and other explanatory matter that set forth the teachings of the reformers. The writings of Luther and his associates were circulated widely, read and discussed, and all efforts to suppress them failed. Books such as Thomas More's *Utopia*, and the writings of Erasmus aroused interest everywhere. While More remained a Roman Catholic, yet his book defended religious toleration.

The expository sermons of John Colet, (1466-1519), on the Pauline Epistles, delivered at Oxford and at St. Paul's Cross attracted many hearers. Colet had little sympathy with some of the teachings and practices of the Roman Church, and he urged men to return to the simplicity of Early Christianity. The sermons of Prior Barnes, of the Austin Friars, deserve mention; as well as the influence of groups of Lutherans at Oxford and particularly at Cambridge.

Henry VIII, who reigned from 1509 to 1547, came to the throne at the age of 18. During the twenty years of Cardinal Wolsey's supremacy Henry was a loyal Roman Catholic. In 1521 he wrote a Latin treatise against Luther and the reformers, and for this the pope conferred upon him the title "Defender of the Faith." While the first of Henry's three divorces did not bring about the English Reformation, yet it led to a break between Henry and the pope. Henry had married the widow of his deceased brother. She was Catherine of Aragon, and a daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. Henry desired to divorce Catherine, since he had fallen in love with one of her retainers, Anne Boleyn. He sent various deputations to Rome, but the pope caused him to wait several years for his decision. Meanwhile Henry grew impatient, and in 1533 he obtained from Thomas Cranmer, the newly appointed archbishop of Canterbury, a declaration that his marriage to Catherine was invalid. Henry immediately married Anne Boleyn, only to behead her three years later. He married Jane Seymour who died within a year of their marriage. He divorced his fourth wife, Anne of Cleves, beheaded his fifth wife, Catherine Howard, and only his sixth wife, Catherine Parr, survived him as his lawful wife.

In 1532-1534, a series of acts of Parliament cut off the revenues formerly paid to Rome. In 1533 all appeals to the pope were forbidden. In 1535 Henry had himself declared supreme head of the Church, and he declared the pope to be merely the bishop of Rome, and with no jurisdiction in Britain. Henry published his Six Articles in 1539. They are all thoroughly Roman Catholic, and the denial of transubstantiation was declared to be heresy, and the penalty was death at the stake. These various acts made the Church

of England of the years 1532-39 a national church, independent of Rome, but Roman Catholic in all respects except the recognition of the pope's authority. When Sir Thomas More and John Fisher refused to accept Henry VIII as supreme head of the Church, Henry executed them, although Sir Thomas was one of his best friends. Henry executed several of his relatives, fearing that they might become claimants to the throne. Between 1536 and 1540 he suppressed the monasteries. It is said that some 1300 of them were overthrown. These religious communities had become wealthy and powerful, and they refused to accept Henry as supreme head of the Church. The king coveted their wealth, and by suppressing the monasteries, hanging and quartering the abbots who refused to surrender, turning the monks out to beg or starve, and plundering the buildings of their vessels of gold and silver, Henry was able to gain control of these institutions. Their lands were either sold or else conveyed to the king's favorites. In many cases the churches and the conventual buildings were burned or else blown up with gunpowder, and the stones sold for building materials. As every summer tourist knows, these churches often rivalled the great cathedrals in size. Glastonbury Abbey, for example, was 594 feet in length, including the retrochapel behind the high altar, and to it were attached 400 monks and 500 farm laborers and other dependents. The sacking of these great churches provided Henry VIII with the money that he needed to pay his retainers and to bribe the dignitaries of Church and State when his frequent matrimonial difficulties made this necessary. Henry VIII died in 1547, thoroughly hated both by Roman Catholics and Protestants.

Edward VI, who reigned from 1547 to 1553, was but ten years old when his father died. Edward was influenced, not always willingly, by his uncle, Edward Seymour, who had been named Protector Somerset. This Somerset was a scheming politician with a lust for power, and he was shrewd enough to see that his own selfish interests could best be served by becoming a champion of the Protestant cause. Somerset has sometimes been described as a noble Christian, but his cruel murder of his own brother, Thomas Seymour,

who had sought to place Lady Jane Grey on the throne, is but one of a number of similar outrages. Somerset was the chief power behind the throne of the sickly lad, Edward VI, until the powerful Duke of Warwick overthrew and beheaded the Protector. Somerset posed as a devout Christian, and as a great friend of the reformers; and there is no doubt that in his selfish way he did much that helped the cause of the Protestants.

During the reign of Edward VI, two important books were published. The first of the books of homilies appeared in 1548. In order to encourage evangelical preaching, this book of sermons was published for the benefit of the clergy who were notoriously poor preachers, with the exception of John Knox, who came down from Scotland and aroused the court of Edward VI with his eloquence. The homilies were written by Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley and Bucer. In these sermons the teachings of the Reformation are set forth clearly. The first of the sermons directs men to the Scriptures as the rule of faith and conduct. Sermons follow on sin and salvation, justification by grace through faith, the relation of faith and good works, the fact that fasting and prayer, penances and pilgrimages cannot merit salvation, and various other teachings of the reformers. The other book that influenced Protestantism was the *Edward VI Prayer Book of 1549*. In its unrevised edition it is a book of some 400 printed pages. It is based upon the Lutheran prayer books of Continental Europe, and in addition to the various orders of church service and forms for sacred acts, it contains excellent translations of the Epistles and Gospels of the Christian Year, and translations of the old Latin collects and other prayers. As a work of superior literary merit it ranks second only to the Authorized Version of the Bible. Unfortunately this *Prayer Book* was revised a few years later and made to conform to the doctrines of the Swiss reformers. *The Books of Homilies* had a decided influence upon the preaching of Reformation days, for they placed before the clergymen, many of whom had but meagre homiletical training, examples of sermons that were not only good from a literary standpoint, but in which the evangelical truths of the New Testament were set forth.

The *Prayer Book* placed in the hands of the people the Epistles and Gospels in good English translations, and a wealth of devotional material in the collects and prayers. So excellent are these translations that they are found today, wholly or partially, in the service books of all the older non-Roman denominations. Most of them are translations of the old pre-Reformation Latin prayers, but purged of all things that are not Christo-centric.

When the sickly boy-king died in 1553, Protestantism had gained a firm foothold. The Church had been made subordinate to the State in secular matters; the English Church had separated fully from Rome; the monasteries, which had held the title to a considerable portion of the lands of Britain had been suppressed; the Bible was circulating freely among the common people; the teachings of the reformers were being preached in many pulpits; and the people had a purified form of worship, in the vernacular. Three of these things had been accomplished in Henry's day, and three more during the short reign of Edward VI.

When Edward VI died, the question of succession to the throne caused much bloodshed. Edward's sister Mary had been declared ineligible because she was a Roman Catholic. Elizabeth had been declared illegitimate, and hence ineligible to rule as queen. Their cousin, Lady Jane Grey, aged 17, was brought in from the country estate of her parents and placed upon the throne much against her will. She was the flower of the Tudor family, and would have made an excellent queen, but Mary Tudor, her cousin, raised an army and marched on London. Hardly had the bells of London pealed for Queen Jane's accession until they tolled for her death. She reigned but nine days. Mary Tudor charged her with treason, cast her into prison and beheaded her in the Tower yard.

During Mary's reign (1553-1558), Protestantism was suppressed everywhere, and all leaders who resisted her efforts were imprisoned, exiled or executed. Henry VIII, Mary's father, had executed a number of the ablest men of his time, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, but the record of Mary Tudor was, if anything, even worse in this respect

than that of her tyrannical father. Every person of prominence who stood in her way was sent to the headsman's block. So remorseless was she that when her reign of terror came to a speedy end in 1558, very few religious leaders of any kind were left.

Queen Elizabeth succeeded Bloodthirsty Mary, and she reigned for almost half a century, from 1558 to 1603. She was not eager to support the cause of the Reformation at first, and among her other regulations was an act that suppressed all preaching. The congregations were allowed to assemble and to hear the Epistles and Gospels in English, to recite the Decalogue, the Apostles' Creed and the Litany, but any preaching was forbidden under penalty of a large fine and imprisonment.

Perhaps this regulation was a blessing in disguise, for there was a serious shortage of preachers during the early years of the reign of Elizabeth, and of the few who had survived Mary's brutal regime, not many could preach. Thomas Lever declared: "Many of our parishes have no clergy; and out of the very small number who administer the Sacrament throughout this great country, there is hardly one in a hundred who is both able and willing to preach the Word of God."

Both before and after Elizabeth came to the throne, a wave of vandalism had swept through the British Isles. It was England's proud boast that she possessed a larger number of beautiful church buildings than any other country, and if we are to judge by those that remain to this day, in spite of fanaticism, vandalism, wars and restorations, the boast was by no means exaggerated. Old historians assure us that one could travel the length and breadth of the British Isles and never for a moment be beyond the sound of church bells. In the middle of the sixteenth century a wave of fanaticism broke out. Altars were pulled down and carted away to be broken up; stained glass windows were destroyed; elaborate rood screens and other carved objects were torn down and burned; paintings and carvings not only of the saints, but of the Lord and His Apostles, were destroyed; church bells were melted down

for old metal; Communion-ware of gold and silver was destroyed and the richly adorned churches were reduced to empty, whitewashed shells. A very few, in remote corners of the land, have survived this wave of fanaticism, and they give us a hint today of the richness of sculpture in wood and stone, and the beauty of stained glass, mural paintings and metal work that was characteristic of every church, no matter how small, when Elizabeth came to the throne. Fanatical clergymen often preached fiery sermons in which everything that was carved or painted was condemned as a graven image. Men who had been unable to condemn sin and point to the Saviour, suddenly found their voices and thundered away against such alleged superstitions as altar crosses, stained glass and chalices of gold and silver. It was a brief episode in the history of preaching, and a thing that demonstrates the power of the occasional outbursts of hysteria that can sweep an entire country. It was felt in Scotland as well as England, and during an absence of John Knox, much havoc was wrought.

In the years that followed, preaching was guided into more useful channels. Elizabeth had decided to pursue a mediating course. She was unwilling to continue her sister Mary's Roman Catholic policies, neither did she desire to yield to the extreme party in the Protestant Church. Her first step was to cause a law to be enacted which declared that "no foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate, spiritual or temporal, shall at any time after the last day of this session of Parliament, use, enjoy or exercise any manner of power, jurisdiction, superiority, authority, pre-eminence or privilege, spiritual or ecclesiastical, within this realm." By this act the authority of the Church of Rome was prohibited by law. The Mass was abolished, and the revised *Book of Common Prayer* was authorized. The ornaments of the church service were ordered to be those in use in Edward VI's day. The Thirty Nine Articles took the place of the former Forty-two Articles. The appointment of Parker to the archbishopric of Canterbury, and the elevation of Grindal to the London bishopric and John Jewel to Salisbury did much to restore Christian preaching to its rightful place, for Grindal was an able preacher, Parker

was friendly to preaching while Jewel was one of the most gifted preachers of his generation, and a warm friend of the German and Swiss reformers. Sandys, bishop of Worcester, was a fair preacher, and thoroughly in sympathy with the Continental reformers. London had an able preacher in the person of Miles Coverdale, who had become a Lutheran as early as 1543-44, and who was pastor of St. Magnus Martyr, London Bridge, from 1563 to 1566. Bernard Gilpin went throughout the North Country preaching with apostolic fervor to large congregations. There were other notable preachers of whom we shall speak presently. However, the Elizabethan Period, so distinguished in the realm of English literature, the age of Shakespeare and Spenser and Bacon, was not a great age of preaching. Elizabeth herself did little to encourage it, and there was a long period of gradual improvement before any preachers of true merit appeared.

In 1603 James VI, who had disgraced the Scottish throne for a number of years, came to London and succeeded Elizabeth as James I. The boastful arrogance, the tyranny and the bungling that had marked his reign in Scotland, were repeated in England. The one event of great importance that took place during his reign was the publication of the Authorized Version of the Bible in 1611. It is a curious irony of fate that this most excellent of all Bible translations should bear on its first page a dedication to one of the worst of all kings. James VI was no friend of evangelical Christianity, and he was fanatically opposed to religious freedom. His erratic theory of the "divine right of kings" had caused great suffering in Scotland, and many were imprisoned, executed and banished because of their love of religious liberty. Like Henry VIII, James VI aspired to rule the Church of Scotland and later the English Church. It was against that background of misery and oppression that the King James Version of the Bible appeared, like some gorgeous flower springing up in a foul swamp. It quickly supplanted the translations of Tyndale, Coverdale, the so-called Matthew Bible, the Great Bible and the Bible of Cranmer's day.

Hugh Latimer, (c. 1485-1555)

Hugh Latimer was born at Thurcaston, Leicester. Authorities differ as to the date of his birth, placing it as early as 1480 and as late as 1490. Since his secretary declares that Latimer was 67 years of age not long before his death, he must have been born about the year 1485 or 1486. He took his degree at Clare College, Cambridge, in 1510, and was made fellow during the same year.

Latimer was ordained in 1512, and in 1522 he was one of twelve men licensed to preach in any part of England. He was an ardent Roman Catholic in his earlier years, and when he took his B. D. degree in 1524, his dissertation was in the form of a polemic against the teachings of Melancthon. Among those present on this occasion was Thomas Bilney, a Roman Catholic priest, whose study of the New Testament of Erasmus had led him to accept justification by faith. Bilney called upon Latimer and encouraged him to study the Scriptures.

Hugh Latimer's preaching began to attract attention. On one occasion his bishop attended a service, arriving while Latimer was preaching. The latter quickly changed his text, and preached on the duties of bishops. The bishop invited him to preach before him again, but insisted that his sermon must be an answer to the heresies of Luther. With characteristic shrewdness Latimer replied that the writings of Luther had long since been forbidden in Cambridge, so how was he to answer him?

Latimer preached for two years in Cambridge, setting forth the doctrines of man's complete sinfulness, and salvation solely through the merits of Jesus Christ. He preached against indulgences, and against the traditions of the Church, urging his hearers to heed the teachings of the Scriptures. This led his bishop to inhibit him from preaching in Cambridge, or in any church in the diocese of Ely. However, his friend Prior Barnes placed the pulpit of the Austin Priory of Cambridge at his disposal, since the bishop had no jurisdiction there. Later Latimer was examined by Cardinal Wolsey, but acquitted, and given permission to preach wherever he pleased.

Latimer preached before Henry VIII in 1530, and a year later, at Cranmer's suggestion, the King appointed him to West Kington, Wiltshire. In 1535 he was made chaplain to the Queen, and then bishop of Worcester. In 1539 he refused to sign the Six Articles, which sought to restore transubstantiation, celibacy and other Roman teachings. This refusal led to his resignation, and for the next six years nothing is heard of Latimer. In 1546 he was arrested and confined to the Tower, but released when Edward VI came to the throne. For a time he seems to have lived with Cranmer at Lambeth palace, preaching frequently in various places.

In 1553, after Mary came to the throne, Latimer was confined once more in the Tower, together with Cranmer, Ridley and Bradford. In 1554 he was taken to Oxford and imprisoned. He refused all efforts to cause him to renounce his Reformed doctrines. In 1555 he was sentenced to be burned, together with Ridley, near Balliol College, in Oxford. He was led out, an aged man "wearing an old threadbare Bristol frieze gown, girded to his body with a penny leathern girdle, at the which hanged by a long string of leather his Testament; and his spectacles, without case, depending about his neck upon his breast." These words, seemingly of his servant, describe his appearance at the trial, and presumably at his execution. At the stake Latimer turned to Ridley and said, "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day light such a candle by God's grace as, I trust, shall never be put out."

Hugh Latimer was not a stern-faced man, but a jovial person, who was noted for his constant wit, his shrewd retorts and his friendly attitude. He was not without faults, and he seems to have been somewhat of a politician, for he supported Henry VIII's divorce of the Queen; he made no protest when Henry exterminated the Pole family; he preached the sermon when John Forest was executed and in 1549 he consented to the burning of Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, who denied that the Lord received a human nature from the Virgin Mary. Although Latimer had rejected many teachings of the Mediaeval Church, yet he still believed that heresy was a sin that could be punished only by death.

Friendly of disposition and urbane as he was, yet he had no sympathy for an obstinate heretic.

If Ridley was the best theologian of Tudor days, Latimer was the best preacher in England during the same period. He did not write out his sermons, but he had a servant, Augustine Bernher, who took down Latimer's public discourses, and thus many of them have been preserved. So popular was Latimer as a preacher that the church-warden's accounts at St. Margaret's, Westminster, mention the repair of benches that had been broken by the crowds who sought to hear the noted preacher. When the Chapel Royal proved hopelessly small, a special pulpit was set up for him in the royal gardens at Westminster. Even St. Paul's churchyard proved too small, when Latimer preached at St. Paul's Cross, which stood northeast of the cathedral.

A number of his sermons have survived, and they show him to be a man who spoke in a vivid, racy manner, with an occasional flash of wit, but always clear, direct and strong in his convictions. His homiletical style is not always beyond reproach, and there are times when his illustrations are crude, but it cannot be denied that his great theme was salvation through Christ alone, and without human merit. To Latimer, man is hopelessly sinful by nature, and the only cure is the grace of God in Jesus Christ.

Latimer was fearless. When asked to preach before Henry VIII, he did not hesitate to condemn the sin of infidelity. When preaching to Edward VI and his court, Latimer spoke sharply to the grasping courtiers who took advantage of the boy-King for their own selfish purposes. When appointed by Cranmer to preach the convocation sermon, he attacked the evils in the Church, and even suggested that the bishops had made little effort to correct them. In 1548, at the Shrouds in London, he was unsparing in his attack on the slothful clergy, calling them "unpreaching prelates, lording loiterers and idle ministers." At Marshfield he condemned the clergy who entered not by the door, but climbed in some other way, hence were thieves and robbers.

Hugh Latimer had little regard for clergymen who shirked their duties as preachers. In his well-known *Sermon of the Plow*, he said in part:

“Well may the preacher and the plowman be likened together; first, for their labour of all seasons of the year; for there is no time of the year in which the plowman hath not some special work to do; as in my country in Leicestershire, the plowman hath a time to set forth, and to assay his plow, and other times for other necessary works to be done. And then they also may be likened together for the diversity of works, and variety of offices that they have to do. For as the plowman first setteth forth his plow, and then tilleth his land, and breaketh it in furrows, and sometime ridgeth it up again; and at another time harroweth it and clotteth it, and sometime dungeth it and hedgeth it, diggeth it and weedeth it, purgeth and maketh it clean; so the prelate, the preacher, hath many diverse offices to do. He hath first a busy work to bring his parishioners to a right faith, as Paul calleth it, and not a swerving faith, but a faith that embraceth Christ, and trusteth to His merits; a lively faith, a justifying faith; a faith that maketh a man righteous, without respect of works; as you have it very well declared and set forth in the Homily. He hath then a busy work, I say, to bring his flock to a right faith, and then to confirm them in the same faith; now casting them down with the Law, and with threatenings of God for sin; now ridging them up again with the Gospel, and with the promises of God’s favour; now weeding them, by telling them their faults, and making them forsake sin; now clotting them, by breaking their stony hearts, and by making them supple-hearted, and making them to have hearts of flesh; that is, soft hearts, and apt for doctrine to enter in; now teaching to know God rightly, and to know their duty to God and their neighbours; now exhorting them, when they know their duty, that they do it, and be diligent in it; so that they have a continual work to do.”¹

Latimer looked upon the preaching of God’s Word as spiritual food, to be given to the Christian congregation every day, so that their spiritual life might be strengthened.

¹. *Sermons by Hugh Latimer*, (1884), vol. I, pp. 61-62.

In the same sermon he says: "for the preaching of the Word of God unto the people is called meat; Scripture calleth it meat; not strawberries, that come out once a year, and tarry not long, but are soon gone: but it is meat, it is no dainties. The people must have meat that must be familiar and continual, and daily given unto them to feed upon. Many make a strawberry of it, ministering it but once a year; but such do not the office of good prelates."²

Latimer's humorous reference to the "strawberry prelates," who were content to do a little preaching once a year, perhaps during the Lenten season, delighted the people. This expression was repeated far and wide, and it became a recognized figure of speech in Latimer's day.

Hugh Latimer has been called the father of English preaching. He was not an eminent theologian, but his persuasiveness in the pulpit led many a lax clergyman to cultivate the neglected art of preaching. Latimer created a desire among the English people for frequent preaching. His lengthy *Sermon of the Plow* is a compelling appeal for better and more frequent preaching. The same subject is stressed frequently by Latimer. His *Sixth Sermon before King Edward VI*³ is another case in point. Among other things he said:

"This (preaching) is the thing that the devil wrestleth most against: it hath been all his study to decay this office. He worketh against it as much as he can: he hath prevailed too much, too much in it. He hath set up a state of unpreaching prelacy in this realm this seven hundred year; a stately unpreaching prelacy. He hath made unpreaching prelates; he hath stirred up by heaps to persecute this office in the title of heresy. He hath stirred up the magistrates to persecute it in the title of sedition, and he hath stirred up the people to persecute it with exprobatons and slanderous words. . . . If a priest should have left mass undone on a Sunday within these ten years, all England should have wondered at it; but they might have left off the sermon twenty Sundays, and never have been blamed."⁴

². *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 62.

³. *Op. cit.*

⁴. *Op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 202-203.

In the same sermon, Latimer's lively wit is in evidence, for he tells the story of a pompous bishop who paid a visitation to a parish church, and was greatly offended that the church bell was not rung in his honor. The parish priest and his congregation begged the bishop not to feel offended, for the clapper of the bell had been broken, and there had not been time to have it replaced.

"There was one wiser than the rest," said Latimer, "and he comes me to the bishop: 'Why, my lord,' saith he, 'doth your lordship make so great a matter of the bell that lacketh his clapper? Here is a bell,' said he, and pointed to the pulpit, 'that hath lacked a clapper this twenty years. We have a parson that fetched out of this benefice fifty pound every year, but we never see him.' I warrant you," continued Latimer, "the bishop was an unpreaching prelate."⁵

"Such then as loiter and live idly," said Latimer in another sermon, "are not good prelates, or ministers. And of such as do not preach and teach, nor do their duties, God saith by His prophet Jeremy, *Maledictus qui facit opus Dei fraudulenter*; 'Cursed be the man that doth the work of God fraudulently,' guilefully or deceitfully; some books have it *negligenter*, 'negligently, or slackly.' How many such prelates, how many such bishops, Lord, for Thy mercy, are there now in England!"⁶

In speaking of Latimer one authority says, "Other preachers have excelled him in passion, stirring rhetoric, refinement and accuracy; but few have proved his equals in broad, forceful influence over all classes of people, and his sermons remain the prose classics to this day."⁷ Fresh, vigorous, often giving evidence of a pawky humor, unsparing in his condemnation of the things he considered wrong, Latimer's place in history is secure. His "Sermon on the Plough" is one of the great homiletical classics, and no collection of the world's great sermons is considered complete without it. Among the biographical works on Hugh

⁵. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 207.

⁶. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

⁷. John Brown, *Puritan Preaching in England*, (New York, 1900), p. 48.

Latimer, that of Demaus has long been considered one of the best.⁸

Miles Coverdale, (1488-1568)

Miles Coverdale was born in 1488 in the North Riding of Yorkshire. He was educated at Cambridge. He was ordained in 1514, after which he entered the Austin Friar's community at Cambridge. Robert Barnes was its prior, and it is believed that Coverdale's first interest in the teachings of the Reformers was due to the influence of Barnes. Coverdale also became acquainted with Sir Thomas More and with Thomas Cromwell. In 1526, when Prior Barnes was tried for heresy, Coverdale went to London and assisted in his defense. Soon after this he left the monastery and became a preaching friar, and in his sermons he began to condemn the veneration of images and confession. He returned to the university in 1531 and took his degree.

From 1528 to 1535 Coverdale lived on the Continent, where he was engaged in the preparation of his English Bible. This was published in 1535. It was based on Luther's translation, on the Zurich version, the Vulgate and upon Tyndale's work. Coverdale's translation was the first complete Bible in the English language. In 1538 he went to Paris and assisted in the publication of the Great Bible, and in 1540 he edited the Cranmer Bible.

Coverdale returned to England in 1539, but a year later he went to Tuebingen. About the year 1543 or 1544 he became a Lutheran pastor and teacher at Bergzabern. He went to Frankfurt in 1548, and while there he translated the English Communion liturgy into German and Latin. Later in the same year he returned to England and was made chaplain to the King. In 1551 he became bishop of Exeter, the successor to John Veysey (1452-1555), who was 99 years of age when Miles Coverdale succeeded him. When Queen Mary came to the throne Coverdale was removed from office and Veysey reinstated. The same year, 1553, Coverdale went to Denmark, then to Wesel, and from there

⁸. Robert Demaus, *Biography of Hugh Latimer*, (London, 1869). See also John Tulloch, *Leaders of the Reformation*, (Edinburgh, 1859).

to his old congregation at Bergzabern. He is believed by some to have gone to Geneva in 1558 to assist in the publication of the Geneva Bible.

He returned to England in 1559, and was offered the bishopric of Exeter once more, but he refused it because of his growing Puritan views. In 1563 he was appointed bishop of Llandaff, but once more his Puritan principles led him to refuse such an office. He went to London and from 1563 to 1566 he was pastor of St. Magnus Martyr, London Bridge. He died in 1568, having passed his eightieth year. He was buried in St. Bartholomew's at the Exchange, but when this church was demolished in 1840, Coverdale's dust was removed to St. Magnus Martyr.

Although remembered chiefly as the translator of the first complete English Bible, yet the fact must not be overlooked that Miles Coverdale was an exceptionally popular preacher in his day. Although he never lived more than three or four years at a given place, and frequently even less than that, yet he was always diligent in preaching, no matter how busy he may have been with his various literary efforts; and wherever he went, he was always heard by large and appreciative congregations. In speaking of the remarkable response to Coverdale's preaching, one writer declares that many "ran after Father Coverdale, who took that occasion to preach the more constantly, but yet with much fear." It was said that Coverdale "was a celebrated preacher, admired and followed by all the Puritans; but the Act of Uniformity brought down his reverend hairs with sorrow to the grave. He was buried in St. Bartholomew's, behind the Exchange, and was attended to his grave with vast crowds of people."⁹

The Coverdale Bible had great influence upon the people. Professor John R. Green recalls the fact that six copies of the large folio edition were set up in a public place in St. Paul's, and permission was given to any one to read these Bibles, either to himself or to others, so long as such reading did not disturb the church service. Prof. Green believes

⁹ Daniel Neal, *History of the Puritans*, (New York, ed. of 1822), vol. 1, p. 153.

that these Bible readings did much to acquaint the people with the teachings of the Scriptures, and to prepare them for the Reformation.¹⁰

Some of the quaint expressions in Coverdale's translation may be of interest. Mr. Heaton calls attention to the following:

Isaiah 24, 9: The beer shall be bitter.

Psalm 9, 20: O Lord, set a schoolmaster over them.

Psalm 27, 22: Though Thou shouldst bray a fool with a pestill in a mortar like oatmeal.

Psalm 41, 1: The foolish bodyes say in their hertes, Tush! there is no God.

Prov. 23, 21: He that is given to moch slepe shall go with a ragged cote.

Genesis 39, 2: And the Lorde was with Joseph in so moch that he became a luckye man.¹¹

The history of Miles Coverdale and his Bible has been written again and again, and various biographies, memoirs and discussions of his influence might be mentioned.¹² All agree that the English-speaking people throughout the world owe much to this great reformer.

Thomas Cranmer, (1489-1556)

Thomas Cranmer was not a great preacher himself, and he would find no rightful place in the history of preaching were it not for the important part that he took in the events of the Reformation era. These things had a decided influence upon preaching. Cranmer was born at Aslacton, near Nottingham. He entered Jesus College, Cambridge, at the age of 14, and was graduated M. A. in 1515. He was

¹⁰. J. R. Green, *A History of the English People*, 4 vols., (London, 1877-80), vol. 3, pp. 9-12.

¹¹. W. J. Heaton, *The Bible of the Reformation*, (London, 1910), pp. 181-182.

¹². *Memorials of Myles Coverdale*, (London, 1838); F. Fry, *The Bible by Coverdale*, (London, 1867); Christopher Anderson, *Annals of the English Bible*, (London, 1845); H. W. Hoare, *Evolution of the English Bible*, (London, 1902); J. I. Mombert, *Handbook of the English Versions of the Bible*, (New York, 1882).

ordained some time between that date and 1520. He was university preacher for a short time, and was elected to a fellowship in Jesus College. While on a trip to Germany he made the acquaintance of Osiander, and married his niece. He lost his fellowship at Jesus College because of his marriage, but he was re-elected after the death of his wife.

In the year 1529, when the question of Henry VIII's divorce from Catharine of Aragon was under discussion, Cranmer ventured the opinion that the divorce would be justified could it be proved that the marriage had been invalid at the outset. A year later Cranmer was one of those who visited the pope seeking his sanction of Henry's divorce. In 1533 Henry VIII appointed Cranmer to the archbishopric of Canterbury, and during the same year the newly appointed primate declared Henry's marriage to Catherine invalid. When it was learned that Henry had married Anne Boleyn, Cranmer pronounced the marriage lawful, but three years later, when Henry decided to behead Anne because of suspected misconduct, Cranmer did not interfere. He proved himself a willing servant of Henry by issuing a document permitting Henry VIII to marry his third wife, Jane Seymour. When Henry declared himself to be supreme head of the Church, in 1535, Cranmer supported his claim. However, in 1539 Cranmer opposed the Six Articles without success. These Articles were thoroughly Roman Catholic, and transubstantiation was declared a legal doctrine of the English Church, and its denial was to be regarded as heresy, and death at the stake the penalty of any man who denied it. When Henry divorced Anne of Cleves, his fourth wife, Cranmer consented. It was Cranmer who informed Henry of the supposed unfaithfulness of the king's fifth wife, Catherine Howard, whom Henry beheaded as he had done Anne Boleyn. Some time later Henry was charged with heresy, and Cranmer defended him.

All of these acts reveal Cranmer as a man without the courage of his convictions, and only too ready to act as a willing henchman of the king. However, some of Cranmer's work was constructive. He believed that the English people were entitled to worship in a language which all could

understand, educated and uneducated alike. He made a start in this direction by compiling the English Litany, in 1545, basing it upon the Latin Litanies, but adapting it to the needs of his country. In 1548 he supervised the preparation of the *Prayer Book* of Edward VI, which was published a year later. Just how much of this book was Cranmer's own work has always been a question. Some authorities believe that he himself translated the Latin Collects into English, and prepared additional collects and prayers suited to the needs of his time. Should this be the case, then Cranmer must have been a master of English prose, because their beauty of language has never been equalled. When one compares those translations with the later English translations of the Roman Catholic Church, and the translations and efforts at the writing of new collects and prayers in various Protestant orders of service, the superiority of those of the 1549 *Prayer Book* is realized immediately. Cranmer had a part, a few years later, when important revisions of the *Prayer Book* were made. He also assisted in drafting the Forty-two Articles, which were replaced later by the Thirty-nine Articles. These present briefly the doctrines of the Church of England.

Cranmer found a kindred spirit in Melanchthon, whose vacillating nature and unwillingness to maintain a decisive attitude in doctrinal matters agreed perfectly with Cranmer's infirmness of purpose. These two men discussed seriously the possibilities of church union among the Protestant bodies.

Archbishop Cranmer's downfall came in the year 1553, when he supported the political party who sought to place Lady Jane Grey on the throne, rather than Mary or Elizabeth, her cousins. When Queen Jane's unwilling reign of nine days ended in her execution, Cranmer was imprisoned in the Tower because he had supported Lady Jane, and had spoken against the Mass. In 1555 he was cited to appear before the pope, and when he refused he was formally excommunicated. He was condemned as a heretic by Cardinal Pole and sentenced to die at the stake. Cranmer signed a series of documents recognizing the supremacy of the pope and the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church,

except transubstantiation, and declaring Luther and Zwingli anathema. In 1556, before his execution, he repudiated his declarations of obedience, and died a Protestant.

Archbishop Cranmer deserves neither the extravagant praise that certain Protestants have given him, nor yet the condemnation that Roman Catholic writers have accorded to him. He was not an admirable character. At times he showed himself a mere opportunist, ready to do the bidding of one of the worst kings who ever disgraced a throne. Henry VIII was a tyrant, and in spite of his bluff good nature, he had a sadistic character which led him to behead two wives who displeased him, to divorce two others, and to murder relatives and close personal friends whom he suspected of plotting against him. Cranmer stood by in silence while man after man was led to the executioner's block or to the stake. He lacked the courage of Andrew Melville, who had the boldness to stand before a tyrant and remind him that there are "two kings and two kingdoms" in the land. One cannot expect so servile a man as Cranmer to find a place among the great preachers of the world, and in firmness of purpose he falls pitifully short of such plain-spoken men as Luther and Knox. Cranmer's biography has been written a number of times.¹³

William Tyndale, (c. 1490-1536)

William Tyndale was born about the year 1490, near the Welsh border. He was educated at Magdalen Hall, and at Cambridge, taking his degree in 1515. In 1520 he became tutor to the children of Sir John Walsh, where he made the acquaintance of several prominent clergymen who visited there from time to time. He took part in their religious discussions. He was ordained in 1521, and having become interested in the teachings of the Reformers, he began to preach at the college green in Bristol, and in other places. Once, during a discussion with a learned doctor of theology, Tyndale is said to have exclaimed: "If God spare my life,

¹³ Among others are John Strype, *Memorials of Thomas Cranmer*, 2 vols., (Oxford, 1840); John Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, 3 vols., (London, 1842); H. J. Todd, *Life of Cranmer*, (London, 1831); C. W. Lebas, *ibid.*, (1833); A. D. Innes, *Cranmer and the Reformation in England*, (Edinburgh, 1900).

ere many years I will cause a boy that directeth a plough shall know more of the Scriptures than thou!"

In 1523 Tyndale went to London, hoping to receive aid from Tunstall, the bishop, in publishing the Bible in English. He was unsuccessful, but he was permitted for a time to preach at the church of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, near St. Paul's. Resolving to translate the Bible into English, he became convinced that this could be done more readily in continental Europe. In 1524 he went to Hamburg, and from there to Wittenberg, where he made the acquaintance of Martin Luther. From there he went to Cologne. He studied Hebrew diligently. During 1525 and 1526 he translated the New Testament into English. Its place of publication has never been established definitely, although it seems probable that it was at Worms. In 1529 Tyndale was in Antwerp for a time, and in 1530 he published the Pentateuch in English, with the book of Jonah following in 1531. Joshua to Second Chronicles did not appear in print until after his death.

Tyndale's translations were printed and many copies found their way into England, even though William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, and certain English bishops declared the translations faulty and heretical, and made every effort to suppress them. For a time the whereabouts of Tyndale was unknown, but it is supposed that he was living in Marburg and engaged in his work of translation. In 1533 he went once more to Antwerp, and two years later he was arrested and cast into prison. In 1536 he was strangled, then burned at the stake at Vilvorde, Belgium. Henry VIII, if not directly responsible for Tyndale's arrest and execution, at least did nothing to prevent it; and Tyndale's last words were, "Lord, open the King of England's eyes."

Tyndale preached in and around Bristol in his younger days, and later he preached in London. Of his sermons not much is known. His great contribution to the history of preaching lies in the fact that he gave men the New Testament, the Pentateuch, Jonah, Joshua to Second Chronicles in the English language. His translations were made directly from the Hebrew and Greek, and were not merely trans-

lations of the Vulgate, or of contemporary texts. His work was sufficiently scholarly and exact that it formed a basis for the Authorized Version of 1611, which was translated from the original languages, yet shows decidedly the influence of Tyndale.

Tyndale's introductions and marginal notes, which appear in some editions of his English New Testament and Old Testament portions, are not always beyond criticism. Tyndale began as a believer in transubstantiation, and later went to the other extreme and followed the teachings of Zwingli. Tyndale's theological writings have been published by the Parker Society and others, including a well edited selection from his writings which appeared as recently as the year 1938.¹⁴

William Tyndale gave to the world an English translation in the language of the people. He went so far as to cause Jacob to speak in the manner of a West Country British farmer: "I will go and see him yer that I die." He uses certain Britishisms, such as his translation of εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ πόλιν which becomes "every man went into his awne shyre tounne to be taxed." Some of his expressions are even more in the language of everyday life, as when he speaks of Simon Peter and the maid at the door of the high priest's house: "And won off the wenches, as he sate, behelde him by the light and sett goode eyesight on hym." Again, Tyndale translates Genesis 3, 4 as follows: "Then sayd the serpent vnto the woman: tush, ye shall not dye." Now and then his language suggests the dialect of the farmer's lad; for example: "The yonger sonne gaddered all that he had to gedder." The account of the Nativity, as found in Tyndale's Bible, is representative of his style:

"And ther were in the same region shepherdes abydinge in the felde and watching their flocke by nyght. And loo: the angell of the Lorde stode harde by them, and the brightnes of the Lorde shone rounde aboute them, and they were

¹⁴ S. L. Greenslade, *The Works of William Tindale*, (London and Glasgow, 1938). For biographical material see Robert Demaus, *William Tyndale*, (London, 1886 ed.); F. L. Clarke, *Life of William Tyndale*, (London, 1883); C. E. Heish, *William Tyndale*, (London, 1884); G. B. Smith, *William Tyndale and his Translation of the English Bible*, (London, 1896).

soore afrayed. But the angell sayd vnto them: Be not afrayed. For beholde, I bring you tydings of greate ioye that shal come to all the people: for vnto you is borne this daye in the cite of David, a Saveoure which is Christ the Lorde. And take this for a signe: ye shall fynde the Childe swaddled and layed in a manger. And streight waye ther was with the angell a multitude of heavenly sowdiers, laudyng God and sayinge: Glory to God an hye, and peace on erth: and vnto men reioysynge." His translation of ἡ στρατιά, while forceful, is hardly exact. The men responsible for the Authorized Version knew that this word is used at times to denote "a host of angels."

Tyndale's English New Testament and portions of the Old Testament went through several editions before his death. When arrested, he seems to have given his uncompleted Old Testament manuscripts to his friend John Rogers, who completed the work with the help of Miles Coverdale's translation, and published it in 1537 under the name of Thomas Matthew.

Thomas Bilney, (c. 1495-1531)

Thomas Bilney was born in or near Norwich about the year 1495. Educated at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, he began the study of law, but soon turned to theology. He was ordained to the priesthood in 1519. It was about this time that he went through a spiritual struggle, due to the fact that he could feel no assurance of forgiveness of sin through fasting and penances. Five letters of Thomas Bilney, addressed to Tunstall, Bishop of London, have survived. He compares his state to the woman in the Scriptures, who spent all that she had with the physicians, but found no help, but rather was she made worse. In like manner, declared Bilney, he had sought help from the priests and friars, but with no results.

"O the mighty power of the Most High!" he continued, "which I also, a miserable sinner, have often tasted and felt; whereas before, I spent all I had upon those ignorant physicians, insomuch that I had little strength left in me. But, at last, I heard of Jesus; and that was when the New Testament was translated by Erasmus; for at that time I

knew not what it meant. But looking into the New Testament by God's special providence, I met with those words of the Apostle St. Paul, 'This is a true saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners, whereof I am chief.' O most sweet and comfortable sentence to my soul! This one sentence, through God's instruction, and inward working, did so exhilarate my heart, which before was wounded with the guilt of my sins, and almost in despair, that immediately I found wonderful comfort and quietness in my soul; so that my bruised bones leaped for joy."

Again Bilney says, "At last I heard of Jesus, when the New Testament was first set forth by Erasmus. Attracted by the beauty of style rather than by the Word of God — because then I knew not what it might be — I bought a copy, without doubt through the providence of God, as I now perceive. Unexpectedly, in the first reading I remember I chanced upon this sentence (O saying of Paul, how sweet thou art to my soul!) 'It is a true saying, and worthy by all men to be embraced, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners.' This one sentence, God teaching me in the secret of my heart, so exhilarated my heart, before wounded with the consciousness of my sins and ready for despair, that immediately I seemed to feel an inward peace passing all understanding."¹⁵

Thomas Bilney accepted the doctrine of justification by grace through faith and became leader of a group of Cambridge men who were beginning to hold like views. Among those who became followers of Bilney were Thomas Arthur of St. John's, John Lambert of Queen's, and Robert Barnes the prior of the Augustine Friars at Cambridge. Closely associated with Bilney was George Stafford, fellow of Pembroke College, which had become a center of the Reformation movement. As lecturer in divinity he began to give regular expositions of the Gospels and Epistles. There was a nimble-minded young priest who was cross-bearer to the university. His name was Hugh Latimer. In public and in private he annoyed George Stafford, sometimes by his

¹⁵. John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, 8 vols., (London, ed. of 1877), vol. IV, p. 633.

embarrassing questions and again by his witty ridicule. Stafford complained to his friend Thomas Bilney, and Bilney went at once to see young Latimer. Years later Latimer declared that "Master Bilney, or rather Saint Bilney, who suffered death for God's Word's sake, the same Bilney was the instrument by whom God called me to His knowledge; for I may thank him, next to God, for that knowledge that I have in the Word of God; for I was as obstinate a papist as any was in England, insomuch that when I should be made bachelor of divinity, my whole oration was against Philip Melanchthon, and against his opinions."¹⁶ It was in 1524 that Bilney persuaded Hugh Latimer to accept the reformed teachings.

In 1525 Thomas Bilney was licensed to preach, and he went throughout Cambridgeshire, Norfolk and Suffolk, preaching in many places, and with growing popularity. He rejected salvation by works, as well as fastings and pilgrimages, the veneration of relics and the intercession of the saints. However, he clung firmly to his belief in the mass, transubstantiation, the supremacy of the Roman pontiff and the authority of the Latin Church. He was summoned before Wolsey in 1526 and questioned, but it was not until the following year that he was arrested and imprisoned in the Tower, charged with preaching Lutheran doctrines. Finally, at the urgent advice of his friends, he renounced his Protestant views in regard to fasting, pilgrimages, relics and intercession of the saints. He was released after a year in prison and allowed to return to Cambridge. However, his soul was not at peace. He continued to study his Bible, and he read Augustine, as well as the Reformers. In 1531 he became firmly convinced that his former position was the correct one, and again he began once more to preach salvation by grace through faith, and to condemn fastings, pilgrimages, relics and intercession of the saints. He preached in the open fields to great congregations. He was arrested, tried and condemned to die as a heretic. His execution took place in the Lollards' Pit, a valley near the city of Norwich. To his friend Dr. Warner, who accompanied him to the stake, Bilney said, "*Pasce gregem tuum*,

¹⁶. *Select Sermons of Hugh Latimer*, (Boston, 1832), pp. 234-235.

ut cum venerit Dominus inveniat te sic facientem," (Feed your flock, so that when the Lord cometh He may find you so doing).

Thomas Bilney considered himself a Roman Catholic to the last. He insisted that he accepted all the fundamental teachings of the Church of Rome, but only rejected certain things which he considered contrary to the teachings of the New Testament. In the estimation of Hugh Latimer, Matthew Parker and others, there were few men in Bilney's day who could equal him as a preacher.¹⁷

John Hooper, (c. 1495-1555)

John Hooper was born about the year 1495 in Somersetshire. He was educated at Oxford, probably at Merton College, taking his degree in 1519. After this he seems to have been a monk, for Gardiner spoke of him as a member of the Cistercian Abbey at Cleeve. When the abbey was suppressed, Hooper is said to have gone to London in order to become a courtier. He came upon some of the writings of Zwingli and Bullinger, and was led to a study of the Pauline Epistles. About this time he became chaplain to Sir Thomas Arundel, a man of Devon. Later he went to Oxford, where he began to spread Reformed teachings.

In 1539, when the Six Articles were adopted, and some of the Roman Catholic teachings restored, Hooper went to the Continent, visiting Strasbourg, Basel and Zurich. He made the acquaintance of Bullinger, Bucer and other Reformed leaders. When he returned to England in 1549, he was a seasoned Reformed theologian, and he began to preach with great vigor the teachings of the Genevan leaders, and to defend them against both the Roman Catholics and Luther. He was made chaplain first to the Protector Somerset and then to the Duke of Warwick. In 1550 he preached a series of Lenten sermons before Edward VI, as well as a notable series on Jonah the prophet.

¹⁷. Biographical material is found in James Gairdner, *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII*, vol. 5, (London, 1863-80); C. H. Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, vol. 1, (London, 1858); John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, (London, 1877 ed.).

Hooper did not confine his preaching to the court. He preached twice, and often thrice daily, taking an extreme, Reformed position. He was offered the bishopric of Gloucester, but he declined it at first because of his antagonism toward clerical vestments. Middleton says¹⁸ that is was customary at that time for bishops to wear a white rochet and a chimere, as well as a "mathematical cap" with four corners. Hooper refused to accept the bishopric because he objected to these vestments, and to the wording of the oath which he was supposed to take. A long controversy followed, in which Cranmer, the archbishop, attempted to show Hooper that doctrines are of major importance, while vestments and ceremonials are merely matters of custom, hence adiaphora. Hooper was not convinced, but continued to preach sermons in which he declared that vestments must be abolished. He refused to accept the bishopric of Gloucester if it involved the wearing of the rochet, and Cranmer refused to consecrate him unless he yielded, for the sake of uniformity, and wore the customary vestments. A compromise was agreed upon. The King himself struck out the words of the oath to which Hooper had objected, and it was agreed that he wear vestments at his consecration, and upon state occasions, but not on other occasions.

Hooper was consecrated bishop in 1551. He set about with great zeal, preaching two and three times a day himself, and encouraging others in his diocese to preach as often as possible. In 1552 the diocese of Worcester was joined to that of Gloucester, and Hooper was made bishop *in commendam*. When Edward VI died, Hooper opposed the plan of Northumberland to place Lady Jane Grey upon the throne, and he upheld the claims of Mary on technical grounds.

In 1553 Hooper was deprived of his bishopric and imprisoned. He was brought to trial in 1555, charged with defending the marriage of the clergy, with sanctioning divorce in case of fornication, and the remarriage of the innocent party, and of preaching against transubstantiation. He was found guilty, and burned at the stake at Gloucester, so that "those who had listened to his heresies might behold

¹⁸. E. Middleton, *Biographia Evangelica*, (London, 1810), vol. I, p. 319.

his punishment." More than once he was offered freedom, and even advancement, under condition that he recant, but Hooper refused all such suggestions.

John Hooper was of a serious, even severe nature, in contrast to the jovial Latimer and the mild-mannered Ridley. Hooper's Reformed views were extreme, and at times almost fanatical. Where Latimer, Ridley, Cranmer, and even Peter Martyr and Bucer were willing to retain various church customs, so long as they implied no violation of doctrine, Hooper would have swept away everything reminiscent of the Latin Church. Had his wishes prevailed, he might have become the Carlstadt of England.

His ability as a preacher was considerable, but there were times when he devoted his efforts to a vehement condemnation of externals, and overlooked the more important matters of sin and salvation. He sounded a battle cry that was to be taken up presently by the Puritans. He fell into the same pit as did the Tractarians of three centuries later, but where they made vestments and ceremonies matters of conscience, Hooper made their abolition a matter of conscience. He was gifted beyond the average, but he alienated many because of his extreme views.¹⁹

John Rogers, (c. 1500-1555)

John Rogers was born at Deritend, in the parish of Aston, near Birmingham. He was educated at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, taking his degree in 1526. In 1532 he received the presentation of the rectory of Holy Trinity, in London. In 1534 he was made chaplain to the Merchant Adventurers at Antwerp, and there he made the acquaintance of William Tyndale. Through their friendship, and Tyndale's Bible translations, Rogers became interested in the teachings of the Reformers, and became a Protestant.

When Tyndale was arrested in 1535, it is believed that he gave his incomplete Old Testament manuscripts to John

¹⁹ Accounts of Hooper's life are found in J. C. Ryle, *John Hooper; his Times, Life, and Death and Opinions*, (London, 1868); J. C. Ryle, *Bishops and Clergy of Other Days*, (London, 1868); James Gairdner, *The English Church in the Sixteenth Century*, (London, 1903); John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, (London, 1877 ed.).

Rogers, with the request that he complete the work and publish it. Tyndale's manuscript was complete to the end of the Book of Jonah. Rogers filled in the remaining parts from the translation of Miles Coverdale, and in 1537 it was published under the name of Thomas Matthew, and has since been known as the Matthew Bible. "Thomas Matthew is commonly treated as a pseudonym of John Rogers, (1500?-1555), Tindale's intimate friend. . . . But as Rogers only edited what is essentially Tindale's translation, it seems more probable that Matthew stands for Tindale's own name, which it was then dangerous to employ."²⁰ The prefaces and marginal notes of the Matthew Bible are evidently the work of John Rogers. It is said to have been published at Wittenberg.

In 1537 Rogers became a pastor of a congregation in Wittenberg, and he seems to have served it for eleven years. In 1548, when Edward VI succeeded to the English throne, Rogers returned to London. Some authorities say that Rogers declined to use his influence with Cranmer to save the life of Joan Bocher, an anabaptist; and that an acquaintance predicted at the time that Rogers himself would go to the stake some day.

John Rogers seems to have had no scruples in regard to pluralism, for in 1550 he was made rector of St. Margaret Moyses, as well as vicar of St. Sepulchre's; and the following year he was appointed a prebend of St. Paul's and also divinity lecturer. It was not long, however, that he filled these four positions, for Edward VI died in 1553, Lady Jane Grey was Queen for nine days, and then Mary Tudor overthrew Northumberland's army and claimed the throne.

Rogers, always a fearless preacher, was disturbed at the restoration of Roman Catholic worship, and he preached a vehement sermon at St. Paul's Cross, in which he denounced "all pestilent popery, idolatry and superstition," reviewing the doctrines of the Reformers, and calling upon the people to remain loyal to these teachings. His friends had warned him against such a rash act, and had assured him that it would cost him his life. When arrested, Rogers declared

²⁰. *British and Foreign Bible Society, Historic Catalogue*, No. 17.

that he had preached only those things that had been established by law. Technically this was true, but his defense did not save his life. He was held prisoner for a time in his own home, and later at Newgate Gaol. Brought before Gardiner, the bishop, he was accused of declaring that the Roman pontiff is Antichrist, and charged with denying the presence of the Lord's Body and Blood in the Sacrament. He was declared guilty, and burned at the stake in Smithfield, just outside the gates of St. Bartholomew's.²¹

Nicholas Ridley, (c. 1500-1555)

Nicholas Ridley was born about the year 1500 at Wilimontswyke, Northumberland. He was educated in the grammar school at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. He was graduated in 1521 and became a fellow in 1524. Ordained in 1527, he went to Paris to study at the Sorbonne, and then to Louvain University. In 1533 he became senior proctor at Cambridge, and chaplain to the University. His preaching attracted favorable attention, and in 1537 Cranmer appointed him his own domestic chaplain. In 1538 he was made vicar of Herne, Kent.

Advancement came rapidly. He became master of Pembroke Hall in 1540, chaplain to the King in 1541, a canon of Canterbury later in the same year, canon of Westminster in 1545, and bishop of Rochester, near London, in 1547. Through his acquaintance with Cranmer and with Peter Martyr he was led gradually to give up many of his Roman Catholic beliefs. In 1545 he renounced transubstantiation. He preached in Cambridge, setting forth the teachings of the Reformation, and when visitors were sent through Durham and Yorkshire, Ridley accompanied them, preaching daily and declaring the Reformed doctrines. In 1548 he was one of the men who formulated the Book of Common Prayer, which was published the following year. In 1549 he was one of the men who deposed Bonner, bishop of London, and Gardiner, bishop of Winchester. In 1550 he was appointed to the London bishopric. He preached before

²¹. For biographical material see J. L. Chester, *John Rogers, Compiler of the First Authorized English Bible*, (London, 1861); Christopher Anderson, *Annals of the English Bible*, (London, 1845).

Edward VI in 1553, and this sermon led to the establishment of three hospitals in London, Christ's, St. Thomas's and Bethlehem.

Ridley supported the effort of Northumberland to place Lady Jane Grey on the throne, and preached a sermon at St. Paul's Cross in which he declared Mary and Elizabeth to be of illegitimate birth. When Mary seized the throne, Ridley threw himself upon her mercy, but his effort was futile, for he was deposed from office and imprisoned in the Tower. Later he was taken to Oxford, where he was tried for heresy in 1554. Offered his freedom should he recant, Ridley refused in firm language. In 1555 he was burned with Hugh Latimer.

Nicholas Ridley was one of the ablest theologians of the English Reformation, and one of the ablest preachers. Bishop Brookes declared at his trial that "Latimer leaneth to Cranmer, Cranmer leaneth to Ridley, and Ridley to the singularity of his own wit." No authentic sermons of Ridley are known to exist, but he was, according to all accounts, second only to Latimer as a forceful and persuasive preacher. While yet a young man, his sermons in Cambridge attracted wide attention, and among his admirers were Cranmer, Edward VI, and even Henry VIII. Whenever Ridley preached at St. Paul's Cross, in St. Paul's churchyard, the enclosure was crowded with people. The absence of any existing sermons seems to indicate that he preached extempore, and he had no faithful servant, such as Augustine Bernher, who has preserved for posterity many of Latimer's sermons. However, Nicholas Ridley deserves his full share of credit for spreading throughout England the new teachings.²²

Matthew Parker, (1504-1575)

Matthew Parker was born at Norwich in 1504. He studied at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, taking his degree in 1525. He was ordained in 1527 and licensed to preach in 1533. While at Cambridge Parker became ac-

²² See Gloster Ridley, *Life of Dr. Nicholas Ridley*, (London, 1763); Henry Moule, ed., *Brief Declaration of the Lordes Supper*; (London, 1895); L. Richmond, *Fathers of the English Church*, (London, 1807-12).

quainted with the writings of the German reformers. He made a detailed study of Luther, comparing his writings with the theology of the Church Fathers. One of Parker's close friends was his fellow townsman, Thomas Bilney. Hugh Latimer was also at Cambridge about the same time, and was a member of a group of men who were studying the teachings of the Reformers.

In 1535 Parker was made chaplain to the Queen, and in 1537 he became one of Henry VIII's chaplains. He became head of Corpus Christi College in 1544, and in 1552 he was made dean of Lincoln. When Lady Jane Grey was made Queen against her wishes, Parker supported the group who placed her on the throne. This, together with his marriage, incurred the displeasure of Queen Mary, who succeeded Lady Jane, and Parker was removed from his offices. After Queen Mary's short reign ended, and Elizabeth came to the throne, Parker was made archbishop of Canterbury in 1559, a position for which he had but little taste. Troubled conditions confronted him. Much of the property of the Church had been secularized by Henry VIII. Some of the bishoprics and parish churches were vacant, others occupied by men entirely unfitted for their positions. There was a great dearth of preachers, due to the execution or banishment of many in the days of Mary Tudor. Of the preachers who remained, Thomas Lever complained, "There is hardly one in a hundred who is both able and willing to preach the Word of God."²³ A wide diversity of doctrine and of forms of worship existed throughout England, ranging from the most extreme Puritanism on the one hand to Roman Catholicism on the other, with various degrees of Calvinistic Protestantism between.

Matthew Parker was not a man of decided convictions, and he sought a middle course between Puritanism and Romanism. Whatever one may think of his career as archbishop, all are agreed that in a different field of activity Parker rendered distinguished service to his country. When Henry VIII subdued the monasteries, of which there were

²³ W. H. Beckett, *The English Reformation of the Sixteenth Century*, (New York, 1895), p. 274.

about 1300,²⁴ many libraries with rare books and manuscripts were destroyed. Matthew Parker collected some 6,700 ancient manuscripts, which are now in the University library at Cambridge, thus saving from destruction much priceless material pertaining to early religious and secular history. In 1562 Parker assisted in the revision of the Forty-two Articles, which became known as the Thirty-nine Articles. He also assisted in the publication of the Bishops' Bible.

No authentic sermons of Matthew Parker seem to remain. Cranmer admired him, and licensed him to preach in 1533 because of Parker's "popular style of pulpit oratory." However, Parker was not a man of emphatic convictions, and although he seems to have had some of the external gifts of the pulpit orator, there is little evidence that he made any lasting contribution to the annals of the British pulpit.

John Bradford, (c. 1510-1555)

John Bradford was born about the year 1510 in Manchester. He received an excellent general education, and secured a position with Sir John Harrington, royal paymaster to the English forces in France. Certain financial irregularities were discovered in which Bradford was not directly implicated, but which led to his resignation. He went to London, where he heard a sermon on restitution, by Hugh Latimer. Although Bradford was not actively involved in the scandal, yet he became convinced that he had acted dishonestly in concealing his master's fraudulent transactions. According to one account, he insisted that Sir John make proper restitution of the funds obtained by fraud. Another account stated that Bradford himself restored the funds to the King's treasury when his master was unable to do so.

In 1547 Bradford was admitted to the Inner Temple for the study of law. A year later he turned to theology, and entered St. Catherine's Hall, Cambridge, from which he was graduated in 1549 by special grace, due to the fact that he

²⁴ R. A. Cram, *The Ruined Abbeys of Great Britain*, (New York, 1905).

was about 39 years of age, and had eight years of previous academic study to his credit. He was elected fellow of Pembroke Hall during the same year. Martin Bucer, who came to Cambridge in 1550, recognized the ability of Bradford, and urged him to preach. With some misgivings the latter consented, and was ordained in 1550, and made chaplain to Bishop Ridley, at Fulham, and in 1551 prebend of Kentish Town. In 1553 he was made one of King Edward VI's six chaplains in ordinary. In preaching before the King, Bradford rebuked the royal courtiers because of their worldliness, and predicted that the judgment of the Lord would overtake them if they refused to repent. John Bradford's duties led him throughout the kingdom, where he preached with great acceptance.

In 1553, shortly after Queen Mary came to the throne, a preacher at St. Paul's Cross spoke slightly of the late King, and in praise of Bonner, the bishop. A demonstration followed, during which John Bradford attempted to quiet the people. His good intentions were misunderstood, and he was arrested and confined for two years in the Tower. For a time his companions were Latimer, Ridley and Cranmer. While confined in prison, Bradford was not idle. He took part in regular Bible study with his fellow prisoners. He wrote a number of exhortations and farewells, addressed to various persons and cities. These may be found among his published writings, and are notable for their fine spiritual tone and their urgency of appeal. The keeper of the prison even went so far as to allow Bradford to leave the prison from time to time, on errands of mercy, and he always returned promptly at the appointed time. In 1555 he was brought before Bonner, Gardiner and others, tried for sedition and heresy, and burned at the stake at Smithfield market.

John Bradford was one of the most noted preachers of Edward VI's reign. It has been said that he reproved sin sharply, preached the grace of God sweetly, condemned heresy and error fearlessly and urged all to godly living. Two large volumes of his works have been published.²⁵

²⁵. *The Writings of John Bradford*, (Parker Society, Cambridge, 1848).

This collection contains two notable sermons, a number of meditations, letters and admonitions to various people and places.

When confined in the Tower, then in King's Bench prison in Southwark and in Comptergate prison, Bradford did not cease to preach. At King's Bench and Comptergate he preached twice every day, and celebrated Holy Communion from time to time. The keepers of both prisons permitted the public to attend his services. Bradford was not an expository preacher, yet his sermons and meditations are thoroughly Scriptural. Some of his meditations and his admonitions contain numerous quotations from the Scriptures. Bradford's sermons are simple in their structural outline, clear and direct in their language, possessed of spiritual warmth to a degree, and in the matter of direct appeal his writings are most noteworthy. Sometimes three or four paragraphs are devoted to urgent appeals to his hearers to put into active practice the truths that he has set before them.

It was said of Bradford that he accounted that time lost which was not spent in doing good, either with his pen, in study or in the exhortation of others. He allowed himself but four or five hours of sleep, and spent the remaining time in reading, writing or preaching. He ate but one meal a day while in prison, so that he might be able to distribute his prison fare to others. Even thieves and pick-pockets confined in the prisons were not overlooked. He shared his food with them, preached to them and conversed with them frequently, encouraging them to repent and to lead useful lives.

Bradford's power as a preacher may be seen at the time of the riot at St. Paul's Cross, already mentioned. The preacher that day was one Dr. Bourne, bishop of Bath and Wells. The people were so enraged at Bourne's criticism of the late King that a great uproar was caused. The Lord Mayor, the aldermen and the sheriffs tried in vain to quiet the rioters. Finally John Bradford took his stand at St. Paul's Cross and preached for several hours, appealing to the mob to return to their homes in peace. At last he accom-

plished his purpose, and with the help of Mr. Rogers, vicar of St. Sepulchre's, he conducted Dr. Bourne to a place of safety. However, a man of such unusual power of persuasion was looked upon as dangerous, and charges of sedition and heresy were brought against him. Two years later, when Bradford was led to the stake, the streets of London were thronged with people throughout the entire night, although the execution did not take place until the next forenoon.

One of John Bradford's famous sayings was his remark when he saw a criminal led to execution. He said, "There goes, but for the grace of God, John Bradford." Not so widely known was his final admonition to a young man named John Leaf, who was executed with him. Bradford said, "Be of good cheer, brother, for we shall dine with the Lord Jesus Christ this night."

Bradford's manner of preaching is well illustrated in his *Sermon on the Lord's Supper*, which may be found in his published writings.²⁶ In the introduction he declares that there are two Sacraments: Holy Baptism, by which we are enrolled in the household and family of God, and the Lord's Supper, by which we are conserved, fed, kept and nourished. He divides his sermon into three parts: I. Who did institute this Sacrament? II. What the thing is which was instituted? III. Wherefore, and to what end it was instituted?

His discussion is clear and logical. For example, under the second main head he presents nine reasons why one cannot accept transubstantiation. He declares that the bread remains bread, and the wine remains wine, yet the true Body and Blood are there, in a manner which he says is "not corporal, but spiritual, figurative, sacramental or mystical; for now it is no common bread nor common wine, being ordained to serve for the food of the soul."²⁷

The presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament, Bradford says is "a presence by grace, a presence by faith, a presence spiritually, and not corporally, really,

²⁶. *The Writings of John Bradford*, (1848), pp. 82-110.

²⁷. *Op. cit.*, p. 95.

naturally and carnally.”²⁸ However, he urged that Christians speak of it as “Christ’s Body” and “Christ’s Blood,” and not merely bread and wine. He declares that two evils must be avoided: the doctrine of transubstantiation; and the error of regarding the Sacrament as a bare sign, and nothing more than common bread and wine.

“The presence therefore which we believe and confess is such a presence as reason knoweth not and the world cannot learn, nor any that looketh in this matter with other eyes, or heareth with other ears, than with the eyes and ears of the Spirit and of faith.”²⁹ Bradford enumerates five benefits which he believes are received by the believing Christian through the Lord’s Supper: That we abide in Christ and Christ in us; that we attain eternal life; that we receive the whole Christ, God and man; that we receive the remission of sin; that we receive an increase of incorporation with Christ and amongst ourselves.

Bradford’s struggle with the doctrine of the Real Presence suggests the influence of Martin Bucer and the Cologne theologians, rather than an acceptance of the theology of Luther. He was not quite ready to accept in faith the mystery by which our Lord is able, under the outward appearance of bread and wine, to convey to the believing Christian His true Body and Blood as a seal of the forgiveness of sin.

John Bradford’s *Sermon on Repentance*³⁰ is more satisfactory. Basing his discussion on the text, “Repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand,” — St. Matt. 3, 2, he declares that true repentance should include: I. A sorrowing for our sins; II. A trust of pardon, which otherwise may be called a persuasion of God’s mercy by the merits of Christ for the forgiveness of our sins; and III. A purpose to amend, or conversion to a new life, the last an effect of repentance.

His discussion does not indicate a fully developed understanding of the entire plan of salvation, yet in the main, it

²⁸. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

²⁹. *Ibid.*, p. 96.

³⁰. *Op. cit.*, pp. 43-81.

is evangelical. He does not seem to see clearly that the Law demands perfection, and that its demands must be met. It offers salvation to those who keep it, but man is wholly unable to meet its demands. It was the Saviour, Who, by His perfect obedience to the demands of the Law, became man's Substitute in respect to the Law. When God looks upon man, He does not consider the filthy rags of man's righteousness, but the spotless garment of imputed righteousness which the Saviour has thrown about the believing Christian. Bradford saw but partially these things which others saw more clearly. His evangelical preaching, incomplete though it is in some respects, is interesting.

"In Heaven and in earth was there none found that could satisfy God's anger for our sins, or get Heaven for man, but only the Son of God, Jesus Christ, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, Who by His blood hath wrought the work of satisfaction, and alonely is 'worthy of all honour, glory and praise,' for He hath 'opened the book with the seven seals.'

"Dearly beloved, therefore abhor this abomination, even to think that there is any other satisfaction to Godward for sin than Christ's blood only. Blasphemy it is, and that horrible, to think otherwise. 'The blood of Christ purifieth,' saith St. John, 'from all sin.' And therefore He is called 'the Lamb slain from the beginning of the world;' because there was never sin forgiven of God, nor shall be, from the beginning unto the end of the world, but only through Christ's death. . . .

"'I am He,' saith the Lord, 'which put away thine offenses, and that for Mine own sake, and will no more remember thine iniquities. Put Me in remembrance, for we will reason together; and tell Me what thou hast for thee to make thee righteous. Thy first father offended sore,' etc. And thus writeth St. John: 'If any man sin, we have an Advocate,' saith he, 'with the Father, even Jesus Christ the Righteous, and He is the propitiation (satisfaction) for our sins;' as in the fourth chapter he saith that 'God hath sent His Son to be a propitiation,' or mean for taking away of our sins, according to that which St. Paul writeth,

where he calleth Christ 'a merciful and faithful Priest to purge the people's sins.' " ³¹

John Bradford was "a man of bold and daring energy who had great power of command over an audience. Filled with the spirit of God and with a passionate love for Christ and the souls of men, wherever he was announced to preach the people crowded round him, their beating hearts responding to his burning words." ³²

Edwin Sandys, (c. 1516-1588)

Edwin Sandys was born in or near Hawkshead, Lancs., about the year 1516. He seems to have been educated at Furness Abbey. He attended St. John's College, Cambridge, taking his degree in 1539. He became proctor in 1542, master of Catherine Hall in 1547, vicar of Caversham in 1548 and a canon of Peterborough in 1549. He seems to have been a friend of Martin Bucer, who lectured at Cambridge in 1550-1551.

Sandys was made prebend of Carlisle in 1552. When Edward VI died, Sandys preached a notable sermon in which he supported the plan of the Duke of Northumberland, who sought to place Lady Jane Grey on the throne, instead of Mary Tudor. When Queen Jane's reign of nine days came to an end, and Mary seized the throne, many of the Protestant clergymen, including Sandys, attempted to flee. Sandys was intercepted in his attempt and imprisoned with Bradford and others in the Tower of London. An influential friend obtained his release, and in 1554 we find him in Antwerp, then in Augsburg and finally in Strassbourg, where he attended Peter Martyr's lectures.

Edwin Sandys returned to England in 1558, after the death of Mary, and in 1559 he preached at St. Paul's. He was made bishop of Worcester in 1559, after refusing the bishopric of Carlisle. He was one of the translators of the

³¹. *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.

³². John Brown, *Puritan Preaching in England*, (New York, 1900), p. 47. For biographical material see W. Stephens, *Memoirs of John Bradford*, (London, 1832); *Library of Christian Biography*, vol. 3, (London, 1855).

Bishops' Bible, and of the Bible of 1572. In 1570 he was made bishop of London, and in 1575 archbishop of York.

Sandys was a Puritan in his views. He was a noted preacher at a time when even the best were hardly preachers of first rank. During his lifetime he became involved in several controversies, so that it has been said of him that he is remembered more because of his quarrels than because of the excellency of his preaching.³³

Bernard Gilpin, (1517-1583)

Bernard Gilpin, known as "the apostle to the North," was born in 1517 at Kentmere, Westmoreland, of a noted family. He was educated at Queen's College, Oxford, where he was graduated with distinction in 1540. In 1542 he was awarded a fellowship. He was ordained in 1549, and was one of the first men elected to Wolsey's new foundation at Christ Church. He engaged in a controversy with Peter Martyr, and in preparing material for this disputation, his confidence in the Roman Catholic position was shaken. In 1552 he was invited to preach before Edward VI, the boy-King, and he protested against the alienation of Church property. During the same year he was appointed vicar of Norton, near Durham. Because of his growing misgivings, he went to Louvain and Antwerp in order to study, but while there he adopted the Protestant position.

Gilpin returned to England in 1556, and his uncle, Bishop Tunstall, secured his appointment as rector of Easington, and archdeacon of Durham. A little later he was made rector of Houghton-le-Spring. It was here that he became famous not only for his wide charitable work throughout the North Country, but because of his notable preaching. The easy lives of the clergy, and their lack of missionary spirit distressed Gilpin, and he did not hesitate to preach against their shortcomings. He founded a successful grammar school at Houghton.

³³ A biography of Edwin Sandys is prefixed to *The Sermons of Edwin Sandys*, edited by John Ayre, (London, 1841). See also *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, (Cambridge, 1749).

Bernard Gilpin went from place to place, preaching to congregations that crowded the churches, testifying against the spiritual lethargy of the time, picturing sin in its hideousness, and pointing men to the Cross of Calvary. His outspoken testimony against the shortcomings of the clergy made enemies, but his uncle, Bishop Tunstall, defended him, for Tunstall himself showed no animosity against those who were suspected of Protestant views. In 1558 Gilpin was cited to appear before Bishop Bonner, in London, on a charge of heresy. On his way to London he broke his leg, and while recovering from his injury, Queen Mary died, and nothing further was done to punish Gilpin. In 1559 he was offered the bishopric of Carlisle and in 1560 he was appointed provost of Queen's College, Oxford, but he declined both positions.

Bernard Gilpin was famous for his learning, his piety and his fearless preaching. His contemporaries speak with great admiration of his eloquence and his missionary zeal, but only one sermon has survived by which his manner of preaching may be judged. He was known and respected throughout the North Country, and the largest churches were crowded to capacity wherever he preached.³⁴

³⁴. Biographies include George Carleton, *Life of Bernard Gilpin*, (London, 1629), and William Gilpin, *Life of Bernard Gilpin*, (London, 1753).

CHAPTER VI

THE PURITAN AGE

AS EARLY as the days of Edward VI, who reigned from 1547 to 1553, there were men who believed that the English Reformation had not gone far enough. John Hooper, when elected bishop of Gloucester, objected to the use of episcopal vestments, and was imprisoned for a time before the matter was settled by compromise. During Edward's reign, Cranmer had brought foreign theologians of Calvinistic views to England, and through these men Calvinistic teachings became known.

During Mary's reign, 1553 to 1558, many Protestants were compelled to flee to the European continent in order to escape persecution. At Geneva, at Zurich, in Holland, and in some of the German cities these English refugees became influenced by Calvinism. When they returned to England at the death of Mary, they brought with them the opinions that they had formed while abroad. These returning refugees, some 800 in number, were confident that Elizabeth would restore the Protestantism of her brother Edward VI. Elizabeth disappointed them. Possessed of a degree of political shrewdness, she resolved to pursue a mediating course between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism. There were more than 9,000 clergymen in England who had grown up under the pre-Reformation ways, and it was not deemed wise to introduce sweeping changes. The two Prayer Books of Edward VI's day had retained much of the ancient liturgy and rubrics.

When Elizabeth came to the throne, two important laws were passed, namely the Act of Supremacy and the Act of Uniformity. It was decreed that "No foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate, spiritual or temporal, shall at any time after the last day of this session of Parliament, use, enjoy or exercise any manner of power, jurisdiction, superiority, authority, preeminence or privilege, spiritual or ecclesiastical, within the realm." The supervision of the Church of England, its doctrine, practice and forms of worship was given to the Queen, who was authorized to appoint

suitable agents to carry it out. The Second Book of Common Prayer of Edward VI, with a few changes, was adopted. The ornaments of the rubrics were to be the same as in Edward VI's reign. All clergy were required to take an oath of obedience to these laws.

This mediating position of the Church of England, while rejecting the authority of the Roman hierarchy, nevertheless preserved the Roman Catholic form of church government, with its archbishops, bishops, priests and deacons. A modified form of the traditional order of worship was retained. This Church of England was declared to be the State Church and every citizen was presumed to be a member of it and subject to it. Its doctrines, practice, forms of worship and ceremonial were to be binding upon all, clergy and laity alike. The clergy were required by law to conform to it, under pain of deprivation, and the laity were obliged to attend church service on all Sundays and festival days under penalty of a fine of one shilling for every service missed. Thirteen bishops and about 200 clergymen who refused to take the Oath of Obedience were deprived of their offices.

The growth of Puritan ideas was gradual. At first there were men who objected to church vestments and to certain details of ceremonial. Some of the English refugees who had returned from Geneva brought back with them the "reformed" objection to the cap and surplice worn in England by the clergy. They objected to the sign of the cross in Baptism, and to the custom of kneeling when receiving Holy Communion. Queen Elizabeth took delight in colorful vestments and an impressive ceremonial, and she ordered Archbishop Parker to compel the use of these things. Parker was not favorable to the use of vestments at the outset, but he conformed to the wishes of Elizabeth.

In 1564 some of the clergy who were known to hold Puritan views were deprived of their congregations. In 1567 a group of about one hundred laymen met at Plumbers' Hall in London, for worship. They were arrested and their leaders imprisoned. In 1572 an effort was made to establish an independent congregation in London with a Scottish form

of government. Field and Wilcox, two of the men who attempted it, were cast into prison.

Queen Elizabeth did not believe that every clergyman should preach. In order to check the spread of Puritan opinions, she believed that one or two preaching clergymen in each diocese would prove sufficient. When Grindal became archbishop, he permitted a kind of informal service called "prophesying," at which short sermons were preached. Queen Elizabeth ordered Grindal to suppress this form of preaching, and when he refused, she suspended him from office and his see was sequestered.

Archbishop Grindal was succeeded in 1583 by John Whitgift, a man with a fiery zeal for uniformity. In order to suppress the Puritans, he drew up his notorious Five Articles. These decreed that: no preaching, catechizing or praying be permitted in any private home where any are present besides the family; that no one be permitted to preach or catechize unless he read the whole service, and administer the Sacrament four times a year; that all clergy wear clerical vestments; that no one be permitted to preach unless he be ordained by the Church of England; that none be allowed to preach unless he accept the Queen as sovereign head of both State and Church, that he use only the Book of Common Prayer, and that he subscribe to the Book of Articles of 1562. Archbishop Whitgift ruled for twenty years. Enforcing his Five Articles rigidly, he ejected several hundred Puritan clergymen from their livings and suspended hundreds of others. At one time, toward the end of Elizabeth's reign, one-third of all the 9,000 or more clergy of the Church of England were either deprived of office or else under suspension.

Puritan influence had been growing steadily, however, and many changes had been made. Altars were removed from churches and a small Communion table set up in the midst of the building. The use of the cope had been discontinued, as well as the custom of bowing at the name of Jesus. Organs and choirs were silenced, and in many cases stained glass windows were destroyed on the pretext that more light was needed so that the people might read their prayers.

Toward the end of Elizabeth's reign, Richard Hooker set forth his views regarding the apostolic origin of the episcopate. Hooker was not an extremist. He was not in favor of enforcing this form of church government by law, and he permitted exceptions for valid reasons.

The reign of the House of Tudor came to an end when Elizabeth died in 1603. King James VI of Scotland was called to the English throne. Despotic, arrogant and unionistic, he determined to bring about a union of England and Scotland, and to create a single State-controlled prelatic church for both countries. Aware of the bitter struggle that had taken place in Scotland between James and the leaders of the Scottish Kirk, the Puritans realized that the new King was not their friend. James VI of Scotland became James I of England, and he ruled from 1603 to 1625.

At the outset the strong Puritan party was not hostile to the rule of bishops, nor to the liturgy, nor even to the idea of a State Church with the despotic James at its head. They were hostile to Roman Catholic doctrine and ceremonial, and they would have made certain revisions in the Prayer Book, were they given a chance.

Their first act was to present the Millenary Petition, signed by about 800 clergymen. They sought in this petition to bring about certain reforms. One of the things to which they objected was pluralism, by which a clergyman could hold two or more livings at the same time. This evil led easily to another, absenteeism, wherein a clergyman could hold a benefice and draw the salary connected with it, and yet rarely if ever set foot within the bounds of the parish.

The King met the Puritans at the Hampton Court Conference of 1604. This three-day meeting was attended by four Puritan leaders, nine bishops, seven deans, two common clergy and the King himself. After hearing the requests of the Puritans, King James declared that they were seeking to overthrow the right of the State to control the Church; and in its place to set up a Scottish form of church government in which a presbytery, composed of clergymen and lay representatives, should govern the congregations. Finally he strode from the room declaring: "I shall make them

conform themselves, or I will harry them out of the land, or else the worse."

In 1608 a group of people, chiefly in Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire, withdrew from the Church of England and became Separatists. They went to Holland, where they lived for twelve years. Then, returning to Plymouth in Devon, they set sail in 1620 in the Mayflower for America, hoping to enjoy the religious liberty that had been denied them under the tyrannical rule of James I and his despotic bishops.

Charles I came to the throne in 1625 and ruled until 1649. While a better man than his father insofar as his personal character is concerned, yet his attitude toward the Puritans was one of oppression. During his reign the House of Commons was strongly Puritan, and sought to enact laws which would purify the Established Church of some of the things that had given offense in the past.

About the year 1630 the persecution under Archbishop Laud began. A fanatic in regard to religious uniformity, Laud sought to compel the Puritans to conform at any cost. Men who spoke against the bishops were flogged in public, exposed in the pillory, and in some cases their ears were cut off. Many of the more extreme men in the Puritan party had begun to oppose the frivolities of the day, and to urge a form of Protestant asceticism that included condemnation of the theatre, of dancing and of Sunday sports. Those who preached these things were punished. The *Book of Sports* was reissued, and the Continental Sabbath with all its sports, was encouraged by the enemies of Puritanism, under the guise of Christian liberty. Many Puritans were imprisoned, others deprived of their homes by means of ruinous fines, still others driven from England and compelled to flee to Holland and to America. New ceremonies and canon laws, abhorrent to the Puritan mind, were enacted in 1640, by the Convocation.

Weary of the despotism of Charles I, Archbishop Laud and the prelates, the people rose in revolt in 1642, and the Civil War followed. The majority of the nobles, the bishops and many of the landed gentry supported the Royalists. The Puritans and many of the people of the middle class

took the part of the Parliamentarians. In its earlier stages the war seemed to be going in favor of the Royalists, but in 1643 the people of Scotland came to the aid of the Parliamentarians. A treaty was entered into between the English Puritans and the Scottish leaders. Known as the Solemn League and Covenant this agreement sought to establish a form of religion which should be in harmony with the Word of God and the teachings of the Genevan reformers. Scotland sent an army to assist the English Parliamentarians. A battle fought in 1644 at Marston Moor, and the Battle of Naseby in 1645, resulted in the defeat of the Royalist forces. Archbishop Laud was brought to trial and beheaded in 1645, and Charles I met the same fate in 1649.

Oliver Cromwell, an English Puritan army officer, had distinguished himself at Marston Moor. He became the leader of the victorious Parliamentarians. The Westminster Assembly of Divines met in London, abolished the rule of bishops, rejected the Book of Common Prayer, and adopted a declaration of faith known as the Westminster Confession, because of the fact that the Assembly had met in the town of Westminster, two miles southwest of the London of those days.

An effort was made to establish a uniform method of church government in England and Scotland, based upon the Scottish plan, commonly called "the presbytery." In this form of government there were no archbishops, bishops, priests or deacons. Each congregation was governed by its local kirk session, made up of the pastor and several of the leading men of the local church. The congregations were banded together by means of the presbytery, composed of the pastor and a lay representative from each congregation. These in turn sent representatives to a larger body called the synod. From time to time a national body, known as the General Assembly, met. Some of the Puritans objected to this form of church government, declaring that it was the objectionable prelatial system under a new name, with a group of men taking the place of the bishop, and a larger group corresponding to the archbishop and the Convocation. They demanded complete independence for every local congregation.

For some time several denominational tendencies had been in evidence. A strong group within the English Church and a minority in Scotland favored a State Church, ruled by bishops. From this group emerged the Episcopal Church of England. Those who favored the Scottish form of representative government, composed of the kirk session, the presbytery, the synod and the General Assembly, the whole popularly called "the presbytery," became known in time as Presbyterians. The group who rejected both forms of government, and favored independence of the local congregations, came to be known as the Brownists, or Independents. This group became the Congregationalists.

Oliver Cromwell, the Puritan, was formally declared Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland in 1653, and he held this position until his death in 1658. His son Richard who succeeded him was neither a Puritan nor a statesman, and after a year he abdicated. The Long Parliament had convened under King Charles I in 1640 and had been dissolved by Cromwell in 1653. It was set up again in 1659 and convened for a year.

In 1660 the new parliament restored the monarchy, under Charles II, who had been in exile at Breda. Thirteen members of the High Court of Justice, and Sir Harry Vane, a leader in the Long Parliament, were hanged. The bodies of Cromwell and several of his associates, who had been buried in Westminster Abbey, were taken up and hanged in their shrouds. In 1661 the episcopacy was reestablished, and an Act of Uniformity passed, requiring all clergymen and schoolmasters to conform to the Prayer Book. About 2,000 clergymen who refused to conform were deprived of their congregations. These included Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists and Quakers, who became known as Dissenters. In 1664 the Conventicle Act was passed, making it illegal for Dissenters to meet for worship. Any gathering other than a private family, where more than four persons in addition to the family were present, was defined as a conventicle. In 1665 the Five Mile Act was passed, making it unlawful for any clergyman who had been deprived of his congregation for nonconformity, to come within five miles of any place where he had formerly preached, or to preach

in any large town. Should such men take an oath renouncing the Solemn League and Covenant, and pledging themselves never to take up arms against the King, they could preach. No man was permitted to hold any office in town or city unless he was willing to take an oath renouncing the Solemn League and Covenant, pledge his loyalty to the King, and agree to become a communicant member of the Church of England.

The sermons of Puritan times, both in England and in Continental Europe, reflect strongly the influence of the Scholastics. Scholastic theology was rejected, but the structural form of sermons has all the multitude of main divisions and subdivisions that were so popular among the Schoolmen. This complicated method takes the form of observations, doctrines and uses, or particulars. Introductions are often lengthy. Several "observations" are proposed. Doctrines, either derived from the text or else suggested by it, are next set forth. The sermon concludes with a number of "uses" or applications. Each main division is made to yield several subdivisions, and at times these are further developed into minor divisions.¹ The aim of preaching in the Puritan era was to present every possible detail of the subject, whether it had any practical relation to the needs of the congregation or not.

This method of homiletics led to a diffused sermon structure instead of unity and progress. Instead of constructing a sermon on the plan of several rivers, which unite and form one great stream that moves forward steadily toward a definite goal, the sermons of Puritan times were constructed on the plan of a tree. A general theme was stated, and then each one of its details was traced out in turn, as one might trace each limb and each branch of a tree. It was a mixed style. Some of the preachers of those days derived their divisions and subdivisions from the text, but more often than not, the divisions and subdivisions were

¹. John Owen's sermon on Hab. 3, 1 begins with a four-fold division, which he subdivides into almost 150 observations, reasons, uses, particulars, etc., see Robinson's translation of Jean Claude's *Essays on the Composition of a Sermon*, (Edited by C. Simon, New York, 1849), vol. 2, p. 458.

based partly upon the thoughts of the text and partly upon ideas suggested by the general nature of the subject. This rage for minute analysis was often at the expense of literary style and clearness. Often there was little actual advancement of thought, leading the hearers onward, and culminating in a powerful impression. Rather were the sermons of those days a number of minor truths, loosely tied together by the text. If, as Dr. John Watson says, three detached sermonettes do not make one sermon,² how can thirty or forty separate ideas result in unity?

In the matter of "uses" or applications, the preachers of Puritan times, whether Church of England or Nonconformist, were especially prolific. Jean Claude, a noted French Protestant, declared that there may be twelve, twenty or more uses, and these he defined as 1. Of information; 2. Of instruction; 3. Of examination; 4. Of reproof; 5. Of encouragement; 6. Of comfort; 7. Of exhortation.³ This method was popular considerably before Claude's day. It was said of William Bourne that "he seldom varied the manner of his preaching, which after explication of the text, was doctrinal proof of it from Scripture, by reasoning and answering more and more objections; and then the uses, first, of information, secondly, of confutation of popery, thirdly, of reprehension, fourthly, of examination, fifthly, of exhortation, and lastly, of consolation."⁴

This elaborate form of structural outline began to decline in popularity as early as the days of John Tillotson, (1630-1694), and Edward Stillingfleet, (1635-1699), who sought a more simplified sermonic structural outline. It was an artificial style, and must have imposed a severe tax on the patience of the congregations of those days. Not all the preachers of the Puritan era employed it, however.

In our age of twenty and twenty-five minute sermons and even less, it is difficult to appreciate the patience of the

². John Watson, *The Cure of Souls*, (1896), p. 41.

³. Jean Claude, *Essays on the Composition of a Sermon*, (Robinson), vol. 2, p. 457.

⁴. Quoted by John Brown, *Puritan Preaching in England*, (London and New York, 1900), p. 60.

congregations of Puritan times, who were content to sit quietly in church not two or three hours, but sometimes all day long, listening to sermons and free prayers. Mention has been made of John Howe, (1630-1705), whose services at Great Torrington, Devon, included among other things, a 45-minute exposition, two hours of preaching, two prayers, each a full hour in length, two prayers, each half an hour in length, and one prayer 15 minutes in length. Such a service lasted seven hours. The preachers of the Puritan era believed that no great Scriptural truth can be presented in less than an hour or two. Even a century ago, in the days of Thomas Chalmers and John Caird, it was believed by many that it required a full hour to develop warmth in the preacher, and interest and understanding in the congregation. Wesley and Whitefield, two centuries ago, required even longer to make a powerful impression upon their hearers. There may be an element of truth in such theories in regard to preaching. It is difficult to do justice to a great Scriptural truth in fifteen minutes, nor are there many preachers who are able to develop warmth and interest in so short a time. A number of the most eloquent preachers of the past are said to have preached in a mediocre manner at the outset, and only after twenty minutes to half an hour did they begin to make a powerful impression upon their hearers.

The sermons of the Puritan age had certain faults. There was much fancifulness, playing upon words, many far-fetched parallels and antitheses. Sermons were overloaded with quotations from Greek and Latin writers, often short expressions of three or four words, followed by a translation in the English language. There was often a forcing of ideas, or else a mixture of ideas legitimately derived from the text with other ideas but loosely related, and all for the sake of symmetry of outline. If the fourth main division of the sermon contained five subdivisions, the fifth must have five also, whether they were found in the text or not. This peculiarity is not common to all the preachers, but it exists often enough. It is to be hoped that such pedantry, and such literary conceits were not so common in the sermons as actually delivered as they appear

to be in the printed sermons of the Anglicans and Puritans of the era we are considering.

The preaching of the Puritan age was vigorous, however, in spite of its faults of style. It cannot be denied that it was strongly Biblical. It is true enough that there was, in many cases, faulty exegesis, and forcing of the text in order to support some doctrinal whim of the preacher or of the party to whom he belonged. However, the great "doctrines of grace" as they were called, were by no means neglected; and these were interpreted after the manner of the Calvinists. The Anglican preachers of the Puritan age were more often topical than exegetical, and there was more of a tendency to find refuge in an outward loyalty to the Church and her means of grace than to appeal directly to the Scriptures. The groups of men from whom emerged Presbyterianism and Independency were inclined more toward exegetical preaching, yet each laid great stress upon their forms of government of the visible Church. In one respect both the Established Church and Nonconformity were thoroughly agreed, and that was an outspoken opposition to Rome. The typical Puritan preacher, whether we find him in the State Church, among the Presbyterians or a member of the Independents, expressed himself vigorously against popery.

In both the Church of England and in Nonconformity we find great preachers. Their sermons were thoughtful, careful, with often a vehement note of warning against sin, and an urging upon the congregation the way of grace in Jesus Christ. Some of their sermons are so weighted with thought that one is led to believe that these printed sermons must have been delivered in a simpler form when actually the preacher faced a mixed congregation.

It is equally true that the State Church and Dissent both had their inferior men. The Puritans had their narrow, ranting fanatics whose sermons at times degenerated into mere political harrangues, or else a sour denunciation of all gaiety. The State Church had its slothful, poorly educated men, who were willing to exchange the temporal support of some land-holding nobleman for the task of reading a dull

sermon on Sunday, and sitting at the rich man's table merely to add what little wit they could to the feasting.

It has been pointed out often enough that during the reign of Elizabeth, and especially during the latter part of her reign, a period of brilliant literary achievement in secular production ran parallel with an era in the religious life of the nation when the pulpit failed to produce the same number of men of highest rank. However, matters were by no means hopeless, for we find men among the clergy whose preaching was of a very high order, and whose reputation remains undimmed to this day.

The literary craftsmanship of the Puritan Age deserves more attention than it has been given. Fraser Mitchell⁵ has given us a detailed study of it, and less recent works have noted it. In the earlier days of the Puritan Age especially do we find men who devoted many hours of painstaking care to their sermons. They lived simpler lives than is customary today, and the major task of the preacher was to preach. His sermon preparation was not interrupted by a multitude of meetings, and the local congregation was free from the over-organization that is considered so important today. If the pulpit lagged behind the secular world in the matter of literary quality, this was a fault of later Elizabethan days. In the early Puritan Age there were men whose literary attainments were of the highest order, and one is not surprised to read that some of the better preachers often rewrote a single sentence four or five times in order that it might have the finished literary form that they desired.

It is true enough that the same age produced preachers whose sermons betray hasty preparation, and whose crudity of language is equalled only by their mediocrity of thought. Nevertheless, we find masters of strong, clear, beautiful English, whose literary craftsmanship is possessed of the same perfectness of proportion and carefulness of detail that we find, in our own day, in the architectural masterpieces of a Charles F. McKim or an R. A. Cram. Even hampered as such preachers were by a rigid and highly complicated structural outline, with its multitude

⁵ W. Fraser Mitchell, *English Pulpit Oratory from Andrewes to Tillotson*, (London, 1932).

of doctrines and uses, yet their skill, in the case of the better men, could not be defeated by the structural restrictions that marred the work of the less gifted men.

Edmund Grindal, (c. 1519-1583)

Edmund Grindal was born near St. Bees, Cumberland, about the year 1519. He attended Magdalen College, Christ's College and Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, taking his degree in 1538, elected fellow the same year, made proctor of the University in 1548 and Lady Margaret preacher in 1549. In 1550 he became chaplain to Nicholas Ridley, bishop of London, in 1551 precentor of St. Paul's Cathedral, and a chaplain to Edward VI. The following year he became prebendary of Westminster.

In 1553, when Mary came to the throne, Grindal and others fled to the continent, living successively at Strassbourg, Wasselheim, Speyer and Frankfort. He returned to London in 1559, after the death of Queen Mary. He assisted in revising the liturgy, and he took part in a dispute at Westminster with the Roman Catholic leaders. He was made master of Pembroke Hall in 1559, and then bishop of London. In 1570 he became bishop of York, and in 1576 archbishop of Canterbury. Queen Elizabeth sought his removal from this office because of his Puritan views, and in 1577 he was sequestered by the Star Chamber, but restored to his office in 1582.

Edmund Grindal cared but little for the offices to which he was appointed, but longed to return to congregational life, where he could devote his time to the preparation and preaching of sermons. A Puritan in his views, he was never happy as bishop and archbishop. He was an able preacher, but not an exceptional one, for in his day there were very few preachers of extraordinary power.⁶ Very few of his sermons have survived.

Thomas Lever, (1521-1577)

Thomas Lever was born at Little Lever, Lancs. His education was received at St. John's College, Cambridge,

⁶ J. Strype, *Life and Acts of Edmund Grindal*, (London, 1710).

from which he was graduated in 1548. He became a junior fellow in 1543, a senior fellow in 1548, and was appointed college preacher in the latter year. Lever was one of the leaders of the Protestant group at the University. In 1549 he preached in the Shrouds, St. Paul's Cathedral, London, and the impression that he made was so good that he preached by royal command before Edward VI shortly afterward. Later in the year he preached at St. Paul's Cross, attracting wide attention because of his testimony against the evils of the day. In 1551 he was made master of St. John's College, Cambridge.

At the death of Edward VI in 1553, Thomas Lever was among those who supported the plan of the Duke of Northumberland in placing Lady Jane Grey on the throne. When Mary Tudor seized the throne, Lever was one of those who fled for his life to Zurich. In 1554 he went to Geneva, where he attended Calvin's lectures. In 1556 he was pastor of the English congregation at Aaran. In 1558, after the death of Queen Mary, Lever returned to England. The following year he was made rector and archdeacon of Coventry, in 1562 master of Sherburn Hospital, Durham, and in 1563 canon of Durham. In 1567 he was deprived of his offices because of his nonconformist views.

Thomas Lever was plain-spoken in his preaching, fearless, and was inclined to be sharp-tongued if he felt the occasion demanded it. His sermons attracted considerable attention, but he can hardly be called one of the greatest preachers of his time.

John Jewel, (1522-1571)

John Jewel was born in 1522 at Berimber, Devonshire. He attended Merton College, Oxford, for a time, then Corpus Christi College, from which he was graduated in 1540. In 1542 he was made a fellow at Corpus Christi. While at Oxford he became acquainted with John Parkhurst and with Peter Martyr. Under Parkhurst's direction he made a careful comparative study of the Tyndale and the Coverdale translations of the Bible. He was ordained sometime before the year 1551, during which year he was appointed vicar of

Sunningwell, Oxford. In 1553, when Mary became Queen, he lost his fellowship. He fled to continental Europe, living at Frankfort, Strassbourg and Zurich. On the Continent he met John Knox and other noted leaders, who were suspicious of his sincerity at first, because in an hour of weakness he had made certain concessions which Knox and his associates looked upon as an evidence of doctrinal insincerity.

In 1559, after the death of Queen Mary, John Jewel returned to England. He preached for a time in London, often at St. Paul's Cross. Here he delivered a challenge to the Roman Catholics, calling upon them to show from the Scriptures or from any recognized teacher for 600 years after Christ, any evidence of the doctrines of transubstantiation, the mass, the supremacy of the pope, purgatory, etc. Jewel agreed to renounce Protestantism and unite with the Roman Church, should any such evidence be produced.

In 1560 he was made bishop of Salisbury. Discovering that the indoctrination of the people had been neglected, and that many of the clergy were not strong in the pulpit, Jewel went throughout the diocese on preaching tours, visiting all the congregations in turn and preaching to the people who crowded the churches to hear him. In 1561 he preached another series of sermons at St. Paul's Cross in London. In 1562 he published his *Apologia pro ecclesia Anglicana*, a notable work which stated the case of the Anglican Church against Rome. About the same time he became involved in a controversy with Thomas Harding, who upheld the teachings of the Latin Church.

John Jewel was an excellent preacher, and able to present in a forceful, convincing manner the doctrines that he considered correct. Dargan says that he was "a sound scholar, with a clear head and a good memory, logical and correct. His writings show the confidence of one who is conscious of accurate learning. His sermons lack warmth, but not conviction; fervor, but not strength; imagination and passion, but not logic and clearness. . . . The famous challenge sermon is naturally rather polemical in tone, and is somewhat overloaded with learned quotations, but it is logical and vigorous and not devoid of occasional passages

of feeling and power. In general Jewel's sermons lack the breeziness of Latimer's and the devout glow of Bradford's, but they are strong, clear and sensible presentations of the doctrines and principles dear to all the reformers."⁷

Jewel did not hesitate to condemn the evils of his day, as the following extract from his sermon on Joshua 6, 1-3, will indicate:

"Another fault, no less hurtful to the church of God, is the suffering of pluralities, when one man taketh the profit of two or more benefices, which is not worthy of one. These non-residents and plurality-men teach not, they know not, nor care for the people of their charge; they have brought this confusion and shame into the house of God. They are blind guides, they are the darkness of the world. Against those which are such God sheweth His heavy displeasure: 'My sheep,' saith He, 'wandered through all the mountains, and upon every high hill: yea, My flock was scattered through all the earth; and none did seek or search for them.' And again: 'Neither did My shepherds seek My sheep; but the shepherds fed themselves, and not My sheep.' And by the prophet Jeremy He saith: 'They that should minister the law knew Me not.' And again: 'The pastors are become beasts, and have not sought the Lord; therefore have they none understanding; and all the flocks of their pastures are scattered.' These either be a remnant of the wicked inhabitants of Hiericho, that resist the passage of God's people toward the land of promise, or such as have forgotten the commandment of the Lord, and have given themselves to do the sins of the people whom the Lord gave over unto them. These be they that seek the restoring of Hiericho, and the overthrow of Hierusalem; therefore the curse of God will fall upon them: the blood of God's people shall be required at their hands, because they bring the abomination of desolation into the holy place; because they suffer Christ's flock to perish for lack of knowledge, and to be carried away after every wind of false doctrine. God grant all such, that they may see with their eyes, and understand in their hearts, and know the gracious goodness of the Lord,

⁷. E. C. Dargan, *A History of Preaching*, vol. 1, (New York, 1905), pp. 508-509.

that the people be not through their negligence like horse and mule; but that they may discern between darkness and light, and between Hiericho and Hierusalem; that they may be able to give a reason of the faith which is in them, and that they may teach the same unto their children. So shall we be built upon a rock, so shall we stand as firm as mount Sion, so shall we never be confounded.”⁸

Jewel's sermons are expository as a rule, and they give evidence of a wide acquaintance with the Scriptures.⁹ His style is simple and beautiful, and there is a finish to it, a cadence, a careful balancing and rounding out of his sentences that reveal his painstaking literary craftsmanship. Read once more the quotation from his sermon in the foregoing paragraph, and read it slowly, as it was written. It has much of the sonorous cadence of the Prayer Book translation of the Collects, and its beautifully balanced periods remind one of the finished literary style of the Authorized Version of the Bible, which did not appear until forty years after Jewel's death.

Thomas Cartwright, (1535-1603)

Thomas Cartwright, one of the first of the Puritans, was born in Herefordshire in 1535. He attended Clare Hall, Cambridge, from 1547 to 1549, and St. John's College from 1550 to 1553. At the accession of Queen Mary he left Cambridge and became a law clerk, but in 1559 he returned to the university, was made fellow of St. John's College in 1560 and of Trinity College in 1562. In 1565 he attracted attention because of his opposition to the surplice. He took his degree in 1567.

In 1569 he was made Lady Margaret professor of divinity at Cambridge, where his lectures on the Acts of the Apostles attracted wide interest. He began to lecture and preach against certain practices of the Church of England that he

⁸. *Works of John Jewel*, (1847), vol. 2, p. 984.

⁹. *Works of John Jewel*, (London, 1609). 8 vol. ed., (Oxford, 1848); 4 vol. ed., (Cambridge, 1845-50). Biographies: L. Humphrey, *Joannis Juelli Vita et Mors*, (London, 1573); D. Featley, *Memoir of John Jewel*, (London, 1609); C. Woodsworth, *Ecclesiastical Biography*, (London, 1853).

declared to be contrary to the Scriptures. It is said that when he preached at St. Mary's church, the sexton and his assistants removed the windows so that the people who crowded the churchyard, unable to get into the church, could hear.

It was about this time that he formulated six principles which were to become the teachings of the early Puritans. They were: 1. That the titles and functions of archbishops and archdeacons should be abolished; 2. That the functions of bishops and deacons should be restored to their apostolic meaning, the bishops to preach and the deacons to have oversight of the poor; 3. That the church ought not to be ruled by bishops and archdeacons, but by ministers and presbyters; 4. That there should be no ministers at large, but each clergyman should have charge of a specific congregation; 5. That no man should solicit or present himself as candidate for the ministry; 6. That pastors are not to be created by the bishop, but to be regularly called by the people.

Because of his zeal for church reform, he was deprived of his professorship in 1570 and of his fellowship in 1571. He visited Geneva, and upon his return to England in 1572 he was imprisoned. In 1574 he became pastor of an English congregation in Antwerp. In 1584, King James VI offered him the chair of divinity at St. Andrews in Scotland, but he declined it. In 1585 he returned to England, and the following year he was appointed master of a hospice at Warwick, given permission to preach, to catechize and to conduct daily devotions. In 1590 he was imprisoned because of his Puritan views, and in 1595-1598 he was with Baron Zouche in Guernsey. He was selected by Beza to reply to the Reims translation of the New Testament.

Thomas Cartwright believed that the Scriptures are the infallible rule of faith, as well as of church government and practice. He believed that uniformity of religion is a desirable thing, and is to be enforced by the State. He favored rule by the presbytery rather than by bishops. He was a man of exceptional uprightness in his private life, and although denounced bitterly by his enemies, he declined to

reply except in the most moderate language; and he would permit no sharp criticism of his opponents in his presence. He belonged to the transition period between Post-Reformation times and the Puritan Age; and his preaching did much to give form to the principles that were presently to become the accepted teachings of the Puritans.

Cartwright was one of the men who laid stress upon the principle that the Church has a right to manage its spiritual affairs without interference from the State.¹⁰ This principle had been urged in Scotland by Andrew Melville, (1545-1622), both in his sermons and in his famous address to James I, in which he established the principle that there are "two kings and two kingdoms" in the land, one the secular and the other the spiritual. Accustomed as we are today to the separation of Church and State, it is difficult to realize the unusual character of such a principle, to say nothing of the danger to the men who preached such truths.

Lawrence Chaderton, (c. 1536-1640)

Lawrence Chaderton was born about the year 1536 in Lancashire, where his father was a wealthy landed proprietor. In 1565 the younger Chaderton entered Christ's College, Cambridge. He took his B. A. degree in 1567, and was fellow from about 1568 to 1576. He entered Cambridge a Roman Catholic, but while there he became acquainted with the teachings of the Reformation. For some time he passed through a severe struggle, reading his Bible diligently, discussing it with others, and comparing its teachings with that of his Church. In the end he became a Protestant. His father was grieved at this step, and made every effort to prevent it, but the young man was not to be turned aside from the course that he had taken.

He was made afternoon lecturer at St. Clement's College, Cambridge, and for fifty years his sermons influenced the undergraduates and others, who crowded the chapel to hear the noted preacher. He had a mind capable of grasping a subject and then presenting it to his hearers in

¹⁰. B. Brook, *Memoir of the Life and Writings of Thos. Cartwright*, (London, 1845); B. Brook, *Lives of the Puritans*, 3 vols., (London, 1813); F. L. Colville, *Worthies of Warwickshire*, (London, 1870).

a clear, interesting and forceful manner. Thus his sermons drew large congregations. He had the ability not only to persuade his hearers, but to stir them to action. With an excellent command of clear English, a wide understanding of the Scriptures, a voice of great range and power, and a fine personality, he was one of the most successful preachers of his time.

Chaderton became master of Emmanuel College in 1578, holding this position until 1622. In 1604 he was a member of the Hampton Court Conference, and from 1607 to 1611 he was one of the translators of the King James Bible. However, it was his preaching that won for him his greatest fame. More than forty men were not only convinced of the claims of Protestantism, but became clergymen of more or less distinction. One of these was Ezekiel Culverwell, his brother-in-law. Culverwell became a clergyman, and had in his congregation a young man whom he in turn influenced. This was John Winthrop, later Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts Bay. Another of the men influenced by Chaderton was William Perkins, who in turn influenced John Cotton, later of Boston, and John Robinson, one of the leaders among the Pilgrim fathers.¹¹

Lawrence Chaderton was a Puritan of moderate views. One of his most famous sermons, on Justification, was preached in London at St. Paul's Cross. He is said to have reached an age of 103 years, retaining his mental and bodily vigor to the last.

Richard Clifton, (c. 1545-1616)

Not much can be learned of the early life of Richard Clifton, one of the first pastors of the Puritan group who assembled for worship at Scrooby manor house. A clergyman named Clifton seems to have been vicar at Marnham, near Newark, in 1585, and this man is usually associated with Richard Clifton. In 1586 he was rector at Babworth, Nottinghamshire. He became associated with the group of Puritans who had taken refuge at Scrooby, near York, and

¹¹. W. Dillingham, *Vita Chadertoni*, (Cambridge, 1700); English ed., (Cambridge, 1884).

in 1608 when John Robinson went to Holland, Clifton became his successor at Scrooby. Later in the same year he too went to Holland, and in 1610 he became pastor at Amsterdam. Between 1610 and 1612 he wrote controversial pamphlets which attracted attention. He is mentioned as "a grave old man with a great white beard," and a preacher of more than ordinary ability and influence.

Henry Smith, (c. 1550-1591)

Henry Smith, a Puritan preacher called "the silver-tongued," was born about the year 1550, of a wealthy family, in Withcote, Leicestershire. He was educated at Oxford, taking his degree in 1578. While at Oxford he became interested in the teachings of the Puritans, and he studied theology with a teacher who was a Puritan. In 1587 he was appointed to Husbands-Bosworth, but because of his Puritan views, he declined to accept it as a called pastor. Not long afterward he was appointed lecturer at St. Clement Danes, in London, where he won great fame as a preacher. His sermons were taken down in shorthand and published, but so unsatisfactory was the result that he made a selection of his sermons, edited them carefully and published them. This collection ran through some 17 editions. Smith's stay in London was brief, for his health failed, and in 1590 he resigned his lectureship and sought to regain his strength in the country. He died the following year at the age of 41.

Thomas Fuller, who wrote the memoir that appears as a preface to Henry Smith's sermons, says of him: "He was commonly called 'the silver tongued preacher,' and that was but one metal below St. Chrysostom himself. His church was so crowded with auditors, that persons of good quality brought their own pews with them, I mean their legs, to stand thereupon in the alleys. Their ears did so attend to his lips, their hearts to their ears, that he held the rudder of their affections in his hand, so that he could steer them whither he was pleased; and he was pleased to steer them only to God's glory and their own good."¹²

Of the sermons included in his published works, perhaps his *Dialogue Between Paul and King Agrippa* is the

¹². *The Sermons of Master Henry Smith*, (London, 1622).

one most frequently quoted. An extract appears in several works on homiletics and on the history of preaching. Unfortunately this well-known extract has been edited and somewhat modernized. In its original form, as found in the 1622 edition of *The Sermons of Master Henry Smith*, it is as follows:

“Now if we be almost Christians, let us see what it is to be almost a Christian. Almost a sonne, is a bastard. Almost sweet, is unsavourie. Almost hot, is lukewarme, which God spueth out of His mouth, Revel. 3, 15. So almost a Christian, is not a Christian, but that which God spueth out of His mouth. A Christian almost, is like a woman which dieth in travaile: almost she brought foorth a sonne, but that *almost* killed the mother and the sonne too. Almost a Christian, is like Jeroboam, which said, It is too farre to goe to Jerusalem to worship, and therefore chose rather to worship Calves at home. Almost a Christian, is like Micah, which thought himselfe religious enough, because hee had gotten a Priest into his house. Almost a Christian, is like the Ephraimites, which could not pronounce Shibboleth, but Sibboleth. Almost a Christian, is like Ananias, which brought a part, but left a part behind. Almost a Christian, is like Elies sonnes which polled the sacrifices: like the figge-tree which deceived Christ with leaves: like the Virgines which carried lampes without oyle: like the willing unwilling sonne, which said he would come, and came not. What is it to be borne almost? If the new man be but borne almost, he is not borne. What is it to be married almost unto Christ? He which is married almost, is not married. What is it to offer a sacrifice almost? The sacrifice must be killed or ever it can be sacrificed. He which gives almost, gives not, but denieth. He which beleeveth almost, beleeveth not, but doubteth. Can the doore which is but almost shut, keep out the thiefe? Can the cup which is but almost whole, hold any wine? Can the ship which is but almost sound, keepe out water? The Souldier which doth but almost fight, is a coward. The Physician which doth but almost cure, is but a slubberer. The servant which doth but almost labour is a loyterer. I cannot tell what to make of these defectives, nor where to place them, nor how

to call them, nor unto what to liken them: They are like unto children which sit in the market place, where is mourning and piping, and they neither weepe nor dance, but keepe a note betweene them both, they weepe almost, and dance almost. Beleevest thou almost? Be it unto thee (saith Christ) as thou beleevest. Therefore if thou beleevest, thou shalt be saved. If thou beleevest almost, thou shalt be saved almost. As a pardon comes while the thiefe hangs upon the gallowes, he is almost saved, but the pardon doth him no good: So he which is almost a Christian, almost zealous, almost righteous, which doth almost love, almost beleeve, shall be almost saved: that is, if he had beene a Christian altogether, he should not be damned. Thus every man is a Christian almost, before he can be a Christian altogether.”¹³

The book from which this quotation is taken is a thick octavo volume, “Imprinted at London by Felix Kyngston, for Thomas Man, dwelling in Pater-noster-row, at the signe of the Talbot. 1622.” The memoir of Smith is written in longhand, and signed “Thomas Fuller.”

Richard Hooker, (c. 1553-1600)

Richard Hooker was born about the year 1553 in Heavitree, now a part of Exeter, Devonshire. He was graduated from Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in 1574, elected to a fellowship in 1577, and later he became a tutor at his university. He was ordained in 1581, called to Drayton-Beauchamp, Lincolnshire, in 1584, and made a Master of the Temple, London, in 1585. Here his associate was Walter Travers, a Puritan, who held the afternoon lectureship. Hooker became involved in a controversy with Travers, and the sermons and lectures of the former are supposed to be the basis of the great work for which he is famous. Hooker was appointed to Boscombe, Wilts., in 1591, and about the same time he was made prebend of Salisbury. In 1595 he was appointed to Bishopsbourne, in Kent.

Richard Hooker's lasting fame is due to his *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, five books of which appeared between

¹³. *Op. cit.*, pp. 417-418.

1594 and the time of his death. The manuscript for the last three books of this great work could not be found among his papers, and it is believed that his wife destroyed them. However, a fairly complete rough draft, in his handwriting, was found, and the last three books were published some time after his death. Keble and others believe that much of the sixth book is by a hand other than that of Hooker.

Written without animosity, Hooker answers the assertions of the Puritans by declaring that such things as church government and forms of worship are matters of Christian liberty. The practice of the Apostolic Church, he maintains, is not binding upon the conscience of the Christian in matters that are clearly external. Forms of worship, as well as details of church government may vary according to circumstances. The fact that a thing is not expressly commanded by Scripture need not necessarily imply that it is to be condemned. Such things may be matters of liberty, where the general principles of Scripture and man's reason may serve as a guide.

Richard Hooker is often classed among the most eminent preachers of the closing years of the sixteenth century. However, not much remains by which to judge him. Several existing sermons are attributed to him, but they are tedious and involved in their style, and can hardly be the work of the same man who wrote with such admirable clearness the famous *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*. Hooker's domestic life was far from happy, and at his death it is possible that his written sermons shared the same fate as the finished manuscripts of the last three books of his famous writing. It is scarcely probable that the same orderly mind that produced the *Ecclesiastical Polity*, and expressed it in clear, logical English, could produce the tedious, confused sermons that are attributed to Hooker. His contemporaries looked upon him as one of the foremost preachers of his day, and it is only reasonable to assume that his sermon manuscripts were destroyed shortly after his death.¹⁴

¹⁴. Gauden, *Memoir of Richard Hooker*, in *Hooker's Works*, (1662); also Izaak Walton's *Memoir of Richard Hooker*, in *Hooker's Works*, 1666 ed.); V. Stanley, *Richard Hooker*, (1907); L. S. Thornton, *Richard Hooker, a Study of his Theology*, (1924).

A statue of Richard Hooker guards the north entrance to the cathedral close at Exeter, the city of his birth.

Launcelot Andrewes, (1555-1626)

Launcelot Andrewes was born in London in 1555. He received his early education at Merchant Taylor's school, going from there to Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, where he was graduated in 1575 and elected to a fellowship a year later. He was ordained in 1580, and in 1588 he became vicar at St. Giles's, Cripplegate, London. He was made a prebend at St. Paul's in 1589, at the same time becoming catechist at Pembroke, and then prebend of Southwell. He was made dean of Westminster in 1601, and one of the chaplains to the Queen. He became bishop of Chichester in 1605, of Ely in 1609 and of Winchester in 1618. He served as a member of the Hampden Court conference.

Bishop Andrewes was one of the most learned men of his day, and especially skilled in ancient languages. He was one of the men who issued the Authorized Version of the Bible, and is said to have been the first man named on that committee. He was councillor to three sovereigns, a man of exceptional wisdom and sound judgment, deeply pious and ascetic in his living. Theologically he was a strict Anglican, with little tendency toward either Puritanism or Romanism.

Bishop Andrewes was considered one of the most eminent preachers in his day. His sermons, 96 of which were published and exist in six volumes, show him to be a man who combined careful scholarship and a vigorous rhetorical style. They are almost too learned to be read with ease. Latin expressions are used profusely; sometimes six or more of these in a single paragraph. Like John Donne and others, Bishop Andrewes usually quotes in Latin and straightway translates into English. Quotations from the Church Fathers are employed frequently. His sentence structure is simple and his paragraphs short. It is possible that the people to whom he preached were acquainted with Greek and Latin to a greater extent than is the case today. Imagine a congregation of our own day listening to a stirring

peroration, such as the following, taken at random from his collected works:

"Praying to Him, That was the *hodie genitus* of this day, Him, That was begotten, and Him, by Whom He was begotten; that we may have our parts, as in *praedicabo*, 'preaching;' so likewise in *legem*, 'the law;' in both, *legem fidei*, 'to believe aright,' and *legem factorum*, 'to live according;' that we, performing the filial duties required, may obtain the filial rights promised, and may be in the number of those, to whom first, and last, *filius Meus tu* shall be said, to our everlasting comfort, and 'to the praise of the glory of His grace,' through Christ our Lord."¹⁵

Such pedantry as this was common enough in Elizabethan days, and Launcelot Andrewes is neither better nor worse than his contemporaries in this respect. Such constructions were quite the fashion, and it was considered an evidence to careful preparation to overload one's sermon with copious expressions in Latin and Greek, and to quote the Church Fathers more frequently in some instances than the inspired writings of Holy Writ. There were exceptions. Even in those days there were faithful men, here and there, who preached repentance and faith in simple language. Such men regarded the instruction of the humbler people as of greater importance than a reputation for great learning.

William Perkins, (1558-1602)

William Perkins was born at Marston Jabbett, Warwickshire, in 1558. He attended Christ's College, Cambridge, and was graduated M. A. in 1584. He was elected to a fellowship in 1582. In his earlier days he was addicted to drink and profanity. He was brought to his senses by overhearing the remark of a stranger, who pointed him out to a child as "that drunken Perkins." After his religious awakening he begged permission of the keeper of the jail to preach to the prisoners, and so effectively did he preach

¹⁵. L. Andrewes, *Ninety-six Sermons*, vol. 1, pp. 301-302. Biographies: A. T. Russell, *Memoirs of the Life and Works of Launcelot Andrewes*, (London, 1863); R. L. Ottley, *Launcelot Andrewes*, (London, 1894); Alexander Whyte, *Launcelot Andrewes and his Private Devotions*, (Edinburgh, 1896).

Law and Gospel that the townspeople came in numbers to the castle where the prisoners were kept, and were allowed to attend the services that Mr. Perkins conducted each Sunday.

After his ordination he was appointed lecturer at Great St. Andrew's. Here his sermons attracted attention, and he was summoned before the High Commission and questioned in regard to his attitude toward Puritanism. In 1590 he published his *Armilla aurea*, and his strict Calvinism stirred Arminius to reply, and this in part led to the Arminian Controversy. In 1592 he published his catechism, which he called *The Foundation of the Christian Religion into Six Principles*, and in so doing he laid the foundation for a number of later catechisms by Puritan writers.

William Perkins published an important work on homiletics. It was written in Latin, but was translated into English in 1613 by Thomas Tuke. This is believed to be the first work on homiletics in the English language.¹⁶ The English translation was called *The Art of Prophecyng*. The various chapter headings, which we take the liberty to express in modern English are: The art or faculty of prophecyng; Of the preaching of the Word; Of the ways of expounding; Of the right dividing of the Word; How to use and apply doctrine; Of the kind of application; Of the use of memory in preaching; The promulgation or uttering of the sermon; Of the conceiving of prayers. Perkins expressed these chapter headings in the quaint manner of his day: "Of the waies of expounding; Of the waies how to use and apply doctrines," etc.

William Perkins was a preacher not only of unusual forcefulness, but his sermons are possessed of evangelical richness. It has been said that some preachers err in preaching all Gospel and no Law, whereas Perkins preached all Law and all Gospel. He is said to have combined "the vehemence and thunder of a Bonaerges . . . and the gentle persuasiveness and comforts of a Barnabas."¹⁷ In theology

¹⁶ E. C. Dargan, *The Art of Preaching in the Light of its History*, (New York, 1922), pp. 144-145.

¹⁷ E. Middleton, *Biographia Evangelica*, (London, 1810), vol. 2, p. 323.

he was a rigid Calvinist, and among the Puritans there were few who were his equal in the pulpit. Not only did his preaching attract large congregations, but it produced results in the form of many changed lives. He preached the Law with severity, and many repented of their sins. However, so persuasively did he set forth the grace of God in Jesus Christ that many were shown the way to the foot of the Cross. He was an able teacher and a diligent writer, and his works have been translated into a number of languages, and were read widely long after his death. The life of William Perkins spans almost exactly the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was born the same year that she came to the throne, and he died just before the close of her long reign.

John White, (1570-1615)

John White, an English Puritan, was born in 1570 at Eton Socon, Bedfordshire. His father was vicar of St. Neot's, Hants., and Eton Socon. The lad attended the grammar school of his native village, going from there to Cambridge where he was admitted as sizar at Gonville and Caius College, from which he was graduated in 1590. In 1606 he became vicar of Eccles, Lancs., and fellow of the Collegiate Church, Manchester. Three years later he received the presentation of the rectory of Barsham, Suffolk. In 1614 he was made chaplain in ordinary to King James I.

John White was a lively, colorful preacher, a defender of an extreme type of Calvinism, an outspoken enemy of Roman Catholicism and a defender of royalty. In his sermons the doctrine of reprobation occupies a prominent place. His preaching at St. Paul's Cross, London, attracted great attention because of his lively style and his vehement denunciation of drunkenness and other sins of the day. In 1608 he published *The Way to the True Church*, which was a spirited attack upon the Roman Church, and which brought forth equally racy replies from his opponents.

John Donne, (1573-1631)

John Donne was born in 1573 in London, where his father was a wealthy merchant. His mother was descended

from Sir Thomas More. He was educated at Hart Hall, Oxford, 1584-1587, after which he spent three years at Cambridge. Intending to study law, he was admitted to Lincoln's Inn in 1592. The same year he renounced the Roman Catholic faith. In 1596 he took part in an expedition to Cadiz, and upon his return to England he was appointed secretary to the Keeper of the Great Seal. Between 1601 and 1614 he met with much trouble. He spent his inheritance freely, and came to want.

About the year 1614 he was brought to repentance, and so thoroughly changed was his life that his friends, and even the King, urged him to become a clergyman. He was ordained in 1614, at the age of 41, and his first sermons astonished all who heard him, including some of the nobility. James I was so impressed that he made Donne one of his royal chaplains. In 1616 he was made rector of Keyston, Huntingdonshire, as well as of Sevenoaks, Kent, but he did not take up residence at either place, choosing to remain in London as divinity reader at Lincoln's Inn. There he gained wide fame as an eloquent preacher. He was made dean of St. Paul's Cathedral in 1621, and in 1624 he was made rector of Blunham, Bedfordshire, as well as vicar of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, London.

In his earlier days John Donne not only won fame as a poet, but secured for himself a permanent place in English literature. His poems are marred by the coarseness that was considered fashionable at the time, and in later life it was one of his greatest sorrows that his youthful metrical indiscretions had become so popular that he was unable to suppress them.

Donne's popularity as a preacher began with his days at Lincoln's Inn. He lived but 17 years after his ordination, the last six of which were the period of his widest fame. He had been given a high place among the English preachers of the seventeenth century, and his published sermons were read for years after his death. Their tone is often devout, distinctive and forceful, although not without the pedantic mannerism of his age. They do not prove easy reading today. His copious use of Latin expressions, always fol-

lowed by a free English translation, strikes one as redundant, and too often without excuse. The same is true of his frequent quotations from the Church Fathers, which as often as not serve only to suggest ideas not especially related to his main theme.

One of his sermons, frequently printed in collections of pulpit masterpieces, is his sermon on *Christ's Triumph in the Resurrection*,¹⁸ based upon Acts 2, 36. While it is not without considerable merit, yet continuity of thought, and adherence to the main theme of the discourse, is obscure in several places. A variety of secondary ideas, at times but poorly related to the great theme of the Resurrection, remind one of a book whose foot-notes might be incorporated in the main body of the text. The evangelical note is not very evident, and as an Easter sermon, it leaves much to be desired.

A gruesome statue of Donne, clad in his funeral shroud, stands in the south choir aisle of St. Paul's Cathedral, and is said to be the only such figure to escape the Great Fire.

Dean Alford, in the biography that accompanies John Donne's works, says of his sermons, "We find in them what we feel to be wanting in most of the great preachers of that and the succeeding age, a distinct and clear exposition of the doctrines of Redemption, as declared in the Scriptures." However, a reading of his series of Lenten sermons, as well as his collected Easter sermons would seem to indicate that Donne's sermons, while definite in thought and enriched now and then with striking similes, lack the quality of continuity. Too many divergent thoughts suggest themselves to his fertile mind. Again and again, like some pilgrim on a main highway, he pauses to explore some inviting lane that leads him from his course. His sermons suffer from a multitude of secondary thoughts, all of which are true and stimulating, but which conflict with his main theme, and mar the progression of thought of his sermon. While the evangelical truths of Redemptive Christianity are to be found again and again in Dr. Donne's sermons, yet too often is it in fragmentary form. Seldom does he follow this great

¹⁸. John Donne, *Works*, vol. I, pp. 307-324.

theme through in a logical manner. An extensive list of books speak of John Donne the poet, and there are three or four biographies that tell of his career as a churchman.¹⁹

William Laud, (1573-1645)

As a preacher Archbishop Laud is hardly worthy of more than passing notice. On the other hand, few men have had a greater influence upon preaching in general, misguided and bigoted though it was. This strange combination of misdirected zeal and tyranny was born in Reading, near London, in 1573. After attending the grammar school in Reading, he entered St. John's College, Oxford, and was graduated in 1594. He was elected fellow in 1593, at the age of 20. In 1601 he was ordained a priest of the Church of England, and in 1603 he became chaplain to the earl of Devon.

Even at this early period in his life he began to reason himself into the views that were to bring suffering to many in the years to come. He convinced himself that the Church of England was a true Church of apostolic foundation, and that there could be no true Church without bishops.

Few men have risen to power more rapidly than he. In 1607 he was appointed vicar of Stanford, Northants., in 1608 chaplain to Richard Neile, later archbishop of York, in 1610 he became incumbent at Cuxton, Kent, and in 1611 he was made head of St. John's College, Oxford. This marked the beginning of a turbulent career. Puritanism was strongly represented at Oxford, and Laud's pronounced dislike for Roman Catholicism, Calvinism and especially Puritanism, caused his three years as head of a college to become unpleasant for all concerned.

In 1614 he was given the prebend of Buckden, in 1615 he was made archdeacon of Huntingdon, and in 1616 dean of Gloucester. At Gloucester he caused a turmoil by ordering that the altar be set against the east wall of the chancel. It was not an important matter, but it offended the Puritans,

¹⁹ Henry Alford, *Life of Dr. Donne*, in *Works*, vol. I; Izaak Walton, *Life of John Donne*, (London, 1658); Edmund Gosse, *Life and Letters of John Donne*, (London, 1899); Augustus Jessop, *John Donne, Sometime Dean of St. Paul's*, (London, 1897).

who believed that the altar should stand in the midst of the chancel, some distance away from the wall. Laud's legalism was looked upon by many as an arbitrary display of authority. This opinion was only strengthened when he visited Scotland a year later, where only the black robe and white bands were used. Well aware of this, Laud insisted upon wearing a surplice.

In 1621 Laud was made prebend of Westminster, and the same year he was appointed bishop of St. David's, in Wales. James I, the Scottish King who had succeeded to the English throne, died in 1625, and his son, Charles I, succeeded him. Charles had inherited his full share of the arrogance, the cruelty and the despotism that had marked the 22 years of his father's misrule. Laud and the new King became allies. Both were thorough Erastians, both believed firmly in the divine right of kings, both were convinced that there can be no salvation except through the Church, and no true Church without bishops. Bishops, they believed to be of divine origin. Laud's early religious fervor had developed into a religious despotism. He considered it his life's work to force Erastianism, the episcopacy, the prayer-book and ritualism upon all. Charles I, like his father, was unionistic, and he hoped to accomplish the two tasks in which his father had been unsuccessful, namely the union of the Church of England and the Church of Scotland on an Erastian basis, and then the union of England and Scotland into one nation. In these matters he had Laud's full support.

Of this powerful alliance, Bishop Laud was the abler man of the two. Charles I was tyrannical, unscrupulous and cruel. Bishop Laud was a man of the sort common enough in Church history. He combined fanatical religious zeal with a readiness to employ the tortures of the rack, the gallows and the headsman's block to exterminate what he considered false doctrine. He compiled a list of all the clergy in England and Scotland, and placed a mark after each name. Those who shared his views were marked for advancement. The Puritans in England, who sought to reform the Church, and the men in Scotland who sought to rule the Kirk through the presbytery, were noted with

care and marked for suppression at any cost. The House of Commons, well aware of Laud's fanatical zeal, became thoroughly alarmed, and looked upon him as a threat to civil and religious liberty.

In 1626 Laud became bishop of Bath and Wells, and in 1628 bishop of London. By this time he was a man with almost unlimited power. Men who sought to reform the English Church, whether Puritans or not, were brought before the Star Chamber or the Court of High Commission, the latter a body of bishops and clergymen who had power to enforce the laws of the Church. In 1630 Leighton, a Scotsman, was flogged and his ears cut off because of a pamphlet that he had written against the bishops. William Prynne, an attorney, who had attacked the theatre of his day, was placed in the pillory, his ears were cut off, he was fined 5,000 pounds, and imprisoned. John Bastwick suffered the loss of his ears, and was imprisoned. Prynne was placed in the pillory once more, four years later, with two companions, and the ears of his companions were cut off because of their criticism of Laud.

In 1628 Laud was made bishop of London, and in 1629 he became chancellor of Oxford University. As chancellor, his record was a brilliant one. He introduced many changes that proved of decided advantage to the University even for years after his brief tenure of office came to a close. His career as archbishop of Canterbury was less beneficial. He was appointed to that office in 1633, and at once he began to enforce many things that he considered reforms. He attempted to make all clergymen use the prayer-book in every detail. He restricted the system of lectureships, for he feared that these gave the Puritan party a chance to set forth their teachings in the various congregations where such lectureships existed. He made it compulsory to bow whenever the name "Jesus" was mentioned in the liturgy. He ordered all altars to be placed against the east wall, rather than some distance away from the wall. He opposed the blue-laws by which the Puritans had discouraged Sunday games and recreation. He caused the Book of Sports to be reissued, making Sunday a day of recreation. In 1637 he attempted to force a new liturgy upon the Church of Scot-

land, and this effort led to the Jenny Geddes Riots, and the signing of the National Covenant. Together with the King, he sought to destroy the religious and political liberty of Scotland. He attempted to regulate by force the worship of the English and Scottish people who had emigrated to Holland, and he went so far as to make plans for a regulation of worship in the American colonies.

Archbishop Laud's fanatical zeal led to his downfall. The people finally rebelled against his despotism, and in 1640 the House of Commons brought charges of treason against him. He was imprisoned in the Tower, and when charges of treason could not be sustained, a bill of attainder was issued. In 1644 Laud was brought to trial and the following year he was beheaded. Four years later his ally, King Charles I, suffered a like fate.

To the Calvinist and the Puritan, Laud was a tyrant, whose cruelty toward those who desired church reform brought about his well-deserved end. To the royalists and the prelatists, Laud has always been looked upon as a martyr, and his tyranny is excused on the ground that such things were common in those troubled days.

Archbishop Laud was a curious example of religious bigotry. In his private life he was entirely sincere. His brilliant, but disordered mind had led him to believe that a State Church, governed by bishops, is of divine origin, and must not only be defended at any cost, but its teachings and its form of worship must be enforced by law. He declared his complete acceptance of all the teachings of the Bible, but he believed that in case of a dispute, a Church council is necessary, and can speak with authority. He believed that the Roman Catholic Church is not the true Church, but to be acknowledged as a branch of the true Church. The Church of England, to Laud, was a true Church, although acceptance of all of its doctrines is not necessary. He believed in Church government by authority, and not by persuasion, and that complete uniformity in ritual and ceremonial are of major importance, and must be attained by force, if need be. He had convinced himself that any man who deviated from these views must be looked upon

as a heretic, and that the imprisonment or execution of heretics is pleasing in the sight of God. He believed that salvation is possible only through the Church, its sacraments and its ceremonies, and can be dispensed only through the priests of the Church, ordained and governed by bishops.

Opinions as to Laud's ability as a preacher are by no means unanimous.²⁰ His friends describe him as a preacher of extraordinary power, and easily the foremost of his generation. Puritan writers declare that he was little better than a ranter. Laud has left us little by which to judge him. Seven sermons exist that are known to be genuine, and these were preached on state occasions. They are clear in language and forceful, but they are little more than a statement of his extreme theories in regard to the divine right of kings and the divine origin of government by the prelacy. If we are to judge him by these sermons, it is to be feared that the evangelical truths of the Gospel found little place in his preaching.

It was the misdirected zeal of such men as James I, Archbishop Laud, Charles I and Charles II that drove thousands of people into the ranks of Puritanism, the Independents, Nonconformity and other such groups. In Scotland we find the Covenanters and the Presbyterians as a result of the fanatical zeal and the cruel persecution of men such as James and Charles and Laud. Thousands sought religious freedom in America because of these men. Each of these groups made an important contribution toward the history of preaching, as well as toward the religious freedom which we enjoy today.

Joseph Hall, (1574-1656)

Joseph Hall was born at Ashby-de-la-Zeuch, Leicestershire. He attended Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and was graduated in 1592. He taught rhetoric for two years at his college, was ordained in 1601 and given the parish of Halsted, Suffolk. In 1608 he was appointed chaplain to the Prince of Wales, and the same year he was given the living

²⁰. See Peter Heylyn, *Cyprianus Anglicus*, (London, 1668); W. H. Hutton, *William Laud*, (London, 1895); John Norton, *Life of William Laud*, (Boston, 1864), etc.

at Waltham. In 1616 he served as chaplain in France to the English ambassador, and in 1617 he accompanied James I to Scotland at the time that an effort was made to impose a new liturgy upon the Scottish people. In 1617 he was appointed dean of Worcester, and in the year 1618 he was one of the King's commissioners to the Synod of Dort. He declined to become bishop of Gloucester in 1624, but accepted the office of bishop of Exeter in 1627. In 1641 he was made bishop of Norwich, only to be imprisoned with eleven other bishops in the Tower, on charges of treason. These charges were not sustained, and he was released in 1642. In 1647 he was ejected from office, his property seized, even to his personal belongings. He retired to Higham, near Norwich, and lived quietly until his death in 1656.

In theology Bishop Hall was a moderate Calvinist, and it was due to his suspected leaning toward Arminianism, and his ecumenical attitude toward the Puritans that he aroused the antagonism of William Laud. Joseph Hall published many writings, and his works have been collected and exist in 12 volumes.²¹ He was noted as a poet and a satirist.

Hall had but few equals as a pulpit orator. Fuller says that he was "not ill at controversies, more happy at comments, very good in characters, best of all in his meditations." His exegesis was not always exact, his style is usually clear, but inclined now and then to be ornate, but he was forceful and strongly evangelical. His faults are those that were common in his day, and were not at that time looked upon as blemishes. A careful reading of his best known sermon, *The Believer Crucified with Christ*, will prove time well spent. His description of the Saviour upon the cross,²² while somewhat oratorical and even slightly dramatic, is nevertheless gripping, and will convey to the reader a hint of Joseph Hall's power in the pulpit. The closing paragraph of the same

²¹. *Works of Joseph Hall*, 12 vols., (Oxford, 1837-39). Biographies: G. Lewis, *Life of Joseph Hall*, (London, 1886); John Jones, *Memoirs of Bp. Joseph Hall*, (London, 1826); Thos. Fuller, *History of the Worthies of England*, (London, 1662).

²². *The Works of Joseph Hall, D.D.*, (Oxford, 1837-39), vol. 5, pp. 327-338.

sermon may serve as an illustration of this eminent preacher's style:

"The first Adam brought in death to all mankind; but, at last, actually died for none but himself. The second Adam died for mankind, and brought life to all believers. Seest thou thy Saviour, therefore, hanging upon the cross? All mankind hangs there with Him, as a knight or burgess of parliament voices his whole borough or county. What speak I of this? The members take the same lot with the Head. Every believer is a limb of that Body; how can he, therefore, but die with Him, and in Him? That real union, then, which is betwixt Christ and us, makes the cross and passion of Christ ours; so as the thorns pierced our heads, the scourges blooded our backs, the nails wounded our hands and feet, and the spear gored our sides and hearts; by virtue whereof we receive justification from our sins, and true mortification of our corruptions. Every believer, therefore, is dead already for his sins, in his Saviour; he needs not fear that he shall die again. God is too just to punish twice for one fault; to recover the sum both of the surety and principal. All the score of our arrearages is fully struck off by the infinite satisfaction of our blessed Redeemer. Comfort thyself, therefore, thou penitent and faithful soul, in the confidence of thy safety. Thou shalt not die, but live, since thou art already crucified with thy Saviour. He died for thee, thou diedst in Him. 'Who shall lay anything to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifies! Who shall condemn? It is Christ that died; yea, rather, that is risen again, and lives gloriously at the right hand of God; making intercession for us.' To Thee, O blessed Jesu, together with thy co-eternal Father, and Holy Spirit, three Persons in one infinite and incomprehensible Deity, be all praise, honour, and glory, now and forever. Amen."²³

Joseph Hall's published *Works* contain sermons covering much of the Old and New Testaments, and arranged in consecutive order. He is evangelical as a rule, although one might like to see the great doctrines of Redemption developed more fully. Nevertheless the twelve volumes of his collected

²³. *Op. cit.*, p. 338.

writings might prove more valuable to the younger clergy than many of the superficial sermon books offered by the publishers nowadays.

John Robinson, (c. 1576-1625)

John Robinson, the pastor of the Puritans, some of whom sailed in 1620 for Plymouth, was born about the year 1576. The exact date and place of his birth are uncertain. The parish registers of Lincoln and Gainsborough both include the name of John Robinson, and yet others of the same name are to be found in the baptismal records of other parishes. He is believed to be the same John Robinson who attended Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, taking his degree in 1596, holding a fellowship, and proceeding M. A. in 1599.

In 1602 he became curate in Norwich, and a man of the same name held a curacy at Yarmouth. He was expelled in 1606 because of his objection to prelacy, and to certain ceremonies that he looked upon as Romanizing. He became identified with the group of people who gathered in William Brewster's manor house at Scrooby, Notts., on the Great North Road. When such unlawful assemblies became dangerous, due to the king's efforts to subdue Nonconformity, he fled with others, in 1608, to Amsterdam. They found dissention there, due to a controversy between various groups of refugees in that city. From Amsterdam they went to Leyden in 1609, where Robinson was ordained and became pastor of the Puritan refugees from England. William Brewster was his ruling elder. The congregation grew from 100 to 300 communicants. In 1611-12, Robinson and two others purchased a house, which was remodeled and used as a church and dwelling, with 21 cottages in the rear for the poorer members of the congregation. While in Leyden, Robinson is said to have studied theology at the university. When the Antinomian Controversy arose, he defended the Calvinistic position with considerable vigor, yet without asperity. In 1617 he had an active part in the negotiations with the governments of England and Holland, as well as with the London speculators who offered to finance an emigration of the Leyden congregation to Virginia. When

the ship sailed in 1620, only 35 of Robinson's congregation decided to go to America; the remaining 67 joined the ship at Southampton, and were refugees from England and not from the English colony in Leyden. Robinson decided to remain for a time in Holland with the majority of his congregation, but he died four years later, and thus never set foot upon American soil. In 1865 a marble slab was placed at the site of his Leyden church, reading: "On this spot lived, taught, and died John Robinson, 1611-1625." In 1891 a bronze tablet was placed upon the wall of St. Peter's Church, directly opposite where Robinson had lived; while at Gainsborough a memorial was erected to him as well.

John Robinson was an amiable man, esteemed because of his good judgment and his talent for leadership. He was an ardent Calvinist, although in the controversies of the day he conducted himself in a gentlemanly manner, and without the rancor that marked some of the disputes of his time. He was a convincing preacher, and his sermons²⁴ proved most attractive to the English residents of Leyden, and would have proved equally helpful in America, had not his early death prevented him from emigrating there. His farewell sermon to the Puritans, before they sailed in 1620, has been declaimed by schoolboys and quoted by orators for generations, but it is of doubtful authenticity. It is possible, however, that it was written out from memory by one of his followers.

Thomas Adams, (c. 1580-c. 1653)

Thomas Adams was born about the year 1580. Although one of the most popular preachers of the early seventeenth century, very little is known of him, and all attempts to determine the exact time and place of his birth are purely conjectural. The first record of him is the fact that he was preaching in Willington, Bedfordshire, in the year 1612. In 1614 he became rector of Wingrave parish, Buckinghamshire. From 1618 to 1623 he was the St. Gregory preacher of St.

²⁴. See *Works of John Robinson, with Memoir*, 3 vols., (London, 1851); Wm. Bradford, *History of the Plymouth Plantation*, (Boston, 1856); O. S. Davis, *John Robinson, the Pilgrim Pastor*, (Boston, 1903); W. Walker, *Ten New England Leaders*, (New York, 1901).

Paul's, London, and preached at St. Paul's Cross and at Whitehall. In 1633 he published an important commentary on II Peter, and from time to time he issued books of sermons, or individual sermons. In 1653 there was a Thomas Adams, generally thought to be the same man, living in London, a "decrepit and necessitous" old man.

Thomas Adams was one of the most famous Puritan preachers, a man of brilliant eloquence, thoughtful, of great learning, and with an irresistible power of appeal. He is said to have preached with fervor, his expression was vigorous, often forceful, and inclined as often as not to be fanciful. In one of his sermons he characterizes eleven sorts of sinners, comparing them in turn to the salamander, the crocodile, the asp, the caterpillar, the sea serpent, etc. Again, in preaching on the seven deadly sins, he personifies each one of them as a member of the crew of a pirate ship, describing Pride as the captain, Gluttony the corporal, Drunkenness the master gunner, etc., and pictures them sinking the merchant vessels freighted with precious souls and bound for Heaven.

Thomas Adams is famous for his striking aphorisms. "A petty cottage may send up more black smoke than a goodly manor." "Hope is the sweetest friend that ever kept a distressed soul company." "A man cannot hope for that which he hath." "A prince doth excel a peasant: shall any man therefore infer that he can plow better, or have more skill in tillage?" "Blessed is he that loves his friend in the Lord, his enemy for the Lord." "Charity is an excellent virtue, and therefore rare." "It is as impossible for a man to hope for that which he believes not, as for a painter to draw a picture in the air."

Southey has called Thomas Adams "the prose Shakespeare of the Puritan theologians." It is true that many of his sayings have a Shakespearian sound. For example:

"He that entertains the elder sister, Unbelief, I quake to speak his doom, yet I must: 'he is already condemned.' He that embraces the second ugly hag, Despair, bars up against himself the possibility of all comfort, because he offends so precious a nature, the mercy of God, and tramples

under his desperate feet that blood which is held out to his unaccepting hand. He that welcomes Malice, welcomes the devil himself; he is called the envious, and loves extremely to lodge himself in an envious heart. These be fearful, prodigious sisters; fly them and their embraces; and remember, O ye whom Christ loves, the commandment of your Saviour, 'Love one another.' "

While there are times when Thomas Adams indulges in a succession of very short sentences, sometimes without verbs, yet one may well overlook this defect because of the many examples of sonorous diction and fervent appeal that may be found in his sermons.²⁵

Stephen Marshall, (c. 1594-1655)

One of the well-known Puritan preachers was Stephen Marshall, who was born about the year 1594 at Godmanchester, Huntingdonshire. He was educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, from which he was graduated in 1622. He became vicar of Finchingfield, Essex, but in 1636 he was cited for nonconformity and prohibited from preaching. In 1640 he delivered a series of sermons before Parliament, and he urged reforms in Church government, and in forms of worship. He was one of the writers of a controversial tract on prelacy and liturgy. It had a lengthy title, but it is commonly called *Smectymnuus*, a word formed from the initials of its authors, Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcommen and William Spurstow. This tract had an important part in the controversies of those days, appearing in 1641, and containing the fundamentals of the Nonconformist claims. During the same year Stephen Marshall defended a bill which sought to abolish the episcopacy.

In 1642 he preached at St. Margaret's, London, and the next year he was one of the foremost leaders of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. He was sent to Scotland to confer with the Scottish leaders. In 1645 he attended Archbishop Laud at the execution of the latter. He served as one

²⁵. His *Works*, with a biography by Joseph Angus, are included in Nichol's *Series of Standard Divines*, 3 vols., (Edinburgh, 1862-63).

of the King's chaplains, in 1647 he was one of the compilers of the *Shorter Catechism* and in 1653 he helped compose the *Fundamentals of Religion*. Stephen Marshall was one of the eminent and influential preachers of the fourth and fifth decades of the seventeenth century, preaching often before Parliament and before the Lord Mayor, and publishing a number of books of sermons.

Richard Mather, (1596-1669)

Richard Mather was born in 1596 at Lowton, in the parish of Winwick, Lancashire. After attending the grammar school at Winwick, he became a teacher, first at Winwick and then at Toxteth Park, near Liverpool. There he read Puritan books and heard sermons preached by Puritan pastors. He attended Brasenose College, Oxford, but before his graduation he was called as pastor of the church at Toxteth. In 1633 he was suspended for omitting certain details of the church service which he looked upon as matters of indifference. In 1635 he set sail for Boston, Massachusetts. In 1636 he reorganized the First Church in Dorchester, after most of its members had moved to another colony, and he served this congregation for 33 years.

Richard Mather was the founder of a family of whom eleven became well-known clergymen within four generations, seven of whom were leaders in New England.²⁶ Within four generations these men published more than 500 books. The sons of Richard Mather were Samuel, Nathaniel, Eleazer and Increase.

Richard Mather was a powerful preacher, a wise leader and an influential counselor. In his early life he was a clergyman in the Church of England, but after coming to America he became a Congregationalist.

Thomas Goodwin, 1600-1680)

Thomas Goodwin, another noted preacher of Puritan days, was born in 1600 in Rollesby, Norfolk. He was

²⁶. See John Mather, *Genealogy of the Mather Family*, (Hartford, 1848); W. Walker, *Ten New England Leaders*, (New York, 1901); W. Walker, *Influence of the Mathers in New England Religious Development*, (New York, 1892); Wm. W. Sweet, *Religion in Colonial America*, (New York, 1942).

graduated from Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1616, and from Catherine Hall, Cambridge, in 1620. He was elected fellow at Cambridge, and proceeded to his B. D. degree. In 1628 he was made lecturer at Trinity Church, Cambridge, and in 1632 vicar. In 1633 he made the acquaintance of John Cotton, and through his influence Goodwin became a Nonconformist. In 1634 he resigned, and went from Cambridge to London where he became a Nonconformist preacher. In 1639, fearing Laud, he went to Holland where he became pastor of an English congregation at Arnheim. He returned to London in 1640 and served an independent congregation. In 1643 he was a member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. In 1647 he was urged by John Cotton to go to America. He accepted the invitation, but as the ship was about to sail, he yielded to the urgent pleas of his congregation and remained in London. In 1650 he was appointed president of Magdalen College, Oxford, by Parliament. While there he preached in St. Mary's Church, and also addressed gatherings held in his home. In 1660, at the Restoration, he was deprived of his offices. Returning to London he founded a congregation in Fetter Lane, and served it for some time as an Independent, or Congregationalist.

Thomas Goodwin was a popular preacher, an adviser to Cromwell, and leader of the Congregational group in the Westminster Assembly. In his earlier days he was inclined to imitate the exuberant style of a popular Cambridge preacher, but it was not long until he resolved to "preach wholly and altogether solid and wholesome words, without affectation of wit and vanity of eloquence." He laid aside the "withered flowers that I had gathered and valued more than diamonds," and preached simple, vigorous, evangelical sermons.

In his student days Thomas Goodwin was invited by a friend to attend church. "I was loath to go in," he says, "for I loved not preaching, especially not that kind of it which good men used, and which I thought to be dull stuff." However, to please his friend, he went with him to church. The sermon that he heard brought him both conviction of sin and an assurance of salvation through the grace of God

in Christ. In later days this experience of university days influenced his preaching. "Comparing him with eminent contemporaries like John Owen and Richard Baxter, it has been said that Owen preached earnestly to the understanding, reasoning from his critical and devout knowledge of Scripture; Baxter preached forcibly to the conscience, reasoning from the fitness of things; while Goodwin appealed to the spiritual affections, reasoning from his own religious experience and interpreting Scripture by the insight of a renewed heart."²⁷

It has been said of him that after he laid aside the speculative kind of preaching, it was his great object to "make the Christ of Eternity a living and helpful personality to men who had not seen Him."²⁸ In his theology Thomas Goodwin was a Calvinist, although not of an extreme type.²⁹

Edmund Calamy, (1600-1666)

Edmund Calamy, one of four noted clergymen bearing the same name, was born in 1600 in Walbrook, London. He was graduated from Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, in 1619, and became vicar of Swaffham Prior, Cambridgeshire, and chaplain to the bishop of Ely. In 1626 he became lecturer at Bury St. Edmunds, and in 1639 he was made lecturer and possibly rector of Rochford, Essex. In 1639 he became perpetual curate of St. Mary Aldermanbury, London, where his preaching attracted large congregations for 20 years. He opposed the execution of Charles I, and after the restoration Charles II offered him the bishopric of Coventry. Like Richard Baxter, he declined. Having adopted Nonconformist views, particularly in regard to church government, he was one of those ejected by the Nonconformity Act. He preached once after his ejection, but was imprisoned for a short time in Newgate prison. He died in 1666, soon after the Great

²⁷. John Brown, *Puritan Preaching in England*, (New York, 1900), p. 101.

²⁸. *Ibid.*, p. 109.

²⁹. See *Memoir of Thos. Goodwin*, by Robt. Hall, in the 12-volume *Works of Thos. Goodwin*, (Edinburgh, 1861-1866); also Walter Wilson, *History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches in London*, (London, 1810).

Fire of London. His two sons, Edmund and Benjamin, and his grandson, Edmund, were clergymen of distinction.

Edmund Calamy's sermons³⁰ are more careful in style than those of Richard Baxter. They are vigorous in thought, devout in spirit, and generally cast in the homiletical mould of the Puritan days. He was not a man of emphatic doctrinal views, and he would have favored a union of Episcopalians, Presbyterians and Independents. His son Benjamin published a number of sermons that have been commended for their beauty of language. His grandson Edmund is remembered as a historian to Nonconformity, rather than as a noted preacher.

Herbert Palmer, (1601-1647)

Herbert Palmer, a son of Sir Thomas Palmer, was born in 1601 at Wingham, in Kent. As a child he showed exceptional promise, and was able to read the Bible when but little more than four years of age. He entered St. John's College, Cambridge, at the age of 15, and took his degree in 1619. After proceeding to his master's degree he became a fellow of Queen's College in 1623. A year later he was ordained. At the age of 25 he preached a sermon in Canterbury Cathedral, and shortly after this he was appointed to a lectureship at Canterbury. Having mastered the French language in early childhood, he preached frequently to a group of French refugees who had settled in Canterbury. He disliked Laud's innovations and extreme policies, and this led him to be suspected of Puritan views. When preaching before the dean and chapter at Canterbury, Palmer felt it his duty to admonish them because of irregularities that existed, but whenever there were townspeople present at the service, he used the Latin language in those parts of his sermons that applied to the shortcomings of the cathedral clergy.

In 1632 he was presented to the rectory of Ashwell, Hertfordshire. Finding the people of Ashwell in need of religious instruction, he organized classes for the instruction

³⁰. Edmund Calamy, *The Godly Man's Ark*, (London, 1657), and *The Art of Meditation*, (1680).

not only of the young, but for people of all ages. He visited the aged and infirm in their own homes in order to instruct them in the teachings of the Christian faith. He discovered that the existing Catechism was not suited to young children and to people of meagre education, and he prepared a Catechism of his own, wherein the teachings of the Christian faith were set forth in very simple language. Within a short time there were very few people in Ashwell who were not enrolled in one of his classes. He had a special class following the Sunday afternoon sermon, and this was for servants and farm laborers.

Ashwell was a town noted for its profanity and immorality, but by means of his preaching and faithful catechization, such things became rare after a few years. Saturday night had been looked upon as a time of revelry, and when Mr. Palmer discovered that this prevented some from attending church on the following morning, he sought to solve the problem, not by legislation, but by preaching, catechization and private admonition. During the years of his busy pastorate at Ashwell, he also served as one of the university preachers at Cambridge, going there whenever it was his turn to preach.

In 1643 he was a member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, which met in London. While there he supplied the pulpit of St. James's Church, Duke Place, and preached frequently in other London churches. He was one of the seven morning lecturers at the Abbey. His friends became concerned because of his excessive activity, preaching twice every Sunday at Duke Place, and at other hours in other churches, lecturing at the Abbey and attending the long sessions of the Assembly. They urged him not to injure his health by overwork. He replied, "My strength will spend itself though I do nothing; and it cannot be spent better than in the service of the Lord." He found that the turbulent times had brought about certain disorders in connection with Holy Communion. Many neglected the Sacrament entirely, while others were permitted to attend Holy Communion who had not been instructed, or else who were living in open scandal. Herbert Palmer undertook to deal with this condition, and he urged the pastors to refuse Holy

Communion to people who were unable, because of ignorance of religious truths, to examine themselves, and to bar those living in open enmity or in scandal until the cause of offense had been removed.

Palmer was considered the best catechist of his generation in England, and he was given an important part in compiling the Shorter Catechism of the Westminster Assembly. He died before the work was entirely complete. He was made master of Queen's College, Cambridge, in 1644, and there he performed his duties with the same excellency as at Ashwell and at London. Finding many students who were deficient in religious training, he organized special classes for them. He laid great stress upon general religious training, and on detailed Bible study for all students. Professors and teachers were urged to study their Bibles. In the appointment of new teachers and tutors, Palmer used his influence to fill any such vacancies with men of definite evangelical religious views. He did much to bring about more regular attendance at religious services in Cambridge, and he himself preached morning and evening on Sunday, and arranged for men of proper qualifications for weekday sermons. Hearing that many Germans had fled from the Palatinate, he encouraged them to settle in Cambridge, and made it possible for those who were studious to secure an education at the University. All of this activity at the University was crowded into but three years, but Herbert Palmer's influence lived long after him.³¹

William Chillingworth, (1602-1644)

William Chillingworth was born in Oxford in 1602. His father was a man of considerable prominence. His godfather was William Laud. Chillingworth was educated in the grammar schools of Oxford, after which he entered Trinity College, from which he was graduated in 1620. In 1628 he was elected fellow of Trinity College. From 1635 to 1639 he was a prebend of Chester. He became engaged in a controversy with John Fisher, a Jesuit, and feeling that the Church of England lacked an authoritative basis, Chilling-

³¹. For biography see A. B. Grosart, *Memoir of Herbert Palmer*, in the reprint of Palmer's *Memorials of Godliness and Christianity*, (Edinburgh, 1865).

worth made his submission to the Roman Church. He went to the college at Douay in 1630-1631. Asked to prepare a writing setting forth his reasons for joining the Roman Church, his investigations led him to leave Rome and return to Oxford. His godfather, William Laud, although an Anglican of High Church views, assisted in convincing Chillingworth that he should return to the Church of England. In 1634 he left the Roman Catholic Church and became a Protestant once more.

In 1638 Chillingworth wrote a book which was to bring him fame. He called it *The Religion of Protestants a Safe Way of Salvation*. The defect of this book lies in the fact that Chillingworth seeks authority not in the inspired words of Scripture, but in Scripture interpreted by human reason. In so doing he places human judgment on a higher plane than revelation, and thus human reason, in the final analysis, becomes the basis of authority. However, it was he who gave the world the oft-quoted statement, "The Bible, I say, the Bible only is the religion of Protestants."³²

In 1638 Chillingworth was made chancellor of Salisbury and prebend of Brixworth, Northants. This was followed by his appointment as master of Wigston's Hospital, Leicester. A royalist in his views, he served with the royal army during the Civil War, possibly as chaplain. In 1643 he was taken prisoner at Arundle Castle.

Chillingworth is usually included among the famous preachers of his time, although he preached but six years. Dargan says that he deserves his high rank as a preacher, and he characterizes Chillingworth's use of the Scripture as reverent and sensible, his exposition strong and clear, his style vigorous and less pedantic than that of most of his contemporaries, the argument able, but not always clear in analysis, and the characteristics of a well-articulated sermon not always in evidence.³³ Chillingworth's fame was con-

³². Chillingworth, *The Religion of Protestants*, (Oxford, 1638), vol. 1, chap. 6, sec. 56.

³³. E. C. Dargan, *A History of Preaching*, (New York, 1905-1912), vol. 2, p. 154. A biography of Chillingworth, by T. Birch, appears with the 1742 ed. of Chillingworth's *Works*. See also P. des Maizeaux, *Life and Writings of William Chillingworth*, (London, 1725).

siderable, but he had a tendency to appeal to man's understanding rather than to the heart, hence his sermons are somewhat lacking in that glow of evangelical warmth that has made men who were not his equal in learning, his superior as preachers of highest rank.

Isaac Ambrose, (1604-1663)

Isaac Ambrose was born in 1604 at Ormskirk, Lancs., where his father was vicar. He received his education at Brasenose College, Oxford, and was graduated in 1624. In 1627 he was given the church at Castleton, Derbyshire, and in 1631 he was made one of the king's four preachers in Lancashire, living at Garstang. In 1640 he received the presentation of the vicarage of Preston, Lancs. Because of his Puritan views he twice suffered imprisonment. He fled to Leeds in 1644, after Bolton was taken, and he assisted in the establishment of Nonconformity in Yorkshire. He returned to Garstang in 1654, was ejected because of his Nonconformity in 1662, and died the following year.

Isaac Ambrose was a man of learning, deeply pious, peacefully inclined toward all and careful in the discharge of his duties toward his people. He was a man of meditative habits, and every May he retired to Houghton, where he dwelt in the woods for the sake of quiet meditation and study. During the Civil War he suffered many things because of his religious views, but he endured it all without recrimination, declaring that the day would come when religious liberty would be enjoyed by all. His sermons were evangelical, and of a meditative type. His best known work, *Looking unto Jesus*, was first published in London in 1658, and was held in high esteem for many years. His collected works have been published, and were very popular in their day and are still read with profit. They have been reprinted several times.

John Angier, (1605-1677)

John Angier was born in 1605 at Dedham, Essex. He was converted to the Puritan viewpoint by the preaching of John Rogers. He attended Emmanuel College, Cambridge,

and his theological studies were at the direction of John Cotton, of whom we hear later in Boston, Mass. In 1630 he became rector of Ringley Church, and was ordained without subscription by the Bishop of Bangor. After a year and a half he was suspended because of his Puritan views. In 1632 he became rector of Denton, Lancs., where he remained for 45 years. He was twice excommunicated because of his nonconformity. In 1648 he was one of the signers of the Harmonious Consent, a protest against the "heretical doctrines broached in these times." He opposed the Commonwealth and suffered imprisonment. John Angier was one of a group who kept "private days" for the strengthening of the inner spiritual life. His relatives moved to Dedham, Mass., just south of Boston, and took part in founding the Dedham congregation. John Angier was an influential preacher, and his published sermons³⁴ were read by Puritans for many years, and held in high esteem.

Thomas Fuller, (1608-1661)

Thomas Fuller was born in 1608 at Aldwincle, Northants., where his father was rector of St. Peter's church. His early education was received from his father. At the age of 13 he entered Queen's College, Cambridge, where his uncle was president as well as professor of theology. He was graduated in 1624. In 1630 he was appointed perpetual curate of St. Benet's, Cambridge, and he was ordained at this time. In 1634 he became rector of Broadwindsor, Dorset, and in 1641 he went to London, preached at the Inns of Court, and later became curate of the Savoy. Fuller was a royalist, and when political difficulties arose in 1643, he went to Oxford, then to Exeter during the following year, and then back to London. In 1648 he was appointed curate of Waltham Abbey, near London, and later he became chaplain extraordinary to the King.

Thomas Fuller was a well-known preacher, but hardly a really great preacher, although it is customary to include him with the famous men of his day. Pattison devotes

³⁴. John Angier, *An Helpe to Better Hearts for Better Times*, (London, 1647).

almost three pages to him.³⁵ Perhaps his fame rests upon a statement by a biographer who says that Fuller always preached to two congregations: one in the church, and the other outside, at the windows. Fuller was celebrated as a wit, although he was quite capable of serious preaching. One of his famous sayings is: "God's children are immortal while their Father hath anything for them to do on earth." Fuller published more than a score of writings, including his *Church History of Britain*, 1656, and his *History of the Worthies of England*, in 1662.

Jeremy Taylor, (1613-1667)

Jeremy Taylor was born in 1613 in Cambridge, where his father was a barber. In 1626 he entered Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, as sizar. He was elected a Perse scholar in 1628, and was made fellow of his college in 1633. He took orders the same year, at the early age of 20 years. He went to London for a time, where he lectured at St. Paul's. The people were surprised at his youthful appearance and fascinated by his brilliant eloquence. Archbishop Laud took a personal interest in him and invited him to preach at Lambeth. When Laud mentioned Taylor's youthful appearance, the latter replied that it was a fault for which he begged his grace's pardon, but promised if he lived to mend it. In 1635 he was nominated by Laud as fellow of All Soul's College, Oxford, and a year later he became a perpetual fellow. He was a Royalist in his views, and served as chaplain to Archbishop Laud, and chaplain in ordinary to Charles I, who is said to have given Taylor his watch and some jewels, before he was beheaded.

Taylor took refuge in Golden Grove, Carmarthenshire, during the Civil War, where he served as chaplain, taught school, preached and wrote his best-known works. He was imprisoned at Chepstow in 1654 and again in 1655 because of a statement in one of his writings. In 1657 he was imprisoned in the Tower of London because of an indiscretion on the part of his publisher. In 1657-58 he served a

³⁵ T. H. Pattison, *The History of Christian Preaching*, (Phila., 1909), pp. 179-182. For further biographical material see J. E. Bailey, *The Life of Thomas Fuller, with Notices of His Books*, (1874).

small congregation in London. This was followed by a lectureship in Ireland. In 1660, at the Restoration, he was made vice-chancellor of the University of Dublin, and bishop of Down and Connor. As bishop he demanded that some 70 Presbyterian clergymen in the north of Ireland submit to his authority. When they refused to do this, he conducted a visitation, during which 36 congregations were declared vacant and their property sequestered.

Of Jeremy Taylor's writings, the most famous are his *The Rule and Exercises of Holy Living*, written in 1650, and *The Rule and Exercises of Holy Dying*, written in 1651.

Jeremy Taylor was famous in his time as a preacher. His sentences are extremely long, yet clear. His style is rich, often florid, exaggerated now and then, and again as dazzling as a medallion stained glass window seen in the full sunlight. It is a style that "delights rather than moves." He abounds in illustrations, homely at times, more often striking, but always vivid and stirring. His chief defect of style lies in his grandiloquence. Where Thomas Goodwin subordinated rhetoric to doctrinal clearness, Jeremy Taylor indulged himself in rhetorical ornament to such an extent that his teachings are often obscure. His sermons remind one of certain French cathedrals, whose wealth of ornament conceals almost entirely the honest structural lines of the design. In each case the result is dazzling and delightful, but hardly convincing.

Robert South did not hesitate to ridicule Taylor's grandiose style, and it must be confessed that Taylor had exposed himself to ridicule. He speaks of "the rich ermine or the diamonds of a starry night," and compares the immature mind of a child to "the pleasure of a fool, or the deliciousness of a mule." He speaks of "glowing orbs" and of "the fringes of the North Star," to say nothing of the "down of angel's wings and the beautiful locks of cherubim." He tells us that he has "seen a cloud rolling in its airy mansion," and he loved to paraphrase well-known Scripture verses in extravagant language. Thus in his sermon "Christ's Advent to Judgment," he declares that "every sinner that repents causes joy to Christ, and the joy is so great

that it runs over and wets the fair brows and beauteous locks of cherubim and seraphim, and all the angels have a part in the banquet." The King James version expresses precisely the same truth in 16 simple words. In describing the fallen angels Taylor says, "the angels themselves, because their light reflected home to their orbs, and they understood all the secrets of their own perfection, they grew vertiginous, and fell from the battlements of Heaven." The King James translation says the same thing in 13 words, all but one of which are words of but one syllable, yet the statement is forceful and clear.

It cannot be denied that Jeremy Taylor was one of the most celebrated preachers of the seventeenth century, in spite of the serious defects of his literary style. Multitudes came to hear him, and went away delighted, yet one cannot help comparing him with the aged Henry Erskine, whose simple, fervent appeal to a group of rough peat diggers, caused almost one half of them to cry out, as did the men at Pentecost, "Men and brethren, what shall we do?" Whether the sparkle of Jeremy Taylor's rhetoric brought many to repentance, one cannot say.³⁶

Richard Baxter, (1615-1691)

Richard Baxter, one of the most famous of the English Puritan preachers, was born at Rowton, in Shropshire, in 1615. His early education was received from four different curates, all of whom were unworthy men, and two of whom were drunkards. From such men he learned but little. He attended a school in Wroxeter, but left it at the age of 18 with but a meagre knowledge of ancient and modern languages, mathematics and physical science. Then he was placed in the hands of a tutor who made little attempt to teach him. His poor record in school is not due to sloth, but to slothful teachers. In 1633 he was sent to Whitehall in order to become a courtier, but he tired quickly of this life, and began to study theology instead. He studied

³⁶ Accounts of Taylor's life include Reginald Heber's *Memoir*, in the *Whole Works of Jeremy Taylor*, (London, 1822); H. K. Bonney, *Life of Jeremy Taylor*, (London, 1815); A. Barry, in *Classic Preachers of the English Church*, (London, 1877); R. E. A. Willmott, *Bishop Jeremy Taylor*, (London, 1847).

privately with a clergyman named Garbet. Baxter was a diligent reader, and the writings of the schoolmen, as well as Hooker and others, were his delight.

About the year 1635 he became acquainted with two Nonconformist clergymen at Shrewsbury, and was impressed by the fervor of their preaching and the sincerity of their lives. He was ordained in 1638, and became headmaster of a new school in Dudley, where he became acquainted with Nonconformist clergymen of the evangelical school. He did some preaching in and around Dudley, and about 1640 he became assistant at Bridgnorth, Shropshire. His reading led him to question some of the practices of the Church of England.

In 1641 he was called to Kidderminster, not far from Birmingham. There he found a deplorable state of affairs. The former vicar had preached but four times a year, had neglected his parish duties and had spent much of his time in the ale-shops. Many of the parish were weavers, who not only cared nothing for their church, but who treated the young pastor with open contempt. Baxter declares that not more than one man on any given street made any profession of religion. Baxter's work in Kidderminster is too well known to call for extended notice. Although a sickly man himself, yet he was tireless in the performance of his duties, preaching, catechizing, indoctrinating, seeking the families in their homes, and even going into the numerous ale-shops to admonish the groups of rough men who frequented these places. After a time the town was so thoroughly transformed that Baxter declares in humble gratitude that there were some streets in Kidderminster where every family was noted for its religious ardor, so much so that "very few ministers did match them in ardor and fullness and apt expressions and holy oratory with fervency. The blameless lives of goodly people did shame opposers and put to silence the ignorance of foolish men, and many were won by their good conversation."

Baxter did not look upon the rough men who crowded the beer-shops, and who lay drunk in every doorway, as drunken outcasts, to be shunned in righteous horror. He saw possibilities in the most abandoned of the village's

notorious characters, and pictured the day when, transformed by the grace of the Lord, such men would walk as blameless Christians, and learn to bear testimony to others. In this he was not disappointed, and many of the town's roughest characters became miracles of grace, and were set to work by Baxter in reaching others.

Richard Baxter had but little patience with church members of the kind who pass by the drunkards slumbering on the doorsteps and give them no thought. Such an attitude of aloofness he considered unworthy of a Christian. "The work of Christ," he declared, "is exceedingly retarded by an unworthy reticence. Christians live like snails in the shell, look but little around into the world, and know not the state of the world nor of the church, nor much care to know it, but think it is with all the world as they fancy it is with themselves." So eloquent were his appeals to the consciences of his hearers that he fired his growing congregation with zeal for the cause. A tireless worker himself, despite his frail health, he had the gift, as did Robert Howie and Dugald MacColl of Glasgow, of creating zeal in others, and making efficient helpers of them.

In 1642 the Civil War interrupted his work, and he was obliged to leave Kidderminster for a time. He went to Gloucester and then to Coventry, where he preached to the garrison and to the townspeople. He served twice as chaplain to the Parliamentary army. In 1646 he returned to Kidderminster and resumed his work of preaching, catchizing and visiting. In 1650 he wrote his famous *Saint's Everlasting Rest*.

In 1660 he paid a visit to London, and preached before the House of Commons, and before the Lord Mayor and the aldermen. He was among those who welcomed the return of Charles II, and for a time he served as the King's chaplain. He was offered the bishopric of Hereford, but this he refused. For some reason the government would not permit him to return to his congregation in Kidderminster, and he was without a congregation for the remaining 31 years of his life, but he preached frequently, and produced numerous writings.

In 1662 Baxter left the Church of England. He went to Acton, near London. He was imprisoned for six months because of his religious views, but then released. He built a church at his own expense, but preached in it only once, and then was prohibited from preaching again. In 1685, at the age of 70, he was imprisoned again by the notorious Judge Jeffreys because of a statement in his *Paraphrase of the New Testament*. He spent a year and a half in the Tower. After his release he preached to great gatherings of people. During the last four years of his life he won the respect of many people, and the closing years of his life were peaceful.

During his lifetime Richard Baxter produced some 168 works, among them his *Saint's Everlasting Rest*, his *Reformed Pastor* and his *Call to the Unconverted*. After leaving the Church of England he became a Nonconformist, but he did not agree fully with either the Presbyterians or the Independents of his day. His preaching was remarkable to a degree. Like Chalmers, his most noteworthy quality was his vehement earnestness. Few men have ever equalled him in persuasiveness and in urgency of appeal. In his sermon "Making Light of Christ and Salvation,"³⁷ the closing applications alone fill 13 quarto pages. He cared little for style, wrote his sermons but did not revise them, yet preached simply and clearly. He made it a rule to preach one scholarly sermon each year, merely to prove to his hearers that he could do it. Vigorous of intellect, deeply pious, vehement, fluent of speech and possessed of a sturdy eloquence, Richard Baxter, in spite of his frail health, was one of the most eminent preachers of the seventeenth century.³⁸

John Owen, (1616-1683)

John Owen was born in 1616 in Stadhampton, Oxfordshire, where his father was vicar. He attended the schools

³⁷. H. C. Fish, *History and Repository of Pulpit Eloquence*, (New York, 1869), p. 210ff.

³⁸. His *Practical Works*, 23 vols., were published in London in 1830. For biographies see William Orme, *Life and Times of William Baxter*, (London, 1830); M. Sylvester, *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, (London, 1696); A. B. Grosart, *Richard Baxter*, (London, 1879); Jas. Stalker, *Richard Baxter*, (Edinburgh, 1883).

of his native village, entered Queen's College, Oxford, at the age of 12, was graduated at 16 and proceeded to his Master's degree when but 19. About the year 1637 he was ordained. While at Oxford, and after he had become chaplain to two noble families, he was so diligent a student that it is said that he allowed himself but four hours of sleep at night.

About the year 1640 he went to London, and while in great distress of mind went on Sunday to St. Mary Alderbury Church, expecting to hear Mr. Calamy. A preacher from the country spoke that day, and his exposition of the text, "Why are ye fearful, O ye of little faith?" not only brought peace to John Owen, but had a direct influence upon his subsequent life. In 1642 he published a book on Arminianism which brought him into prominence.

In 1643 he was appointed rector of Fordham, Essex, and in 1645 he was given Coggeshall, Essex, a congregation of some 2,000 people, where he preached "with the universal approbation of the inhabitants, and of the country round about." In 1646 he was invited to preach before Parliament, and this led to several other invitations of the same kind, in the years that followed.

About this time he became an Independent in his views toward church government, believing that the local congregation is supreme, rather than a presbytery, or a bishop. When the Civil War broke out, he cast his lot with the Parliamentarians, even though this caused a wealthy uncle in Wales to disinherit him. For a number of years John Owen was a personal friend of Cromwell. In 1650 he was made dean of Christ Church, Oxford, by intrusion. In 1652 he was made vice-chancellor, and later chancellor of Oxford, and in all these offices he proved himself an excellent executive. In 1654 he marched with the troops when a royalist uprising seemed imminent. He retired to Stadham in 1658 and devoted himself to writing, but on Sundays he preached whenever opportunity afforded. Upon the restoration of the regency he was inhibited from preaching, and then was indicted for holding conventicles in private homes, but it does not appear that he was imprisoned. In 1673 he became pastor of an Independent congregation in Leaden-

hall Street, London. He died in 1683 and was buried in Bunhill Fields, the "Westminster Abbey of Nonconformity."

John Owen was a learned theologian and a prolific writer of weighty books. As to his gifts as a preacher, opinions differ. Erasmus Middleton, always ready to say a kind word for any earnest man, praises him highly, declares that he was an excellent preacher, eloquent, and able at a moment's notice to preach a thoughtful sermon, and without notes. Other writers describe him as very learned, a theologian of first rank, but a man whose sermons were too scholarly, too ponderous and too lengthy for an ordinary congregation. They describe him as a man who crowded so much solid material into a single sermon that it appeared to lack simplicity and logical progression. It would seem that he was a preacher who appealed to learned men, but whose sermons, excellent as they were in thought, were too weighty for the simple people of an average congregation.

John Owen's influence upon posterity was considerable. Among his many writings might be mentioned his *Pneumatologia; or Discourse on the Holy Spirit*, published in 1674; *The Doctrine of Justification by Faith through the Imputation of the Righteousness of Christ*, which appeared in 1677 and had a wide circulation; *The Church of Rome no Safe Guide*, (1679); *Christologia; or the Doctrine of Christ*, (1679); and *Union among Protestants*, (1680). His collected works fill 28 volumes, and have appeared in several editions. He accepted the doctrine of Justification in its Calvinistic rather than its Lutheran form. Grimshaw was one of those who, in later years, were influenced by John Owen, and one might almost name the latter as one of the forerunners of the evangelical group who were influential in an age when religious apathy was the rule. Several good accounts of John Owen's life, his writings and his far-reaching influence are included with the various editions of his collected writings.³⁹ Men may not be agreed as to whether or not he was one of the greatest preachers of his time, but there

³⁹. Among these are William Orme's *Memoirs*, (London, 1826), A. Thompson's *Life of John Owen*, (London, 1850-55), and the memoir in C. W. Quick's American edition of Owen's works, (Philadelphia, 1865-69). James Moffat's *The Golden Book of John Owen*, (1904), is worthy of mention.

is no question that his influence upon theological thought was to endure for generations.

Thomas Manton, (1620-1677)

Thomas Manton was born in 1620 at or near Lydiard St. Lawrence in Somerset. He was educated at Tiverton, and was graduated from Hart Hall, Oxford, in 1639. Ordained in 1640 at the unusual age of 20, he became lecturer at Cullompton, Devon, and about 1645 he became incumbent at Stoke Newington, London. He was one of the three scribes at the Westminster Assembly. However, he was not in favor of the execution of Charles I, and he preached against it. In 1651 he walked to the scaffold with Christopher Love, a Puritan clergyman who was executed for his opposition to the Commonwealth; and it was Manton who preached at his funeral. In 1656 he became rector of St. Paul's, Covent Garden. In 1658 he assisted Baxter and others in preparing the *Fundamentals of Religion*. He was sent as a deputy to Breda when Charles II was recalled to England, and he served as one of the King's chaplains after his return from exile. Offered the deanery of Rochester, he declined it in 1660, and two years later he left St. Paul's, Covent Garden and began to keep conventicles in his home and elsewhere, until restricted by the Conventicle Act of 1664. In 1670 he was arrested and imprisoned for six months because of his Nonconformist views. In 1672 he became one of the six preachers at Pinner's Hall, a Nonconformist place of worship in London.

Thomas Manton was an attractive preacher, and Brastow declares him to be "one of the most elaborate and ingenious of all the Puritan preachers."⁴⁰ Archbishop Ussher heard him preach at Covent Garden and did not hesitate to say that he was one of the best preachers in England. Manton was invited on several occasions to preach before Parliament. In addition to several volumes of sermons, he wrote a well-known commentary on St. James, as

⁴⁰. L. O. Brastow, *The Modern Pulpit*, (New York, 1906, p. 228. For biographical material see W. Harris, *Some Memoirs of the Life and Character of Thomas Manton*, (London, 1725); R. Baxter, *Christian Biography*, (London, 1768); Walter Wilson, *History of Dissenting Churches*, London, 1810).

well as commentaries on Isaiah 53, Jude and the Lord's Prayer. His sermons are evangelical and his style is natural, simple and possessed of warmth. In theology he is a Calvinist.

In his earlier life Thomas Manton's preaching was marred by some of the flaws of his time, such as frequent quotations from Latin and Greek writers and attempts at impressive language. On one occasion, when asked to preach before the Lord Mayor and aldermen, he delivered a sermon that was notable for its display of learning, but somewhat lacking in the doctrines of grace. As he left the building, a shabby man seized him by the sleeve of his preaching robe and said, "Sir, I came hoping to get some good for my soul, but I could understand very little of what you said." Manton looked at the ragged man for a moment and then said, "My friend, it was not I who gave you a sermon. You have given me one; and with the help of the Living God I shall never be so great a fool again." From that day onward Manton's chief effort was to express simple religious truths in language so clear that the humblest of his hearers might receive benefit from what he said.

William Bates, (1625-1699)

William Bates was born in 1625 in London. His education was received at Emmanuel and at King's College, Cambridge, and he was graduated in 1647. He became vicar of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, London, but in 1662 he was one of the men ejected by the Act of Uniformity. He assisted in the restoration of Charles II, and was made one of the chaplains to the King. In 1600 he was one of the commissioners to the Savoy Conference. A year later he was offered the appointment as dean of Lichfield, but he declined it. In 1665 he took the Oxford Oath, pledging himself to have no part in any attempts to alter the governments of Church or State. In his later years he was pastor of a Nonconformist chapel in Hackney, London.

William Bates, while one of the lesser preachers of his time, was nevertheless a man of considerable ability, for he has been described as "the silver tongued," "a polished

preacher," and "the politest of the Nonconformists." His works, chiefly theological, have been published in four volumes.⁴¹

Samuel Mather, (1626-1671)

Samuel Mather, the oldest son of Richard Mather, was born in 1626 at Much Woolton, Lancs., near Liverpool. When he was nine years of age the family emigrated to America. Samuel entered Harvard College, received his degree in 1643 and was awarded a fellowship. In 1650 he returned to England and became chaplain of Magdalen College, Oxford, whose lofty tower commands the High. In 1653 he attended the Parliamentary commissioners when they went to Scotland; and from there he went to Ireland with Henry Cromwell. In 1654 he became a senior fellow at Trinity College, Dublin, and two years later he was ordained. In 1660 he became perpetual curate of Burtonwood, Leics., only to be ejected in 1662 by the Act of Uniformity. He built a chapel in New Row, Dublin. He was imprisoned in 1664 on the charge of keeping conventicles in his home. He was urged to return to America in order to become pastor of an important congregation in Boston, but he declined to do so. He remained in England, dying in 1671 at the age of 45.

John Bunyan, (1628-1688)

John Bunyan was born at Elstow, near Bedford, in 1628. His father was a tinker. The boy's education was merely that which the village school offered. As a youth he declares that he gave himself up to all manner of wickedness, but this seems to have gone no farther than dancing on the village green, peal-ringing and playing the game known as tipcat. However, he was given to profanity, and so shocking were his oaths that on one occasion a woman of notorious character stopped him on the street and admonished him. According to the Puritan standards of the time, peal-ringing was regarded with disfavor, and despite the familiar rules

⁴¹. *Works of William Bates*, (London, 1815), with memoir by W. Farmer.

of conduct posted in every church tower, the bands of ringers were looked upon as rough men.

In 1645 Bunyan served in the Army. On one occasion he was given a duty to perform, but at the last minute a friend of his was sent in his place. The friend was shot through the head. This made a lasting impression upon Bunyan, and he decided that his life had been spared for some important purpose. He married a girl as poor as himself, and he declares that they did not have so much as a fork and a spoon between them. However, she brought with her two books which were to have a great influence upon the young man: *The Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven*, and *The Practice of Piety*. Bunyan read these books, and his wife told him many things of her father, who had been an upright Christian.

The young man made many attempts to reform himself. He tried to break himself of his habit of cursing. He shunned the company of the bell-ringers, and the young people who danced on the green. He imagined that he heard voices. On one occasion he believed that a voice said to him, "Wilt thou leave thy sins and go to Heaven; or have thy sins and go to hell?" Once he met a pious man whose conversation led him to read the Bible. For some time Bunyan sought to lead an upright life, but he admits that it was merely a cultivation of outward good habits, without repentance and without true faith in the Saviour.

Bunyan followed his father's trade. Once, in Bedford, he heard some women discussing religious subjects. He paused to listen, and finally he began to question them. They told him of the new birth, and warned him of the folly of trying to live by his own righteousness. They spoke "with such pleasantness of Scripture language, and such appearance of grace, that they seemed to me as if they had found a new world; and were 'people that dwelled alone, and not reckoned among the nations,'—Numb. xxiii, 9." The women led him to see the hypocritical nature of his own righteousness. They encouraged him to study the Scriptures. John Bunyan read his Bible diligently, and he received help and encouragement from the Rev. John

Gifford; and yet he was in deep distress for several years. Finally, when listening to a sermon, he received the Scriptural truths that helped him.

In 1655 he was baptized into membership of the Baptist congregation in Bedford. It was not long after this that he began to preach. He was not well educated, and his early efforts were crude, but as one who had been through a great spiritual struggle himself, his words proved most helpful to others. In 1660, during the persecutions that the Dissenters were forced to suffer after the Restoration, John Bunyan was cast into prison at Bedford because of his preaching. He was imprisoned for 12 years, barring two or three very brief intervals of freedom. Again and again he was promised liberty on condition that he promise to do no more preaching. The authorities were resolved that "every cobbler and every tinker" who felt a call to preach, must be silenced. Bunyan preferred imprisonment to such a promise. With him were some 60 Nonconformists, and for a time they had only a copy of the Bible and of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*. The keeper of the prison was so well impressed with Bunyan's good conduct that he permitted him to preach to the prisoners, and to instruct them.

Upon his release in 1672, he became pastor of the little Baptist chapel in Bedford. In 1675 he was imprisoned a second time, but for only six months. On both occasions he sought to support his family by making lace, which was sold by peddlers. During his imprisonments he wrote two books: *Grace Abounding*, which is a lengthy account of his own spiritual struggle, and *The Pilgrim's Progress*. The former was published in 1666, while he was still in jail. The latter was published in 1678, after his release from the second imprisonment. A second part of the same book appeared in 1684. *The Pilgrim's Progress*, although the work of a poorly educated tinker, soon became one of the world's most famous books, and is said to have been translated during the next two centuries into more languages than any other book except the Bible. It is believed by some that his publishers made a few corrections in spelling and grammar, but these two books, as well as Bunyan's *Life and*

Death of Mr. Badman, (1684), and his *Holy War*, (1682), are otherwise John Bunyan's own work.

The little Baptist chapel became too small, and a much larger one was built. Bunyan's preaching improved, and it was not long until he was invited to London, where he often preached to crowds numbering as many as 3,000 people, who were accustomed to assemble at daybreak to hear him. He continued to live in Bedford, going to London once or twice a year for short periods. In Bedford he was in trouble more than once with clergymen of his own denomination. In those days pulpit and altar fellowship with those of another faith marked one as a liberal. Bunyan preached for Presbyterians and Independents, and thus offended others of his own denomination. There was complaint at times that he was not unduly strict in regard to the mode of baptism.

John Bunyan was a tall, well-built man of ruddy complexion and reddish hair. His sermons are somewhat lacking in literary polish, yet admirable in their choice of exact language. There are some who class him as one of the two or three greatest masters of clear, direct English of any age. His sermons are lengthy, and with the many divisions and subdivisions that were popular in his time. However, there is a profound appeal, and a depth of fervor in these sermons that would have brought him fame, had it not been for his *Pilgrim's Progress*. This book is so great a masterpiece that his sermons are somewhat disappointing. Excellent as they are, yet none of them reach the standard of perfection that one finds in his most famous book. John Bunyan's manner of delivery undoubtedly gave additional warmth to his sermons, hence the testimony of men of his day as to his exceptional ability as a preacher.

Certainly John Bunyan deserves all the lavish praise that has been given him for two and one-half centuries. Beginning his career in poverty, poorly educated at the outset, possibly a lay preacher all his life, he became one of the most eminent preachers of his generation. In his early years his spiritual struggles upset his mind for several years, so that he declares that he heard voices, and on one occasion

saw the face of an angry God looking down from Heaven. Some of his earlier statements, even in the pulpit, indicate that he was slightly deranged for a time. However, all these obstacles were left behind, and he attributes it all to the unmerited grace of Jesus Christ.⁴²

Stephen Charnock, (1628-1680)

Stephen Charnock was born in 1628 in London. He entered Emmanuel College, Cambridge, about the year 1644. His original intention was to become a physician, but while at the university he became interested in the teachings of the Puritans, and he decided to become a clergyman. He spent a short time at Southwark, where he preached with good results. In 1649 he went to Oxford, and a year later was elected fellow of New College. In 1652 he was made senior proctor, and managed this office with distinction. In 1655 he went to Ireland as chaplain to Henry Cromwell, who had been appointed lord deputy of that country. He preached on Sundays at Dublin and was meeting with increasing success when the death of Oliver Cromwell caused him to return to England. He spent 15 years in London, without a permanent congregation, but preaching frequently, as opportunity afforded. In 1666 he lost his library in the great fire of London. In 1675 he became co-pastor with Thomas Watson, of a Presbyterian congregation that assembled in Crosby Hall, Bishopsgate.

Stephen Charnock was an able and useful preacher and a diligent student. Not many men have possessed so thorough an acquaintance with the Old and New Testaments in their original languages. As Benjamin Franklin, by his own studies, mastered a variety of secular subjects and excelled in all, so did Stephen Charnock master many branches of sacred learning. So careful was he of his time that he carried a book with him even when walking through the streets, and if detained for any reason, he spent the time

⁴². Bunyan's *Complete Works*, 3 vols., (London, 1853), were edited by George Offer. Biographies are: John Brown, *John Bunyan, his Life, Times and Work*, (London, 1874); R. H. Coats, *John Bunyan*, (London, 1927); G. O. Griffin, *John Bunyan*, (London, 1927); J. A. Froude, *Bunyan*, in *English Men of Letters*, (London, 1880).

in study. He had an inkhorn at hand, and made it a rule to write down any thought that seemed worth recording. He cultivated the friendship of men who could converse on subjects that were mutually profitable, and acquaintances who were given to idle conversation were never invited to his home.

During his earlier years Charnock was a remarkably good preacher. His old friend, the Rev. John Johnson, who preached at his funeral, declared that Charnock always set before his hearers the substantial food of sound Christian doctrine, with Jesus Christ ever the Center of all his preaching. Johnson compared the sermons of Charnock to a vine richly hung with many clusters of grapes, these "the salutary doctrines of the Gospel." He says that other clergymen came to hear him, so that they might carry away to their own congregations some of the precious truths that Charnock uttered. In his earlier years he preached without notes, but before he reached the age of 50, his eyesight began to fail and his memory became unreliable. It was then that he began to read his sermons, and to use a magnifying glass for the purpose. He never learned to read with the naturalness of his former spoken discourses, and his popularity waned.

Charnock's published sermons did not appear until after his death, and what we have today are those of the last decade or so of his life, published just as they were found among his belongings. His published works fill nine volumes. The most famous of his works is the two-volume set *On the Existence and Attributes of God*. It is but partially completed, for he died at the age of 52. Another volume contains a series of sermons on Regeneration, in which he discusses man's natural enmity against God, his wilful resistance to divine grace, and the sinner's salvation through the work of Jesus Christ. His friend the Rev. John Johnson declares that Charnock's excellency lay in the fact that he made clear to the understanding of others such teachings as the first covenant, the apostasy and defection of our first parents, the first promise of the Messiah, the covenant of redemption, the new covenant of grace, the nature of original sin, man's want of original righteousness, the cor-

ruption of man's nature, the impossibility of justification by the Law or by good works, justification by faith in Christ, the suffering of Christ, and at all times the grace and love of God.⁴³

A book of Charnock's sermons, *Discourses on Christ Crucified*, was reprinted in America many years ago, and enjoyed wide circulation. The sermons are thoroughly evangelical, and are cast in the old-time homiletical form of observations, doctrines and uses. One of these sermons,⁴⁴ on I Cor. 2, 2, "For I determined not to know any thing among you, save Jesus Christ, and Him crucified," begins with several truths to be observed. There are three main divisions. As an example of Charnock's method, permit us to mention merely his third main division and its subdivisions: III. The Fruits of His Death. 1. It appeases for us the wrath of God; 2. It satisfies the demands of the Law; 3. It removes the guilt of sin; 4. It conquers the power of Satan; 5. It brings us sanctification; 6 It opens the kingdom of Heaven for us. Charnock's most noteworthy outward excellency lies in the fact that he combined utmost seriousness with a lively imagination. As a preacher he is said to have spoken gravely, and with intense earnestness. Many years ago his printed sermons were popular everywhere, but nowadays one rarely hears of this excellent Puritan divine.

As is the case with so many men of the "reformed" group, Stephen Charnock struggles toward the truth and at times seems to be within reach of it. However he never seemed to grasp clearly the fact that Jesus Christ, through His perfect righteousness, fulfilled every demand of the Law for mankind, and by His death on the cross He took away the penalty demanded by the Law. Thus was all mankind justified in God's sight, and every sin was forgiven. Justification, and the forgiveness of sins, do not take place today, or at some future date. Objectively this was accomplished when our Saviour fulfilled the demands of the Law in our stead, and died as our Substitute. God offers this pardon to us without price or condition, and without any

⁴³. E. Middleton, *Biographia Evangelica*, 4 vols., (London, 1810), vol. 3, p. 447.

⁴⁴. S. Charnock, *Discourses on Christ Crucified*, pp. 5-34.

merit on our part. It remains only for man to accept it, and this we do through God-given faith. Even this faith is not a good work in us, nor does God save us because He forsee such faith in us. It is all a free gift of grace. If we exercise this faith which the Holy Ghost gives us, we receive the pardon which God offers. In this respect our justification is subjective. We make our very own that which has been awaiting us for centuries. At the moment that the sinner accepts Jesus Christ as his only hope of salvation, at that moment the forgiveness of sins, long ago accomplished for us, becomes our own. It has its basis in that universal redemption wrought out for all who will receive it. Man's sins are already forgiven through the merits of Jesus Christ, but when faith asserts itself in his heart, this justification becomes the believer's individual possession. This fact Charnock never seemed fully to grasp.⁴⁵

Isaac Barrow, (1630-1677)

Isaac Barrow was born in London in 1630. He was sent to the famous Charterhouse School, but so unpromising was he at the time that his father, a London merchant, is said to have remarked, "I hope that the Lord may spare all my children, but if it should be that one of them must be taken, may it please the Lord to let it be Isaac." Later he was sent to a school at Felsted, Essex, where he learned to apply himself. He went from there to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he became a brilliant student. From 1655 to 1659 he studied in Europe, and in Constantinople, where he devoted a full year to the reading of Chrysostom in the original.

He returned to England and was ordained, and in 1660 became professor of Greek at Cambridge. In 1662 he was made professor of geometry in Gresham College, and in 1664 Lucasian professor of mathematics at Cambridge. In 1669 he resigned in favor of his pupil, Isaac Newton. He preached whenever opportunity offered, and in 1673 he was

⁴⁵. Charnock's *Works*, 9 vols., (London, 1815), contain a biography by Edward Parsons. Another edition, with an introduction by James McCosh, is included in Nichol's *Series of Standard Divines*. 5 vols., (Edinburgh, 1864).

made chaplain to King Charles II, who considered him the best scholar in England, but declared (possibly with reference to Barrow's lengthy sermons), that he was an unfair preacher, for so thorough was he that nothing remained for other men to say. He was appointed master of Trinity in 1672 and vice-chancellor of the University in 1675. He was not long in office, for on a visit to London in 1677, he contracted a fever and died at the age of 47.

As a distinguished mathematician, scientist and scholar, Barrow had been compared to Sir Isaac Newton, his distinguished pupil. His sermons have received great praise. Lord Chatham read these sermons as often as 20 times, merely for their style, and he memorized some of them. Barrow wrote and revised these long sermons again and again. Some of his written sermons were never used in the pulpit. Their great length is not due to mere wordiness, but they are copious in thought, so that it must have been an effort for an ordinary congregation to follow him for the two or three hours that he often preached. Many humorous tales are told of him. On one occasion when he had preached considerably longer than two hours, the peal ringers went to the church tower and started to ring a peal on eight bells. Another story, evidently fictitious, is that of a visitor who came to hear Barrow. Meeting the verger in the church porch, he asked, "Has the afternoon sermon started?" To which the verger replied, "No, Dr. Barrow is just finishing his morning sermon."

One of his most noted sermons, *But we preach Christ Crucified*, is but a part of a much longer sermon. Like John Howe, it seems to have been Barrow's custom to preach for an hour, let the people sing a hymn, pray for a time, and then preach for another hour. The structure of this sermon suggests this. Even so, it contains five main divisions, and no less than 12 very full applications. Some of his sermons are lacking in the evangelical spirit. The one cited does not contain this fault, although it has one defect common to many Lenten sermons. It awakens pity for the physical sufferings of our Saviour, rather than concern for one's own sins, which made our Lord's sufferings necessary. A monument and bust to the memory of Isaac Barrow may be seen

in Westminster Abbey. On one occasion the dean of Westminster invited Barrow to preach in the Abbey, but made him agree to preach only the first half of his sermon. Barrow consented. The sermon is said to have been one and one-half hours long.

Barrow's collected writings have been published several times,⁴⁶ and include his sermons and his theological essays. A biography, by Whewell, is included in the Cambridge edition of his *Works*.⁴⁷

John Howe, (1630-1705)

John Howe, whom Robert Hall declared to be "unquestionably the greatest of the Puritan divines," was born in Loughborough, Leics., where his father was a clergyman. The elder Howe was forced to flee to Ireland in order to escape the displeasure of Archbishop Laud. In 1641 the family returned to Lancashire, where the boy was educated. He attended Christ's College, Cambridge, and then Magdalen College, Oxford, from which he was graduated in 1650. At his ordination he was called, in 1654, to Great Torrington, Devonshire, as perpetual curate.

Edmund Calamy, the historian, gives us an account of the form of worship at Great Torrington, especially on fast days, and this is an interesting picture of a church service in Puritan times. The service began with a 15-minute prayer, at 9 a. m., then he expounded "a chapter or Psalm" for 45 minutes, then a prayer 60 minutes in length, then a sermon a full hour in length, then a third prayer 30 minutes in length. At the end of three and one-half hours, Howe allowed the congregation to sing for 15 minutes, during which time he retired for a little refreshment. He returned to the pulpit, prayed for an hour, then preached a second sermon an hour in length, and then prayed for 30 minutes. Then, at 4 p. m., after the congregation had been in church continuously for seven hours, the service was ended.⁴⁸

⁴⁶. *Works of Isaac Barrow*, 4 vols., (London, 1683-87), edited by John Tillotson; Cambridge edition, 9 vols., (Cambridge, 1859), etc.

⁴⁷. William Whewell, *Isaac Barrow*, (Cambridge, 1859).

⁴⁸. Edmund Calamy, *Works and Life of Howe*, 2 vols., (London, 1724).

In 1656 John Howe went up to London, and while there Oliver Cromwell urged him to become his chaplain. Howe longed to return to Devon, but finally accepted the invitation, and preached at Whitehall for Oliver Cromwell, and then for his son Richard. After the fall of the latter, Howe returned to his congregation in Devon.

In 1662, at the Act of Uniformity, John Howe withdrew from the Church of England and became a Nonconformist, saying that there was little vital religion left in the State Church. He continued to preach in the homes of the people, however. Finally, in 1665, he took the Oxford Oath.

In 1671, on a trip to Ireland, his ship was detained for some days at Holyhead, Wales, because of contrary winds. Howe was invited by a local clergyman to preach for him. The word of his sermon spread through the town, and at the afternoon service, the congregation overflowed the church. On the following Sunday Howe was confined to his bed because of illness, but "there was a prodigious multitude gathered," hoping to hear him preach again. The resident pastor was terrified, and while the congregation waited, he went and urged Howe to preach. The latter arose from his sick bed and went to the church, and he himself declared later that never in his experience had he seen a congregation so greatly moved.

After his brief stay in Wales, Howe went to Antrim, where he served as chaplain to a nobleman, and preached in many places. In 1675 he was invited to London to preach to a dissenting congregation that gathered in Haberdasher's Hall. Troubles arose, and the Puritans were placed under restrictions. In 1686 Howe went to Utrecht, and preached to a congregation of English refugees there. A year later when religious toleration was restored in England by the Declaration of Indulgence, Howe returned to his native land. He died in 1705, declaring, "I expect my salvation, not as a profitable servant, but as a pardoned sinner." Of his work in the pulpit, Middleton says: "He could preach off-hand with as great exactness as many others upon the closest study. His sermons, which he always delivered without notes, were often of uncommon depth, especially at the beginning, but were plain in the sequel,

and towards the close generally came home with great pungency to the consciences of the hearers. He had great copiousness and fluency in prayer. To hear him pray upon sudden emergencies might have abated the prepossession of those who venture to cavil at free prayer."⁴⁹

Pattison says of him: "Howe's practical pastoral experience saved him from becoming a mere dreamer, and his reverent study of the Bible as a preacher delivered him from the vagueness of thought and phrase in which many of the Cambridge students lost track alike of the times and of the truth."⁵⁰

Robert Hall says: "I have learned far more from John Howe than from any other author I have ever read. There is an astonishing magnificence in his conceptions. He had not the same perception of the beautiful as of the sublime; hence his endless subdivisions. . . . There was, I think, an innate inaptitude in Howe's mind for discerning minute graces and (also) improprieties, and hence his sentences are often long and cumbersome. Still he was unquestionably the greatest of the Puritan divines."⁵¹ Three well-known editions of Howe's collected writings exist, and his biography was written by Rogers.⁵²

John Tillotson, (1630-1694)

John Tillotson was born in 1630 at Sowerby, Halifax, Yorkshire. After completing his preliminary studies at the grammar school in Colne, Lancs., he attended Clare College, Cambridge, from which he was graduated in 1650. The following year he was elected to a fellowship. In teaching, he spoke only Latin to his pupils. Interested in preaching, he attended four church services every Sunday and one on Wednesday. In 1657 he went to London as tutor and chaplain, and in 1660 or 1661 he was ordained priest in the Church of England.

⁴⁹. Erasmus Middleton, *Biographia Evangelica*, 4 vols., (London, 1810), vol. 4, p. 140.

⁵⁰. T. H. Pattison, *The History of Christian Preaching*, (Phila., 1908), p. 201.

⁵¹. Robt. Hall, *Works*, 6 vols., (London, 1832), vol. 3, p. 78.

⁵². H. Rogers, *Life and Character of John Howe*, (London, 1879). See also Edmund Calamy's *Life*.

In 1661 he became curate at Cheshunt, Hertfordshire, and in 1663 rector of Kedington, Suffolk, as well as preacher at Lincoln's Inn, London. A year later he was appointed to the Tuesday lectureship at St. Lawrence Jewry. He was made a prebend of Canterbury in 1670, and two years later he became dean of Canterbury. In 1675 he became prebend of St. Paul's, London. In 1690 he succeeded Sancroft, the Nonjuror, as archbishop of Canterbury.

When Tillotson came to London at the age of 33, he soon became a popular preacher. His sermons at Lincoln's Inn, and his lectures at St. Lawrence's church attracted many. For a time he was chaplain to King Charles II. Tillotson had turned away from Puritanism himself, and through the persuasiveness of his preaching, he turned many others away from it, and brought them back to the Established Church. His sermons are clear in thought, logical in arrangement, practical, learned, and persuasive toward Nonconformity, rather than polemical. He sought to win the Nonconformist and bring him back to the State Church by friendliness rather than by an attack upon his beliefs. His published sermons exist in a 14-volume edition.

While Tillotson's sermons possess great merit, yet their weakness lies in the fact that there is much cold reasoning and not much evangelical warmth. Nevertheless Addison was a great admirer of his literary style, while Dryden declared that he had learned to write accurate English from Tillotson's sermons. Doddridge praises him for his clearness. Bishop Burnet goes so far as to say that Tillotson brought preaching to perfection.

Perhaps his chief contribution to the preaching of his generation lies in the fact that he furnished men with powerful arguments against both heresy and infidelity. While his treatment is inclined to be rationalistic, yet it has value in the field of apologetics; and other men of depth of spiritual tone, have used his logic with good results. For example, one of his famous sermons, *The Reasonableness of a Resurrection*,⁵³ is a direct appeal to the intellect, thoroughly logical,

⁵³. *The Works of Dr. John Tillotson*, 3 vols., folio ed., (London, 1772), vol. 3, pp. 248-255.

but lacking entirely in persuasiveness. It might present facts that the doubter is unable to answer, but the sermon would hardly cause such a man to repent of his sins, or realize his need of a Saviour. Like many modern sermons, the only evangelical note is in the closing sentence or two, and even there it is lacking in persuasiveness.

Dargan says that Tillotson introduced a new mode of sermon composition⁵⁴ that influenced not only the development of English preaching, but effected the pulpit of Holland, and of other European countries as well. Broadus believes that Tillotson's arguments and style no longer appeal to our changed way of thinking. The weakness lies even deeper. Tillotson sought to bring men to the Saviour by logic rather than through the power of the means of grace.

The people of the seventeenth century admired Tillotson, for no doubt they had grown weary of the elaborate artificiality of the Elizabethan age, and the ponderous structural style of the Puritans. Accustomed as they were to long, involved sentences and frequent Latin and Greek quotations, they welcomed Tillotson's simplicity of style. One can but regret that a man who was able to express his thoughts so clearly and beautifully was so lacking in evangelical warmth. The glint and the flash of his literary style delighted the people of his generation and they hailed him as a great preacher; yet it was Baxter, who lacked much of Tillotson's beauty of style, who transformed such places as Kidderminster.

During the sixty years after his death, three editions of Tillotson's collected writings were published, and his works were read and admired,⁵⁵ and his style imitated. Today the homiletical library that includes his works is the exception rather than the rule. The account of his life was written by Gilbert Burnet and by one who called himself merely

⁵⁴ E. C. Dargan, *A History of Preaching*, (New York, 1905-1912), vol. 2, p. 166.

⁵⁵ *Sermons and Other Writings of John Tillotson*, 14 vols., (London, 1695-1704); *The Complete Works of John Tillotson*, (Birch edition), 3 vols., (London, 1752); *Works*, 12 vols., (London, 1757); Folio edition in 3 vols., (London, 1772).

"F. H."⁵⁶ A memoir, by Thomas Birch, is included in the Birch edition of Tillotson's works.

John Flavel, (c. 1630-1691)

John Flavel was born about the year 1630 in Bromsgrove, where his father, a clergyman, was one of those ejected by the Act of Uniformity of 1662. The lad was educated in the local schools, and at University College, Oxford. In 1650 he was appointed assistant to the aged incumbent at Avon, near Totnes, Devonshire. Upon the death of Mr. Walplate, John Flavel became his successor. In 1656 he was appointed to Dartmouth, in Devon, only to be ejected from his parish in 1662 at the time of the Act of Uniformity.

The next thirty years of Flavel's life were troubled ones. For a time he preached privately in Dartmouth, but when the Five Mile Act was passed, he went to Slapton and preached there. Many of his old friends came from Dartmouth, five miles away, to hear him. He went to London for a time, only to return to Dartmouth, where he met with his congregation by night, and in private homes, always in danger of arrest for keeping conventicles. It was not until 1687, four years before his death, that the laws were eased somewhat, and he was allowed to preach once more in public. A chapel was built for him, where he served for the few remaining years of his life. He died in Exeter, in 1691. John Flavel is noted not only as a preacher, but as a writer, for many printed works bear his name. His collected works have been published several times, and the best edition is said to be that of the year 1820.⁵⁷ An account of his life appears together with his collected writings.⁵⁸

Oliver Heywood, (1630-1702)

Oliver Heywood was born in 1630 at Little Lever, Lancashire. His brother, Nathaniel Heywood the elder was one of the ejected clergy. He was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took his degree in 1650. After this he

⁵⁶. Gilbert Burnet, *Memoir of John Tillotson*, (London, 1694); F. H. *Life of John Tillotson*, (London, 1717).

⁵⁷. *The Works of John Flavel*, 6 vols., (London, 1820).

⁵⁸. See also *Athenae Oxonienses*, (P. Bliss, ed.), vol. 4, and S. Palmer, *Nonconformists' Memorials*, (London, 1778) 2, 18-22.

was given Coley Chapel, near Halifax, Yorkshire. He was ordained in 1652. Ten years later he was excommunicated for his failure to use the *Book of Common Prayer*. In 1665 he became an itinerant preacher, and he went throughout the neighboring country, preaching twice a week in addition to his usual Sunday work. In 1672 he became a Presbyterian. In 1685 he was imprisoned in York for riotous assembly. He was released from prison, and in 1691 he introduced the "happy union" of the Presbyterians and Congregationalists in Yorkshire.

Philip Henry, (1631-1696)

Philip Henry was born of Welsh parentage at Whitehall, London, in 1631. Among his boyhood companions were Prince Charles and Prince James. He was educated at Westminster School and at Christ Church, Oxford, where he received his degree in 1647. In 1649 he was present at the execution of Charles I. In 1653 he went to Emral, in Flintshire, where he was tutor to a prominent family, as well as filling the pulpit of Worthenbury Chapel. He was ordained in 1657 and received the presentation of Worthenbury in 1658. In 1662 he was rejected by the Act of Uniformity, suspected of conspiracy and imprisoned a year later and in 1665 driven from his home by the Five Mile Act. In 1672 he began to preach as a Nonconformist. In 1681 he was apprehended and fined for keeping conventicles. He was confined at Chester Castle in 1685 during the Monmouth rebellion. He went to Broad Oak, Flintshire, in 1687, preaching daily throughout the district.

Philip Henry's writings are of interest because of the information that they contain in regard to the early days of Nonconformity. His memoirs were published by his son, Matthew Henry the commentator.⁵⁹ A collection of his sermons⁶⁰ and an exposition of the book of Genesis⁶¹ are among his published works. He was an influential and useful preacher. His first parish was a rough place, but "here by his close and practical preaching he was made exceedingly

⁵⁹. Matthew Henry, *Memoir of Philip Henry*, (London, 1696).

⁶⁰. *Eighteen Sermons of the Rev. Philip Henry*, (London, 1816).

⁶¹. Philip Henry, *Expositions upon Genesis*, (London, 1839).

useful, and wrought under God a wonderful change in his parish, which before was esteemed one of the most loose and profane places in all that country."

Mr. Henry did a thing that offers a suggestion to the Bible student of today. He had his Bible rebound, with a blank sheet of paper between every pair of printed pages, and on these blank sheets he wrote, in very small, clear script "short notes upon texts of Scripture as they occurred," using these as aids in his sermon preparation. His week-day lectures "which were set up plentifully, and diligently attended upon in those parts," were so acceptable and successful that he became known far and wide as "Heavenly Henry." Whenever he had occasion to preach upon moral duties, he was careful to give due attention to sin and salvation. After finishing the outline of a sermon he examined it carefully in order to be sure that he had given attention to the life of Christ as the great pattern of man's duty, the love of Christ as the great motive of it, and the gracious merit of Christ, as making atonement for the sins of men.

Philip Henry drew up a covenant for his own children and for his catechumens. They were required to memorize it and to repeat it in concert every Sunday evening. It was as follows:

"I take God the Father to be my chiefest good and highest end.

"I take God the Son to be my Prince and Saviour.

"I take God the Holy Ghost to be my Sanctifier, Teacher, Guide and Comforter.

"I take the Word of God to be my rule in all my actions; and the people of God to be my people in all conditions.

"I do likewise devote and dedicate unto the Lord my whole self, all I am, all I have, and all I can do. And this I do, deliberately, sincerely, freely and for ever. Amen."

THE CAMBRIDGE PLATONISTS

During the second half of the seventeenth century a reaction against Puritanism and other contemporary thought became evident. It was a liberal movement, dating from about the year 1644, and is known as Cambridge Platonism,

because of the fact that a number of the men identified with it were associated closely with Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Among them were Benjamin Whichcote, Ralph Cudworth, John Smith, Richard Cumberland, Joseph Glanvill, Henry More and John Norris. Slightly less prominent were Nathaniel Culverwel, Theophilus Gale, John Pordage, George Rust and John Worthington.

It is curious that this Latitudinarian movement originated at Emmanuel College, the great Puritan stronghold. Prof. Fleming James calls this rationalism a reaction against the "later excessive cant and mouthing of the Scripture" on the part of the Puritan preachers, and its destruction of reverence for spirituality, for the Bible, for supernatural authority in all its forms and for the guidance of the Spirit.¹

While it is true that the preaching of some of the later Puritan divines degenerated into empty cant, yet is it not possible that there were other reasons for the reaction? The Puritans had their doctrinal shortcomings, but the better men attempted to preach Law and Gospel, as all faithful witnesses will do. They were not often able to distinguish correctly between Law and Gospel, but at least we find among them a perfervid denunciation of sin, and a belief in the conveying of divine grace upon those whom they considered the elect. These Puritan preachers had an imperfect understanding of the power of the Law to bring the sinner to repentance, neither did they understand the Gospel as a means of grace. Even though their theology was faulty, when compared with the teachings of the New Testament, yet their vehement condemnation of sin produced the usual results. Men rebelled against it. The natural man detests the Law, and seeks to silence those who preach it. Even the preaching of the Cross is foolishness to him, and he cannot endure it. We find a reaction following every period of religious awakening. This was evident after the Reformation, after the awakening in the days of Wesley and Whitefield, after the Great Awakening in America in the time of Jonathan Edwards and the Tennents, and after the period of religious zeal that followed the Disruption in Scotland.

¹ Fleming James, *The Message and the Messengers*, (New York, 1897), p. 196.

It is but natural that such a reaction should follow the wave of religious enthusiasm of the Puritan era.

People grew tired of the preaching of the Puritans, just as they were weary of the sacerdotalism of Archbishop Laud, the cynical materialism of Hobbes and the rigid legalism of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. It is more than a coincidence that Benjamin Whichcote's rationalistic preaching was stirring Cambridge while the Westminster Divines were still engaged in their seven-year session.

As Principal John Tulloch has made clear, there were more than two parties in England.² Historians have much to say concerning the Puritans and the prelates, but all the while a third school of thought was taking shape. It was composed of men who were weary of both prelacy and Puritanism. These men might have caused their influence to shine brightly through all succeeding ages had they only turned to the teachings of the Scriptures. Instead of that, they set up human reason as the final court of appeal. In a way they were products of the Renaissance, that much-lauded period of enlightenment which was, in so many of its elements, merely an arrogant glorification of human reason.

These Cambridge Platonists rose in revolt against the current religious and philosophical opinions of their day, and they attempted to harmonize supernatural religion with human reason and to bring about a happy union between theology and philosophy. They taught, as Dr. Brown has shown, a theory of the absolute existence of right and wrong, apart from divine authority.³ They showed zeal for Platonist teachings, but failed to distinguish between Platonism and neo-Platonism. They confused Plato with Plautinus.

In a study of the Cambridge Platonists, a more recent writer⁴ declares that Benjamin Whichcote represented the spirit of Christian tolerance, John Smith contributed the idea of deep spirituality, Ralph Cudworth stressed an inexorable

². John Tulloch, *Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the Seventeenth Century*, (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1872).

³. John Brown, *Puritan Preaching in England*, (New York, 1900), pp. 114-128.

⁴. F. J. Powicke, *The Cambridge Platonists*, (London, 1926).

moral conscience, Henry More urged rational mysticism while Nathaniel Culverwel is mentioned as an example of arrested development.

Of the Cambridge Platonists, Whichcote, Smith and Cudworth were exceptional preachers, and these men did much to impress their liberal views upon the undergraduates at the University. As the sunset glow of Puritanism began to fade, rationalistic preaching began to spread. The decline of Puritanism was not due to the preaching of the Cambridge Platonists, for these men arose after the Puritan preachers had ceased to be a vital force. Puritanism had already seen its best days. Even at the height of its power, Puritanism lacked doctrinal cohesion, for it included within its ranks men of Presbyterian, Congregational and Episcopal opinions. Lacking complete doctrinal unity, it carried within itself the very causes of its own decline and eventual failure. In its latter days, Puritanism attached too much importance to human conduct, and men were not lacking who believed that the Christian Church must take over the duties of the civil magistrate, and compel all men to become good citizens.

Whichcote, Smith, Cudworth and their associates were able at the outset to combine their rationalism with a convincing illusion of deep spirituality. They were not intentional deceivers. They were entirely sincere in their loyalty to many of the old truths of the Scriptures, but they made the fatal mistake of attempting to measure divine revelation with the defective yardstick of human reason, while all the while they imagined that they were doing the exact reverse. They themselves were able, up to a point, to remain loyal to many of the Christian fundamentals, but like the destructive Biblical critics of a later day, they left no spiritual progeny. The next generation lapsed more deeply into mere natural theology, and in the end, Deism, Arianism and Pelagianism held full sway. Such men had an evangelical background, and its momentum caused them to cling to certain revealed truths even after they had turned to speculation. The generations that followed them lacked this background of early evangelical training and they soon drifted far from revealed truth.

After recalling the fact that Plautinus in his day sought to reduce all forms of divergent human thought to a broad, general, colorless system of philosophy; and that the Neo-Platonists of Florence attempted to formulate a philosophic worship divested of everything distinctive, Dr. John Brown shows that the same failure came upon the Cambridge Platonists in their efforts to blend religion and philosophy, supernatural revelation and human speculation. He says:

"All this has its instructive side for the preachers of today. It shows us that nothing permanently succeeds in the ways of religious teaching except a clear and unreserved setting forth of the distinctive facts and truths of God's own revelation. Every true man, of course, will try to see these facts and truths with his own eyes but he must never substitute his own speculations, however original and ingenious, for the authoritative revelations of God. To the extent to which he yields to this temptation his ministry will be powerless. Man's speculations change with changing times, but the Word of the Lord endureth forever. Thrice has this effort been made to render the abstractions of a philosophized religion a power among men, and thrice has it failed.⁵ For a preacher to refine away what is most distinctive of divine revelation and then to subtilize the rest into a mere sentimental theism is to court predestined failure. It has been tried under the most favorable conditions by some of the ablest and most learned of men. If it failed in their hands, and it did fail, it is not likely to succeed with others."

Cambridge Platonism did not survive long into the eighteenth century. It was followed by a period of arid Arianism, and the lights of evangelical truth were extinguished one by one throughout England, until only a few remained here and there. Of this period Dr. Brown utters these significant words:

"Christless preaching is always followed by desolated sanctuaries and crumbling walls. First there came silence as to the great Evangelical truths so forcibly preached in an earlier time, — a silence which was explained at first as not

⁵. Attempted by Plotinus, by the Florentine Neo-Platonists and by the Cambridge Platonists.

⁶. John Brown, *Op. cit.*, pp. 126-127.

arising from dislike to the old truths themselves, but only from dislike to the old modes of stating them. Definite teaching was objected to as dogmatism, and as being offensive and unprofitable. Stress came to be laid more on the natural and moral grounds of religion and less on the supernatural and spiritual. The old phrases still continued to be used, but they were emptied of their former meaning. It has been well said that both preachers and people continued to speak their fathers' language after they had lost their fathers' faith. There were many and honorable exceptions, of course; still, both in the Established Church and in the Nonconformist communities, the mere preaching of moral duties, apart from that grace of God in salvation by which alone they can be fulfilled, left the land mourning and desolate. The experiment of trying to make men better without the Cross of Christ for them and the Spirit of God within them was tried on as large a scale as it is ever likely to be tried again; and the result was a nation largely given over to coarseness and sensuality."⁷

Benjamin Whichcote, (1609-1683)

Benjamin Whichcote, one of the Cambridge Platonists, was born at Whichcote Hall, in the parish of Stoke, in Shropshire. He took his bachelor's degree at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1630, and was made fellow in 1633. He was ordained in 1636 and became Sunday afternoon lecturer at Trinity Church, Cambridge. His reputation as an influential preacher was made during the twenty years of his connection with this church. In 1643 he became rector of North Cadbury, Somerset. A year later he was made provost of King's College, but was rejected at the time of the Restoration. Accepting the Act of Uniformity in 1662, he became curate of St. Anne's, Blackfriars, London, and after the Great Fire of 1666 he went to Milton. In 1668 he became vicar of St. Lawrence Jewry, but while the church was being rebuilt he preached in the chapel of the nearby Guildhall.

Whichcote's sermons at Cambridge drew crowds of admiring undergraduates, as well as professors and fellows. He was an eloquent preacher, but unfortunately his tendency

⁷. *Ibid.*, pp. 202-203.

toward rationalism had a decided influence upon the university students for twenty years. Only the notes of his sermons seem to have survived. So far had he progressed in rationalism that in 1651, while provost of King's College, Cambridge, one of his old teachers wrote a letter of warning to his former student. Although nominally a Puritan, yet Whichcote had departed far from the Puritan teachings and had gone so far as to say that "to go against reason is to go against God." His sermons were brilliant, but they lacked spiritual depth, and after his death his influence waned speedily.

"Whichcote's success as a preacher was immediate. He seems to have introduced a new style. Instead of reading a carefully elaborated discourse, he spoke from a few notes fluently, easily and sometimes colloquially. He spoke at the same time with intense urgency; and always on topics of living interest. So his preaching was strongly marked by what Phillips Brooks called the personal quality; and, therefore, by a freshness which stood out in welcome contrast from the traditional type."⁸

John Smith, (1616-1652)

John Smith, one of the Cambridge Platonists, was born at Achurch, Northants., in 1618. His father was a small farmer, and a man who was disposed toward Puritanism. The boy was sent to Emmanuel College, Cambridge, because of its Puritan influences. He took his degree in 1640. At Cambridge his tutor was Benjamin Whichcote, at that time a young man of 27 years. John Smith became known for "his early piety, and the remembering of his Creator in the days of his youth, as also his excellent improvements in the choicest parts of learnings, endearing him to many, particularly to his careful tutor, the Fellow of Emmanuel College, afterward Provost of King's College, Dr. Whichcote."⁹ In 1644 Mr. Smith would have been made fellow of Emmanuel, except for the fact that the rules did not permit more than one fellow from any given county. The Northampton

⁸. Pcwicke, *Op. cit.*, pp. 51-52.

⁹. John Worthing's *Address to the Reader*, prefixed to John Smith's *Select Discourses*, (London, 1660).

young man was made fellow of Queen's College, since an Emmanuel fellowship was already filled by another from his own county.

John Smith was taken ill and died at the early age of 36, but not before establishing a record as a preacher of superior learning and eloquence. Ten of his sermons were published under the title of *Select Discourses*, with a foreword by John Worthington, who praises Smith in unrestrained language, but in so general a manner that little is known of Smith beyond his exceptional piety and his great learning. He has been described by others as a young man with a gift of keen logic that has been compared to that of Chillingworth, and a richness of imagination that suggests Jeremy Taylor. Fortunately Principal John Tulloch has been able, from a study of the *Discourses*, to give us a fairly complete picture of this unusual young man.¹⁰

In these ten published sermons, John Smith begins by disposing of the claims of atheism and superstition. Then he sets forth as the basic truths of the Christian religion: the immortality of the soul, the existence and nature of God, and the communication of God to mankind through Jesus Christ. He discusses the first two basic truths, but he died before he was able to complete the series of discourses. His sermons are scholarly, and so overloaded with quotations from the classical writers that there are times when the intention of the preacher becomes obscured.

Smith's sermons are philosophical. "To say that Smith was a Platonist is enough to settle the general character of his method. All knowledge to him, especially all higher divine knowledge, springs from the soul within. It is the reflection of our own souls — the interpretation of our own spiritual life. This will be found to be the pervading thought of the discourses — the central principle to which they all lead back. In its general philosophical aspect this is known as the old doctrine of *innate notions*, which Smith accepted without hesitation."¹¹ Thus John Smith sets aside revelation as the *sole source* of spiritual truth, and beside it he places

¹⁰. John Tulloch, *Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the Seventeenth Century*, (Edinb., 1872), vol. 2, pp. 117-192.

¹¹. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 140.

human reason. Smith goes part of the way by admitting that "since Man's fall from God, the inward virtue and vigour of Reason is much abated . . . those principles of Divine truth which were first engraven upon man's heart with the finger of God are now, as the Characters of some ancient monuments, less clear and legible than at first."¹² He continues by saying that God has provided the truth of divine revelation, called by the Scriptures *grace*, and given freely, and out of the love of God.

Although he accepts divine revelation, yet his rationalism is evident, for he is not ready to admit the total spiritual darkness of natural reason. Rather does he believe that fallen man's reason is merely "much abated," and the divine image somewhat dimmed. The Scriptures teach that the reason of the natural man is so blinded by sin that he looks upon the Gospel as foolishness,¹³ and upon the Law that condemns him as the true way of salvation.¹⁴ John Smith's rationalism would recognize the truth of divine revelation, as a free gift of divine grace, but he places man's understanding together with this divine revelation, as a source of spiritual enlightenment. Smith's writings are well known, and have been reprinted a number of times. Certain selected extracts were reprinted by John Wesley. However, Smith is too speculative, too inclined toward rationalistic thought, and the evangelical note in his sermons too often is elusive.

Ralph Cudworth, (1617-1688)

Ralph Cudworth was known as "the most erudite of the Cambridge men." He was born in 1617 at Aller, in Somerset. His father, a Cambridge man, had been fellow of Emmanuel College and pastor of St. Andrew's Church, Cambridge. In 1632 Ralph Cudworth entered Emmanuel College as a pensioner, taking his Master's degree at 22 and becoming a fellow and then a tutor. In 1645 he was made Master of Clare Hall and regius professor of Hebrew. When Cud-

¹². Quoted by F. J. Powicke, *The Cambridge Platonists*, (London, 1926), p. 97.

¹³. 1 Cor. 2, 14.

¹⁴. Gal. 3, 10-12; Gal. 3, 1-3. (Vide J. T. Mueller, *Christian Dogmatics*, (St. Louis, 1934), p. 219ff.)

worth came to Cambridge he was a Calvinist, but it was not long until he began to question the *horrenda ista decreta* by which God was said to condemn certain men. In his doctor's thesis, in 1653, he stated his dissent in this particular. In 1647 he preached before Cromwell and the House of Commons, and in tones that were almost defiant he expounded his Arminian views. His text on this occasion was I John 2, 3, "And hereby we do know that we know Him, if we keep His commandments." In 1650 he succeeded Whichcote as rector of North Cadbury, he became master of Christ's College in 1654, he received the presentation of Ashwell, Hertfordshire, as non-resident vicar in 1662, and he was made prebend of Gloucester in 1678.

Ralph Cudworth's ability as a preacher rests upon two sermons which have survived, one of which is the one preached before Commons. "This sermon of itself places him in the highest rank as a preacher. Large in thought and eloquent in expression, it is instinct throughout with a glow of feeling and harmony and grace of composition which are too rare with him. It is a pleasing surprise, after his earlier writings, published, with only his initials, in 1642."¹⁵

Cudworth's writings were once popular among men of the liberal school of thought. Several editions of his works were published, among which should be mentioned the Jena edition of 1733. In addition to the sketch of his life by Thomas Birch, which appears together with his collected works, several discussions of Cudworth and his philosophy have been published.¹⁶

¹⁵. John Tulloch, *Op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 228-229.

¹⁶. In addition to John Tulloch, *op. cit.*, consult C. E. Lowrey, *The Philosophy of Ralph Cudworth*, (New York, 1884); W. R. Scott, *Introduction to Cudworth's "Treatise,"* (London, 1891); Jas. Mar-tineau, *Types of Ethical Theory*, (London, 1885).

CHAPTER VII

THE PERIOD OF APATHY

THE LAST THREE DECADES of the seventeenth century and the first thirty years of the eighteenth were times of spiritual deadness not only in Great Britain, but throughout the world. Spiritual awakenings and spiritual declines are not often confined to one country. If we find a period of spiritual indifference in England or America, the same conditions are quite likely to be found in Continental Europe. The decline of evangelical orthodoxy became apparent in Germany during the age of Pietism, which held sway from approximately 1675 to 1750. Men such as Philip Jacob Spener and A. H. Franke declared that true religion depends not so much upon loyalty to the Confessional Writings, but rather upon a holy life. Spener professed his loyalty to the Lutheran Confessions, but the men who followed him stressed sanctification rather than justification. They believed that the true Christian Church is dependent upon the personal character of those who compose it. They believed that the keeping of conventicles is of more importance than the preaching of the true Law and Gospel; and that no good could come from the preaching of a man who is not himself soundly converted. Pietism tended toward Chiliasm, and its followers looked for a speedy return of our Lord, and a millennial kingdom on earth. In its final stages Pietism degenerated into salvation by good works rather than by the grace of God in Christ.

Rationalism came in the wake of Pietism. It went through several stages, but it was at its zenith from about 1780 to about 1810. The father of Rationalism, Johan Semler (1725-1791), came to the University of Halle in 1752. This university, which had been the center of Pietism, soon became rationalistic. Semler was a pioneer in the field of destructive textual criticism. He applied scientific methods to the Scriptures, with human opinion as the court of final appeal, and man's natural reason as both judge and jury. He made it appear that the Old Testament is but a stratification of Jewish folk lore and traditions, and a thing of gradual development. The New Testament, to his mind, was written

by men of limited education who accommodated their ideas to people of meagre intelligence. Miracles were to be explained by natural causes, while original sin was said to be but a figment of the imagination, and its guilt was denied. It was into such an atmosphere as this that the graduates of the four Scottish and the two English universities were to come, not many years hence, and to carry back with them the destructive views that, in generations to come, undermined evangelical truth.

A pagan spirit prevailed in these German universities. Wolf came to Halle in 1705, and his teachings shook the faith of many of his students, who went out to spread his views. When Dr. Knapp, the theologian, came to the University of Halle in 1777, he declared that he could find not one of the thousand students who was truly devout. When Tholuck came to the same university in 1826, of all the students he was able to discover but three who were true believers. Such were the men who were to go forth into the ministry and become leaders of religious thought.

In England, Scotland and Wales, preaching began to decline about the middle of the seventeenth century, and before the end of the century the evangelical spirit had almost vanished. Men were able to applaud the brittle elegance of Archbishop Tillotson's sermons, while in Scotland the spirit of German Rationalism found its counterpart in the group known as the Moderates.

"There arose also at that time," declares Robert Hall, "a set of divines who, partly in compliance with the popular humour, partly to keep at a distance from the Puritans, and partly to gain the infidels who then began to make their appearance, introduced a new sort of preaching, in which the doctrines of the Reformation, as they are usually styled, were supplanted by copious and elaborate disquisitions on points of morality. Their fame and ability imboldened their successors to improve upon their pattern, by consigning the Articles of the Church to a still more perfect oblivion, by losing sight still more entirely of the peculiarities of the Gospel, guarding more anxiously against every sentiment or expression that could agitate or alarm, and by shortening the length, and adding as much as possible to the dryness

of their moral lucubrations. From that time the idea commonly entertained in England of a perfect sermon was that of a discourse upon some moral topic, clear, correct and argumentative, in the delivery of which the preacher must be free of all suspicion of being moved himself, or of intending to produce emotion in his hearers; or in a word as remote as possible from such a mode of reasoning on righteousness, temperance and judgment, as should make a Felix tremble. The idea was very successfully realized, this singular model of pulpit eloquence carried to the utmost perfection. . . . This inimitable apathy in the mode of imparting religious instruction, combined with the utter neglect of whatever is most touching or alarming in the discoveries of the Gospel, produced their natural effect of extinguishing devotion in the Established Church, and of leaving it to be possessed by the Dissenters; of whom it was considered as the distinguishing badge, and from that circumstance derived an additional degree of unpopularity. . . . If any exception can be made to the justice of these observations, in respect to the doctrines of the Trinity and the Atonement, which were often defended with great ability, though in a dry and scholastic manner, and the discussion of which served to mark the return of the principal festivals of the Church; while other points not less important, — such as the corruption of human nature, the necessity of the new birth, and justification by faith, — were either abandoned to oblivion or held up to ridicule and contempt. The consequence was that the creed established by law had no sort of influence in forming the sentiments of the people; the pulpit completely vanquished the desk; piety and Puritanism were confounded in one common reproach; an almost pagan darkness in the concerns of salvation prevailed; and the English became the most irreligious people on the earth.”¹

Churches and chapels were empty. Their interiors were swept and garnished of everything that the piety of former generations had provided, dust lay thickly everywhere and spiders spun their webs undisturbed from the roof trusses. Altars were removed, and small communion tables covered

¹ *The Works of Robert Hall*, 6 vols., (London, 1846), vol. 2, pp. 293-294.

with green baize were used for all manner of secular purposes, and only dragged into the chancel on the rare occasions when Holy Communion was celebrated.

Bishops of this period were often rich and pompous, and among them were scheming politicians whose offices had been secured by methods which were thoroughly worldly, to say the least. Some of these prelates never set foot within their dioceses. Parish churches were given to men who often lacked both theological training and spiritual qualifications. Through an infamous practice known as patronage, important livings were given to relatives and friends of the bishops, the land-holding gentry and the politicians. If the congregations objected, the civil magistrates were called in and such unworthy and uncalled clergymen were "settled by intrusion," over the protest of the people of the parish. Pluralism prevailed, so that one man might be pastor of several congregations, draw the incomes prescribed by law, yet at the same time neglect them all. Such clergymen were often hard drinkers, given to cursing and swearing, and spending much of their time riding to the hounds. J. C. Ryle condemns these "hunting, shooting, gambling, card-playing, swearing, ignorant clergymen, who cared neither for Law nor Gospel, and utterly neglected their parishes."² In some cases clergymen were private chaplains to the wealthy squire, where they were expected to perform the most menial tasks in scullery and cow stable, as well as reading the morning and evening prayers of the household.

William Blackstone (1723-1780), the eminent jurist and legal commentator, went to London and visited church after church, seeking a place where he might hear Christ-centered sermons, but he found none. After visiting many churches, he declared that a general paganism prevailed, so that it was impossible to determine whether the preachers believed in Confucius, Mahomet or Jesus Christ.³ Thus did conditions in Britain correspond to those in Germany, where an evangelical pastor visited every book-shop in the great publishing

². J. C. Ryle, *The Christian Leaders of the Last Century*, (London, 1869).

³. *Ibid*, p. 15.

center of Leipzig, and in no place was he able to buy either a complete Bible or a New Testament.

In England there were men in high positions who often appeared to be outwardly loyal to their church. They attended Morning Prayer, read the responses ostentatiously, but in private they ridiculed their own doctrines. Thackeray describes a service in the Chapel Royal, where the guttural conversation of King George and his friends obscured the voice of the preacher. Johnson tells us that "the Apostles were tried once a week" by the preachers of those days "on the charge of committing forgery," and invariably were they found guilty. Bishop Butler declared that Christianity had "come to be taken for granted . . . not so much as a subject for inquiry; but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious."⁴

Even in the churches and chapels where a form of Christianity was still preached, it was often a mere lip-service. Vitality was lacking and spiritual life was moribund. Personal religion, where it existed at all, was at low ebb. Missionary zeal was absent in the large majority of cases, instruction of children had disappeared both in the home and in the church, and the poorer classes were neglected completely. When George Whitefield visited Bristol in 1739, he found grown people who had never heard a sermon.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, preaching was ethical, at times polemical, but rarely centered upon Jesus Christ and the great doctrines of Redemption. The teachings of Scripture were rarely mentioned. The style of preaching was intentionally quiet and prosaic, and always very genteel. Any show of emotion was considered vulgar, and the idea that prevailed was that of "eminent respectability." In the great universities of England and Scotland, drinking and gambling were taken for granted, and any mention of religion provoked only ridicule. Conditions such as these prevailed generally, and it was only here and there that some sincere clergyman might be found who still preached sin and salvation, and performed faithfully all the duties of his office.

⁴. Joseph Butler, *The Analogy of Religion*, (London, 1736), from the "Advertisement," or foreword.

The nobility looked upon themselves as beyond the need of religion. The Dutchess of Buckingham said to Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, when Whitefield was mentioned, "It is monstrous to be told that you have a heart as sinful as the common wretches that crawl on the earth. This is highly offensive and insulting; and I cannot but wonder that your ladyship should relish any sentiments so much at variance with high rank and good breeding."⁵

With preaching at so low an ebb in Britain, it is little wonder that a spirit of lawlessness prevailed in the land. Drunkenness was common; gambling was to be found everywhere; bands of robbers roamed the land. In England, as in Germany, all relation between religion and morals had disappeared. A clergyman could be drunk during the week and yet preach on Sunday. Lay people could live in utmost worldliness and yet make an outward show of piety. It was a period of brutality. In London there was an arena where wild beasts and domestic animals were tortured in a most shocking manner, and before tens of thousands of cheering spectators. Fireworks were tied to a bull and ignited, and the poor creature allowed to charge about until he died. Dogs were saturated with kerosene, set afire, and turned loose in the arena. Animals and fowls were tied to a stake and the spectators invited to stone them to death.

It was a morbid age. So prevalent was the crime wave that severe laws were finally passed. In England a man could be hanged for so trifling an offense as letting loose his neighbor's cattle, or for cutting down a tree that did not belong to him. Poor wretches were led to Tyburn gallows almost daily, tied by a halter to the tail of the executioner's cart. Hangings were considered a public spectacle not to be missed, and the crowds roared with delight at the agony of the victim after the trap had been sprung.

It was an age when a strange fear held sway. From 1739 to 1784 England knew but two brief periods of peace, one of eight and the other of eleven years. There had been great earthquakes at Lisbon and elsewhere, and many predicted a speedy end of the world. Once when John Wesley

⁵. Hastings and Selbie, *Life and Times of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon*, 2 vols., (London, 1839-40), vol. 1, p. 27.

was preaching at his Foundry, there was an ominous rumbling and chimney pots and bricks began to fall. It was a time of epidemics and the death rate was abnormally high. Families of ten to twenty children were the rule rather than the exception, and of these but a minority reached maturity. Even small children left their play and gathered in the churchyards, reading the inscriptions on the headstones and discussing morbid subjects. Such was the age of the Great Apostasy at the close of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century. Religion had become stagnant. Conditions were right for the great awakening of spiritual life that was soon to follow.

Robert South, in his collected *Works*, mentions again and again the fact that a period of ethical preaching can lead only to an age of spiritual decline. In the sermons, essays, book reviews and personal letters included in his published writings, he makes it clear that there are recurring periods of time when the preaching of sin and salvation are neglected, and when moral virtues are discussed instead of the great facts of Redemptive Christianity. He shows plainly that such periods invariably lead to a great age of spiritual darkness. Certainly the pulpit must set forth the Christian virtues that must be found in every true believer, but the preaching of morality dare not take the place of the preaching of the Cross. Sermons must be thoroughly Christ-centered, and the discussion of right living must come as practical applications of the great doctrines of the New Testament. To attempt to do otherwise is merely to tie good fruit to an empty tree. Such fruit will soon decay.

Robert South, (1633-1716)

Robert South was born in Hackney, London, in 1633. He was educated in Westminster School, and in 1655 he was graduated from Christ Church, Oxford. He took a further degree at Cambridge in 1659. He was ordained in 1658. South rose to fame overnight because of a sermon preached before the University in St. Mary's Church, Oxford, entitled *The Scribe Instructed*.⁶ As a lecture on the art of preaching

⁶ R. South, *Sermons Preached upon Several Occasions*, (London, 1855 ed.), vol. 1, pp. 309-322.

it is both remarkable and admirable, but one may hardly be permitted to call it a sermon, even though its introduction contains some brilliant exegesis.

In 1663, when but 30 years of age, Robert South was made prebend of Westminster, and in 1670 he became canon of Christ Church, Oxford. He was given a more or less honorary appointment in Derbyshire, and in 1678 he was made rector of Islip, Oxfordshire. More than once he was offered the bishop's purple, and once he was nominated to the archbishopric of the Protestant Church of Ireland, but he refused all these offices. He served for a time as a chaplain to the King.

Robert South was one of the popular preachers of his day. His printed sermons, in two large volumes, are still read and admired. They are lengthy, old-fashioned in their homiletical style, but, making due allowance for the lengthy compound sentences that occur frequently, they are admirable in their literary style. South employed a pungent, forceful manner of expression, and while his sermons furnish one with delightful reading even today, yet they are lacking frequently in spiritual weight. As a master of clear, vigorous English, South often reminds one of Shakespeare, but warmth and evangelical appeal are too often absent.

South was interested in politics, and went so far, now and then, as to discuss political issues in the pulpit. He was a foe of Puritanism, of Nonconformity in general, and of the Roman Church. He detested a poorly trained preacher, regardless of his denominational attachment, and he had no patience with preachers who "detract from the grandeur of the Gospel by a puerile and indecent levity," which they mistake for wit. He classed with such men another group, namely those preachers who "debase the same (Gospel) by a coarse, careless, rude and insipid way of handling the great and invaluable truths of it."

Were it not for his archaic homiletical style and his frequent sentences of great length, South would prove an extremely popular preacher in our own day, and his pungent wit would delight people of the sort who look upon a sermon as something to be enjoyed. A few of his striking sayings might interest the reader. "Piety engages no man to be

dull," he says, "though lately, I confess, it passed with some for a mark of regeneration." "It is not the oil in the wick, but in the vessel, which must feed the lamp." "But as there are certain mountebanks and quacks in physic, so there are much the same also in divinity, such as have only two or three little experiments and popular harangues to entertain and amuse the vulgar with." "It is not the spending money a man has in his pocket, but his hoards in the chest, or in the bank, which must make him rich." "A dying man has his breath in his nostrils, but to have it in the lungs is that which must preserve life." "When Christ says that a scribe must be stocked with 'things new and old,' we must not think that He meant that he should have a hoard of old sermons, (whosoever made them), with a bundle of new opinions."

Robert South did not hesitate to ridicule the popular preachers of his day. Speaking of the careless, hurried type of sermon preparation, he said: "First of all, they seize upon some text from whence they draw something which they call doctrine. Well may it be said to be drawn from the words, forasmuch as it seldom naturally flows or results from them. In the next place, being thus provided, they branch it into several heads, perhaps twenty, or thirty, or upwards. Whereupon, for the prosecution of these, they repair to some trusty concordance, which never fails them; and by the help of that, they range six or seven Scriptures under each head; which Scriptures they prosecute one by one, first amplyfying and enlarging upon one for some considerable time, till they have spoiled it; and then, that being done, they pass to another, which, in its turn suffers accordingly. And these impertinent and unpremeditated enlargements they look upon as the motions and breathings of the Spirit, and therefore much beyond those carnal ordinances of sense and reason, supported by industry and study; and this they call a saving way of preaching, as it must be confessed to be a way to save much labour, and nothing else that I know of. But how men should thus come to make the salvation of an immortal soul such a slight, extempore business, I must confess I cannot understand."⁷

⁷ R. South, *Op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 319.

Some of Robert South's sayings remind one of Benjamin Franklin. "He who tumbles from a tower surely has a greater blow than he who slides from a mole-hill." "Perfect joy fills the soul as God does the universe, silently and without noise." "Creation bends and cracks under the wrath of God." "Who ever saw coaches and liveries thronging at the door of the orphan or the widow, (unless peradventure a rich one), or before the house or prison of an afflicted, decayed friend?" "The bitterest and loudest scolding is for the most part amongst those of the same street." "There is a kind of ill disposition in most men, much resembling that of dogs, they bark at what is high and remote from them, and bite what is next."

With all his skill in the use of language,⁸ and the force of his epigrams, Robert South was hardly an evangelical preacher. He was able to preach a sermon on the text, "He came to His own, and His own received Him not,"⁹ and avoid almost entirely any suggestion of man's sin, and the salvation of mankind, for which the Saviour came. South could preach eloquently from the text, "For the transgression of My people was He stricken,"¹⁰ and yet say but little about the corruption of the human heart, and man's need of the saving grace of Jesus Christ. Thus it is that his sermons, while admirable in their logic and striking in their mode of expression, lack the warmth and the appeal of true preaching.¹¹ The sermons of South possess an intellectual appeal. Those of Spurgeon appeal to one's heart.

Edward Stillingfleet, (1635-1699)

Edward Stillingfleet was born in Cranborne, Dorset, in 1635. He was educated at Cranborne grammar school, at Ringwood and at St. John's College, Cambridge, from which he was graduated in 1653. The same year he was elected to a fellowship. After serving for four years as tutor, he

⁸. See W. C. Lake, *South, the Rhetorician*, in J. E. Kempe, *Classic Preachers of the English Church*, (London, 1877-78).

⁹. R. South, *Op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 267-276.

¹⁰. *Ibid.*, pp. 276-284.

¹¹. Several collections of South's sermons have been published. The London edition in 12 volumes was published in 1704-44, the Boston edition in 5 volumes, in 1866-71.

was ordained in 1657 and became rector of Sutton. In 1664 he was preacher at the Rolls Chapel, and in 1665 he became rector of St. Andrew's Holborn, London. He was also reader at the Temple. In 1667 he was made prebend of Islington, London, and in 1672 he became prebend of Newington, London. He was made canon of Canterbury in 1669, then a chaplain to the King, and in 1669 bishop of Worcester and Fulham.

Stillingfleet was a scholarly man, and at his death he left a library of 2,000 items, valued at \$30,000. The library was noteworthy because of the exceptional books that it contained. Stillingfleet was an able controversialist, and he disputed with the Roman Catholics and with Howe. Pepys heard him preach at St. Andrew's Holborn, and came away singing his praises, declaring that certain bishops "believed he is the ablest young man to preach the Gospel since the Apostles . . . he did make a most plain, honest, good, grave sermon, in the most unconcerned and easy yet substantial manner that ever I heard in my life, upon the words of Samuel to the people: 'fear the Lord in truth with all your heart, and remember the great things that He hath done for you'; it being proper to this day, the day of the king's coronation."¹²

Stillingfleet was a famous man, but not the greatest preacher of his day. His sermons are clear in language, judicious, but ethical more often than evangelical. Erasmus Middleton, who is inclined to be charitable in such matters, does not include Stillingfleet among the 200 Evangelical preachers of the post-Reformation centuries. Dr. John Tulloch does not hesitate to class him among the men who paved the way for Latitudinarian theology.¹³

Tillotson, Stillingfleet and Patrick were not the greatest of preachers, yet their influence was far-reaching. They did much to simplify the sermons of their day and the generations that followed. Hitherto a sermon was inclined to be weighty, with a lengthy exposition of the text, and copious quotations from the Church Fathers and other early writers.

¹². *Diary*, Apr. 23, 1665.

¹³. J. Tulloch, *Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England*, (Edinburgh, 1872), vol. 1, pp. 411-463.

Divergent views were discussed at length, and either refuted or else supported. After a lengthy discussion of the theme, the sermon closed with a number of brief applications. This was the older type of preaching. Tillotson, Stillingfleet and Patrick confined themselves to a brief discussion of the text itself, and then a discussion of the theme in simple, clear language, with no attempt at a display of learning, nor an effort to impress their congregations by means of long quotations from ancient writers. Their sermons were shorter, more direct and more practical.

Although Stillingfleet may have anticipated the coming Latitudinarianism of the "Cambridge men," yet he deserves credit for the fact that he was one of several preachers who liberated the pulpit from a ponderous, dull manner of expression.¹⁴

William Beveridge, (1637-1708)

William Beveridge was born at Barrow, Leicestershire, in 1637. After attending school in Oakham, Rutland, he was graduated from St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1656. While there he excelled in Oriental studies, and when but 21 years of age he published his *De linguarum Orientalium*, a treatise on the Eastern languages, with particular reference to Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic and Samaritan. With it he compiled a Syriac grammar. While the work is remarkable for a young man of 21, yet it is lacking in depth of scholarship.

Beveridge was ordained in 1661, and appointed vicar of Ealing, at that time a small village near London. A year later the Lord Mayor and aldermen of London appointed him rector of St. Peter's Cornhill. So well did he preach that he was called "the great reviver and restorer of primitive piety." He conducted a daily service, and a weekly celebration of Holy Communion. He was made a prebend of St. Paul's in 1674, and archdeacon of Colchester in 1681. At the latter place he made personal visits to every parish in the diocese, and he made it a point to become personally acquainted with every clergyman. In 1684 he was made

¹⁴. Stillingfleet's *Works*, in 6 vols., (London, 1709-10), contain an account of his life and labors.

prebend of Canterbury and chaplain to the King and Queen. He was offered the bishopric of Bath and Wells, as successor to Ken, but when he declined it, William and Mary were greatly offended. However, in 1704, he was made bishop of St. Asaph, and he accepted it, although without joy. His first act was to address a touching letter to every clergyman, urging diligent instruction and catechization of old and young in the doctrines of the Christian religion, "to the end that they might know what they were to believe and do in order to obtain salvation." He prepared for his clergy a clear exposition of the Church Catechism. He did not fill the office many years, for he died in 1708, and was buried in St. Paul's, London.

William Beveridge's sermons, while not remarkable, are learned, marked by acuteness of judgment and clearness of language, although inclined to tediousness because of the many quotations from the Hebrew, Latin and Greek. They are often doctrinal, and textual and expository in form. Beveridge evidently was much better as a preacher than as a writer, for when he died many who knew him spoke in superlatives of his preaching, even going so far as to compare him to Chrysostom. His written sermons¹⁵ are evangelical, but rather dry and with little evidence of the fire of conviction that is said by his admirers to have marked his preaching. Beveridge was attacked frequently by his opponents, who charged him with peculiar views in regard to the Trinity; but it is only fair to point out that these critics were men who held Arminian, Socinian, Pelagian and Unitarian views.

Benjamin Keach, (1640-1704)

Benjamin Keach, a famous English Baptist, was born in 1640 in Stoke Hammond, Bucks. In 1655, at the age of 15, he united with the Baptist congregation at Chesham, Bucks., and at 19 he began to preach. In 1664 he was imprisoned for his preaching, at Winslow; and the same year

¹⁵. Six of the twelve volumes of Beveridge's collected *Works* include his sermons. His doctrinal work *A Complete System of Divinity*, (2 vols.,) is also included. The chief biographical source is T. H. Horne, *Memoir of the Life and Writings of William Beveridge*, (London, 1824).

he was placed in the pillory for having published *The Child's Instructor*, a catechism. While in the pillory he said, "This is one yoke of Christ's, which I experience is easy to me, and a burden which He doth make light." "The way to the crown is by the Cross." "I do account this the greatest honor that ever the Lord was pleased to confer upon me."

Keach went to London in 1668, was ordained, and became pastor of a Baptist congregation in Tooley street, Southwark, London. He was a Particular, or Calvinistic Baptist. In 1672 a new and larger chapel was built, and then enlarged so as to seat 1,000 persons. In 1689 he introduced congregational singing at his chapel, and in 1691 he published some hymns. Both met with opposition at first.

Benjamin Keach was an Arminian in his earlier days, but later he became a Calvinist. He was an able controversialist, and was often called upon to defend the teachings of his denomination against those who opposed such things. His sermons are clear, argumentative, allegorical at times, and often enriched by many proof-texts. One of his famous sermons is based on the text, "And He said, If they will not hear Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead."¹⁶ In the sermon he undertakes to prove that the arguments of men are of little weight, whereas the testimony of the Scriptures are of supreme value. In simple, clear language he defends the inspiration of the Scriptures. He bears witness to the Gospel as a means of grace. He shows that only the Scriptures (Law and Gospel), can bring men to repentance and give them faith. This sermon is entirely evangelical, and remarkable for the number of proof-verses and their appropriateness. In this respect Benjamin Keach is superior to his famous contemporaries. Where they resort to logic, and to a direct appeal to the intellect, Benjamin Keach lets the Scriptures bear witness. There is an absence of this Scriptural quality in the printed sermons of Tillotson, Barrow, Stillingfleet, South and other noted preachers of the day. Benjamin Keach is not the equal of these men in scholarship, but in direct appeal to the conscience, and in proving by numerous Scripture verses the facts of Inspir-

¹⁶. St. Luke 16, 31.

ation, the Gospel as a means of grace, and the power of the Law to bring men to repentance and the Gospel to lead them to their Saviour, he is far superior to his contemporaries.

"He was a voluminous author," says Dargan,¹⁷ "and wrote many controversial and devotional works, besides his published sermons. These show a fine insight into Scripture, a clear and convincing argumentation, a devout and earnest spirit, and a style usually simple and clear and not without graces of expression and occasional eloquence. His exposition of the Parables is a series of sermon notes. The interpretation is for the most part sensible and judicious, but sometimes falls into the forced allegorizing and fancifulness too common in that and other ages."¹⁸

William Sherlock, (1641-1707)

William Sherlock was born in Southwark, London, in 1641. He was educated at Peterhouse, Cambridge. In 1669 he became rector of St. George's Church, Botolph Lane, London, where he won considerable fame as a forceful preacher. He opposed the Puritans and their theological views, and he defended the doctrine of the Holy Trinity against the Socinian views held by some in his day. In 1691 he became dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, and in 1698 rector of Therfield Church, in Hertfordshire. He is noted as a defender of the Christian faith, as he understood it, against the heresies and the innovations of his day. In his controversial preaching he attacked the rationalistic views of the Trinity, but did not avoid entirely the things that he was warning against, for in seeking to establish the doctrine of the Trinity, he at times resorted to human reason himself, and brought upon him the ridicule of Robert South and others.

Matthew Henry, (1662-1714)

Matthew Henry, a very earnest Nonconformist preacher, was born in 1662 in Broad Oak, Flintshire, Wales. His

¹⁷. E. C. Dargan, *A History of Preaching*, 2 vols., (New York, 1905-1912), vol. 2, p. 185.

¹⁸. H. Malcolm's *A Memoir of Benjamin Keach* is prefixed to Keach's *Travels of True Godliness*, (New York, 1831), one of Keach's 43 published works. Another biographical sketch is included in Thos. Armitage's *History of the Baptists*, (New York, 1887), pp. 547-551.

father, Philip Henry, was a devout, evangelical clergyman, greatly esteemed by all. He was a man of good education, and with considerable ability as a teacher as well as a preacher. Like Samuel Wesley, he established a school in his own home, in which Matthew and the other children were taught with great care. Matthew Henry proved an excellent student, and at the time of his 18th birthday he had mastered the usual classical studies, as well as Hebrew, in which he was especially well trained.

In 1680 he was sent to an academy in Islington, London, where he spent two profitable years. In 1685, at the advice of a friend of the family, he spent a full year at Gray's Inn, studying law, because of its cultural value. In 1686 he returned to his home on the Welsh border and did some preaching in and around Broad Oak. The following year he preached in various places in Cheshire, just across the border in England.

Matthew Henry was ordained in London in 1687 by the same man who had ordained his father thirty years before. He became pastor of a Presbyterian congregation in Chester, where he remained for 25 years. Here his work as a preacher and Bible expositor brought him general recognition. He devoted practically an entire day to his preaching and exegetical lectures. On Sunday he arose early, and after a service of half an hour with his family and the servants, the morning meal was eaten and all went to church.

His service began at 9 a. m., and continued, with but one intermission, throughout the day. Psalm 100 was sung by the congregation, followed by a brief opening prayer. Then he read a chapter from the Old Testament and expounded it carefully for half an hour. Another Psalm was sung, then a prayer half an hour in length, then the morning sermon a full hour long. After a closing prayer, Psalm 117 was sung, and there was an intermission between the morning and the afternoon service, during which the congregation returned to their homes.

After this intermission they returned to the church. An opening invocation was followed by the singing of Psalm 134, then the reading of a chapter from the New Testament, a half-hour exposition of the Lesson, then the singing of

Psalm 136. The afternoon sermon of one hour on a New Testament text, was followed by a prayer and a closing Psalm.

On Sunday evening many of the people of the congregation gathered in Mr. Henry's home, where he delivered both sermons once more for the benefit not only of those who might have been unable to attend church that day, but for many who declared that they profited much by hearing the sermons the second time. Then there was a catechization of all the children and servants present.

• Matthew Henry conducted family devotions morning and evening, Sundays as well as week days. In these the Scriptures, rather than prayer, were especially prominent. After a short invocation he read ten or twelve verses from the Bible, expounded them, and then conducted a catechization of the children and the servants. The service closed with a prayer. These family services were half an hour in length.

Mr. Henry laid much stress upon catechization, and Saturday afternoon was devoted to expounding the Scriptures, and catechizing the children of the congregation. He felt that such a Saturday afternoon, with the Bible as the chief text book, was much more useful than any of the methods which came in time to be known as Sunday-schools. At all his services he laid stress upon Psalm singing, and he showed but little partiality for hymns. In singing the Psalms he believed that he was singing the very words of Scripture into the hearts of his people. When he left Chester in 1712, after 25 years of arduous work, many of the people of the city were not only well indoctrinated in Biblical truth, but were able to repeat most of the Psalms, and many other portions of Scripture.

Although his preaching and his thorough expository work had brought many calls to other congregations, it was not until 1712 that he finally went to a congregation in Hackney, London. His usefulness there was of short duration, for in 1714 he died of a stroke of apoplexy while returning from a visit to Chester.

The excellency of Matthew Henry's frequent Bible expositions may be seen in his famous *Commentary*, which was compiled in 1708-1710 from his wealth of expository notes.

While this work of 10 large volumes¹⁹ is devotional rather than critical, yet it has never ceased to enjoy popularity throughout the world. Whitefield read it from cover to cover several times, and at the last reading he declared that his admiration was so great that he read it on his knees. Spurgeon and several other famous men have praised it in highest terms. Young clergymen for almost two and one-half centuries have ridiculed it to one another, but have often turned to it in an emergency and have never found it wanting. Matthew Henry loved his Bible, and even in his days at law school, at Gray's Inn, he loved to gather his fellow students and expound the Scriptures, in his practical, devotional manner. His fame as a devotional writer is so great that his ability as a preacher and a practical expositor has been underrated by many.

Francis Atterbury, (1662-1732)

Men are not agreed as to the real worth of Francis Atterbury. There are those who do not hesitate to say that this noted preacher and controversialist was one of the most brilliant thinkers of his day, and one of the best preachers. Others are just as ready to say that he was a man of showy, but superficial scholarship, but with a natural gift that made him able to say ordinary things in an impressive manner.

Atterbury was born in 1662 in Milton Keynes, Buckinghamshire. After a preliminary education in Westminster School, he entered Christ Church, Oxford, from which he was graduated. In 1687 he was ordained in the Church of England, and became lecturer in St. Bride's, London, where his unusual eloquence soon became known throughout the metropolis. In 1692 he was made chaplain to William and Mary. In 1704 he was given the archdeaconry of Totnes, made a prebend of Exeter and dean of Carlisle. In 1711 he was appointed dean of Christ Church, Oxford, but his work here was not particularly successful. In 1713 he became bishop of Rochester and dean of Westminster.

¹⁹. In addition to his *Commentary*, his *Miscellaneous Works*, 2 vols., (New York, 1855), and two Catechisms, deserve mention. Among biographies are W. Tong, *An Account of the Life and Death of Matthew Henry*, (London, 1716); J. B. Williams, *Memoir of Matthew Henry*, (London, 1850); C. Chapman, *Matthew Henry, his Life and Times*, (London, 1859).

Atterbury, like other church officials of his day, had decided political views. In 1721 he was suspected of being one of those who sought to overthrow the House of Hanover and restore the Stuarts. He was arrested and in 1722 confined in the Tower. The following year he was banished from England. Nine years later he died in Paris.

Although a politician as well as a churchman, yet Atterbury succeeded in attaining considerable fame as a preacher. His sermons were once regarded as models, and were said to be solid, logical in arrangement, brilliant, vigorous in their language and expressive. Doddridge said of him: "In his writings we see language in its strictest purity and beauty. There is nothing dark, nothing redundant, nothing deficient, nothing misplaced. On the whole he is a model for courtly preachers."²⁰

While Atterbury is without doubt brilliant, yet from the standpoint of spiritual warmth, his sermons are superficial. One of his best sermons is said to be one that he preached on St. Matt. 14, 1-3, which is Herod's comment on the preaching of Jesus.²¹ Where Wesley, or Whitefield, or Christmas Evans, or Chalmers would have found a great deal to say about the Saviour, and about the Gospel of regeneration, Atterbury can find in it but a secondary lesson, namely the evil of a bad conscience. One looks in vain for a clear call to repentance, or a definite testimony as to salvation in Jesus Christ alone. Like many of the preachers of the State Church, he seems to have missed these characteristics in his study of the preaching of our Lord. Like the rationalists of Germany, the deists of England and Wales and the Moderates of Scotland, he was able to find only a lesson within the realm of natural religion. Having grown up in an atmosphere of spiritual torpor, Atterbury never seems to have grasped fully the facts of sin and grace.²²

²⁰. Philip Doddridge, *Lectures on Preaching*, (London, 1821), p. 29.

²¹. H. C. Fish, *History and Repository of Pulpit Eloquence*, (New York, 1869), vol. I, pp. 306-317.

²². Atterbury's *Works*, 4 vols., (London, 1723-37), include sermons and controversial writings. His *Epistolary Correspondence*, 5 vols., (London, 1783-90), includes both letters and speeches. Biographies: T. Stackhouse, *Memoirs . . . of Francis Atterbury*, (London, 1727); F. Williams, *Memoirs and Correspondence of Francis Atterbury*, 2 vols., (London, 1869).

Isaac Watts, (1674-1748)

Isaac Watts, the celebrated hymn writer, was a well-known London Independent preacher. He was born in Southampton in 1674, at a time when his father, a deacon in the Congregational church, was suffering persecution because of his Nonconformist views. The mother of Isaac Watts has been described, sitting on the stone steps of the Southampton jail, holding a sickly infant in her arms and awaiting the release of her husband. That infant was Isaac Watts.

He received his elementary schooling in his native town. His father was a teacher, and the boy Isaac declares that he began to study Latin at four years of age, Greek at nine years, French at ten and Hebrew at thirteen. He began to write verses at the age of seven, and one of his early efforts, while not remarkable as poetry, reveals a surprising knowledge of man's sinful nature and the sole way of salvation through Jesus Christ. Both of his parents were ardent Nonconformists, and when John Speed, M. D., a friend of the family, offered to send the boy to one of the universities, the young lad refused emphatically, for it would have meant an affirmation of belief in the teachings of the Church of England. He was but 16 years of age when this decision was made.

Soon after this, it became possible for him to attend an academy kept by a man named Thomas Rowe at Stoke Newington, London. Unfortunately there seems to be no record of his studies, but academies of this kind usually offered Latin, Greek, Hebrew, history, rhetoric, mathematics, natural science, geography, metaphysics, ethics, law, theology and astronomy. In some academies the boys were required to take notes on the Sunday sermons, to prepare sermon outlines of their own, to set the Psalms to various melodies, to write expositions of Scripture verses, and even to offer prayer at the Sunday evening services in the chapels.

In 1694 he returned to Southampton and at the age of 20 he began to write the hymns that were to make him famous. There is a tradition in Southampton that the hymns sung in the chapel attended by the Watts family were unsatisfactory, and the young man undertook the task of

hymn-writing in order to provide more suitable hymns for public worship. In 1696 he became tutor in the family of a prominent Dissenter, Sir John Hartopp, of London, and while there he attended Mark Lane Chapel, an aristocratic, well-to-do congregation of Nonconformists. In 1698 he became assistant to the pastor of Mark Lane, and in 1702 he was called as sole pastor. After declining the call a time or two, he finally accepted it reluctantly; and in a long letter to the congregation he declared his adherence to the doctrines of John Owen. He declared that the call to the ministry comes from the congregation, that Holy Communion is to be administered only to members of the congregation, that new members are to be received by vote of the congregation, and that the pastor's assistants are to be elders, whose duties are advisory, and deacons, who are to distribute charity to the needy. A year after he was called, Watts became ill, and an assistant was called. His health did not improve, and ten years later the assistant became associate pastor. Watts offered to resign, but the congregation insisted that he remain as their pastor, but made arrangements whereby his associate relieved him of much of the burden of congregational work. Watts preached from time to time, as his health permitted. In 1713 his friend Sir Thomas Abney invited Watts to spend a week with him at his suburban estate. So much was his visit enjoyed by all concerned that Watts made his home with the Abney family for the next 35 years.

In 1706 he issued his *Hora Lyricae*, followed in 1707 by his *Hymns and Spiritual Songs*, and in 1719 by his *Psalms of David*. Isaac Watts wrote about 600 hymns, many of which are sung throughout the world today by all denominations. Among these are: "Our God, our Help in ages past," "When I survey the wondrous Cross," "Jesus shall reign where're the sun," and "Come, let us join our cheerful songs." His hymns were an innovation, and they became enormously popular in Nonconformist churches throughout the world. The subjective element which one finds in some of his hymns was unusual in the England of his day. Hymns had been objective, and they had been "lined out" by a precentor and sung by the congregation a

line at a time. After the time of Isaac Watts this custom came to an end in most places.

Watts was not a powerful preacher, yet for some reason his sermons seemed to meet with general favor. While he did not attract the multitudes that thronged Rowland Hill's chapel, not far away, yet his congregation contained many people of prominence. In spite of his comparatively weak voice, David Jennings declares that Watts was "richly furnished with gifts and graces," that he was "an admired preacher," that "his preaching was weighty and powerful," and that "strains of truly Christian eloquence flowed from his lips."²³ Like Robertson of Brighton, his fame did not rest upon stormy oratory nor upon dramatic gifts. He seems to have had the quiet fervor of Robertson, and the baffling intensity of Newman. None of these three men were eloquent in the popular sense of the word, yet all of them proved attractive to congregations that filled their churches, and went forth with expressions of unreserved praise.

Isaac Watts was a slender, sickly man, but five feet tall. His frail health persisted to the end of his days, and he died at 74, a sickly old man. It is a question whether or not the controversy in regard to his orthodoxy will ever be settled. Evangelical Christian writers often declare that he deserves a rightful place in what has become known as the Evangelical Succession. Liberal churchmen are equally emphatic in claiming him as their own. Unfortunately his orthodoxy, if such it can be called, rested upon an insecure basis. There were times when his hymns and his sermons seem to warrant one in accepting him as an evangelical Christian, but at certain periods of his life he was distressed by doubts, and his sermons and hymns at such periods of uncertainty are anything but the words of an orthodox Christian. More than one theological controversy arose during his lifetime, and Isaac Watts had weeks and months of deepest distress, when he seemed almost ready to reject some of the teachings of Christianity. For example, we find him declaring that the human soul of Jesus Christ was created before the world and united with the divine principle of the Godhead, and that the Holy Ghost is not a real Person.

²³. From a preface to *The Works of Isaac Watts, D. D.*, 6 vols., (1753).

Even his spirited hymn, "Jesus shall reign where'er the sun", contains but an indefinite reference or two to the fact of Redemption. "Our God, our Help in ages past," while one of the most famous hymns of our day, is deistic throughout. "When I survey the wondrous Cross," while much more satisfactory in its doctrinal content, nevertheless stresses the love of the Saviour at the expense of the deeper truth of *sola gratia*, and thus it is acceptable to the Modernist, who looks upon the Cross merely as a magnificent example of unselfish sacrifice of an heroic man for his fellow men. Isaac Watts probably never intended this to be so, yet his lack of doctrinal precision leaves room for the liberal theologian to interpret the hymn in this manner. As one reads the several biographies of Watts, the conclusion cannot be avoided that we are beholding a man whose theological training was lacking in depth, and whose understanding of the great doctrines of Redemptive Christianity was incomplete. Doubt often assailed him, yet as his life drew near to its close, his friend Dr. Jennings declares that he said, "I bless God I can lie down with comfort at night, unsolicitous whether I wake up in this world or another." In speaking of the promises of salvation and a future life, as recorded in the Scriptures, Watts said, "I believe them enough to venture an eternity on them." Shortly before the end came he said, "I remember an aged minister used to say that the most learned and knowing Christians, when they come to die, have only the same plain promises for their support as the common and unlearned; and so I find it. 'Tis the plain promises of the Gospel that are my support; and I bless God, they are plain promises, which do not require much labor and pains to understand them; for I can do nothing now but look into my Bible for some promise to support me, and live upon that."²⁴

In addition to about 600 hymns, Isaac Watts published 55 works. After his death his collected writings were published in six volumes, and a number of years later another collection of his writings appeared.²⁵ Early in the nine-

²⁴. David Jennings, *A Sermon Occasioned by the Death of the Late Rev. Isaac Watts, D.D.*, (London, 1749).

²⁵. *The Works of Isaac Watts, D.D.*, 6 vols., (1753); *The Posthumous Works of Isaac Watts, D.D.*, 2 vols., (1779).

teenth century a nine-volume edition of his works was printed.²⁶ Four of the older biographies of Isaac Watts are well known,²⁷ while among the later accounts of his life may be mentioned the biographies of Wright and of Davis.²⁸

John Guyse, (1680-1761)

One of the early evangelical preachers, a contemporary of William Law, was John Guyse, of Hertford. Neither so well known, nor so able a preacher as some of the other "Awakeners," yet Guyse deserves mention because of the fearless testimony that he bore at a time when Arianism was causing havoc in England. John Guyse was born in Hertford in 1680. He was educated at an academy in Saffron Walden, where he proved a diligent student. He began to preach in 1700, at the age of 20. In 1703 he became assistant pastor to a congregation in his native town. In 1703, when the senior pastor died, Guyse was called as his successor.

The Arian heresy had made its appearance in England, and many pastors and congregations were influenced by it. Because of the excellency of his preaching, and his able defense of the doctrine of the Trinity, John Guyse was in great demand in those days where testimony against Arianism was welcome. However, he made many enemies among the clergy, because he called upon them to cease preaching their Christless sermons, and to bear witness to the deity of the Saviour. His faithful testimony bore fruit, for some of the pastors of his time realized their error, and endeavored to give recognition to the Triune God. Guyse received a number of calls to important congregations, but he would not desert his people in Hertford so long as Arianism threatened. Finally, in 1726, he accepted an invitation to become pastor of a congregation in New Broad Street, London, formerly known as Miles Lane Chapel. There he became successor to Matthew Clarke. In 1728, in addition

²⁶. *The Works of Isaac Watts, D. D.*, 9 vols., (Leeds, 1810-1811).

²⁷. Thos. Gibbons, *Memoirs of the Rev. Isaac Watts*, (London, 1780); S. Johnson, *Life of Isaac Watts*, (London, 1785); Thos. Milner, *The Life, Times and Correspondence of the Rev. Isaac Watts*, (London, 1834); E. Paxton Hood, *Isaac Watts, his Life and Writings*, (London, 1875).

²⁸. Thos. Wright, *The Life of Isaac Watts*, (1914); Arthur P. Davis, *Isaac Watts, his Life and Times*, (New York, 1943).

to his chapel in New Broad Street, he was made lecturer at Little St. Helen's, and in 1734 lecturer at Pinner's Hall.

Dr. Guyse was esteemed as one of the scholarly and excellent preachers among the London Nonconformists of the eighteenth century. "He was never ashamed to own what he believed, or to vindicate it when opposed. As a preacher he was endued with excellent ministerial gifts. His compositions were solid, regular, well digested and highly Scriptural; his knowledge and readiness in the Scriptures were very remarkable, the number of texts he quoted, chapter and verse, and for the most part repeated with exactness after he had entirely lost his sight, afforded surprise to many."²⁹

This gradual loss of eyesight took place in his old age, but Dr. Guyse continued to preach to the end of his days. His *Paraphrase of the New Testament*, in three large quarto volumes, was held in high esteem in his time. He published works on the deity of the Saviour, on the Person and work of the Holy Ghost, on the Scriptures and their use, as well as a number of sermons. He was a great admirer of James Hervey, and while he was not Hervey's equal as a preacher, yet his valient defense of the deity of the Saviour, and the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, has given him his place in the history of preaching.

William Law, (1686-1761)

In the history of preaching one comes, now and then, upon a man who did but little preaching himself, yet exercised a lasting influence upon the pulpit. William Law was such a man. So great was his influence upon John Wesley, George Whitefield, Henry Venn, Thomas Scott, Thomas Adam, James Hervey, Edward Stillingfleet and others, that he can be said to have created a school of religious thought. Samuel Johnson was one of his admirers, and even Edward Gibbon praises him.

William Law was born in 1686 in King's Cliffe, Northants. He was graduated from Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1708, and was awarded a fellowship there in 1711. He was ordained the same year. Upon the death of Queen Anne, he was one of those who refused to take the oath of

²⁹. E. Middleton, *Biographia Evangelica*, vol. 4, p. 376.

allegiance to George I, nor would he have a part in the adjuration of the House of Stuart. For this he was deprived of his fellowship, and of all opportunity of preferment in the English Church, at the outset of what undoubtedly would have been a brilliant career.

For a time he was a curate in London. Then he resided for twelve years in Putney, in the home of an influential family named Gibbon. He was their private chaplain, and tutor to the father of the historian Gibbon. In 1740 he returned to King's Cliffe, and devoted his life to his remarkable literary career. He became famous as a writer of books on practical theology. His *Treatise on Christian Perfection* appeared in 1726 and his *Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life* in 1729. His controversial writings are significant, particularly his testimony against the Deists. In 1733 he became interested in Jakob Boehme, and wrote several books between 1737 and 1760 in which are reflected the mysticism of Boehme.

William Law was a mystic, a pietist, an ascetic, and he may be said to be one of the founders of Puritanism. His writings possess spiritual depth, and there is unquestioned beauty of thought and language, but Law is not always a safe theologian. While he declares that all Christian doctrine must be founded on the fact of the deplorable corruption of man's human nature because of sin, and the fact of the New Birth in Jesus Christ,³⁰ yet William Law arrives at his conclusions by means of human reason rather than upon the testimony of the Scriptures. Moreover, he was a perfectionist, and he looked upon Jesus Christ as a second Moses, Who set forth a new code of laws in His Sermon on the Mount, and these essential to man's salvation.³¹

William Law did not base salvation upon the grace of God in Christ, but rather upon the imitation of Christ. He sought salvation through the Law rather than through the Gospel, — not the Law of Moses, but the new code of laws which he believed to be declared in the Sermon on the Mount.

William Law was a forerunner of Wesley, and of the Wesleyan Methodists. The Holy Club at Oxford gave care-

³⁰. Wm. Law, *Christian Perfection*, III, p. 13.

³¹. *Ibid.*, pp. 91-94.

ful study to Law's writings, and John Wesley declares that Law's *Christian Perfection* and his *Serious Call* had a most significant influence upon him. Whitefield in time became a Calvinist, probably through his acquaintance with Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine and with Jonathan Edwards. Thus Wesley and his followers became Arminians, while Whitefield and his disciples became Calvinists. The Wesleyans stressed holy living, while Whitefield always had a realization of sin, and stressed the imperfection of man's human nature.

Not much is known of William Law's preaching, and if he preached it was during his brief curacy in London, and during the dozen years when he served as chaplain and tutor to the Gibbon family. However, generations of preachers were to be influenced by him. He was a forerunner of Wesleyanism, of Puritanism and of the Evangelical movement that developed within the Anglican Church.³²

Dr. Charles W. Lowry, Jr., in an account of William Law and his influence, declares that the evangelical awakening under Wesley and Whitefield had its progenitors in William Law, Martin Luther and John Calvin, with Luther's influence mediated through the Moravian pietists.³³ Dr. Lowry calls Law's *Serious Call* an eighteenth century *Imitation of Christ*. He considers it more robust, more masculine, than the famous work of à Kempis, yet lacking the universal appeal of the *Imitatio* because it knows too little of the weakness and inadequacy of the human heart. "This suggests the Evangelical criticism of Law," says Dr. Lowry. "It was that his version of Christianity was all imitation and no salvation, all exhortation and no grace, all good advice and no good news. It began not with Christ the Saviour or with the Gospel of the grace of God, but with the absolute laws of Christian obligation and conduct. This

³² William Law's *Works*, in 9 vols., were published in 1762. An excellent edition, in 9 vols., was published in Brockenhurst in 1892-93. Among biographies are: J. H. Overton, *William Law, Non-juror and Mystic*, (London, 1881); C. Walton, *Notes and Materials for an Adequate Biography of William Law*, (London, 1854); L. Stevens, *Hours in a Library*, 2d series, (London, 1876); Alexander Whyte, *Character and Characteristics of William Law*, (1893).

³³ In Alexander C. Zabriskie's *Anglican Evangelicalism*, (Phila., 1943), p. 53.

from the standpoint of the actual human situation, the Evangelical felt, was to miss fire. It was to put the cart before the horse and expect to see power in operation. It must be confessed there is much truth in this criticism. Christ the Saviour is, of course, assumed by Law. It would be impossible to emphasize in theory the fall of human nature and its recovery in Christ more than he does, at least in the *Christian Perfection*. But the primary thing is a perfect following of Christ. It is the new birth actualized ethically and spiritually. It is obedience to the republication of the law of God in Jesus Christ. Of the meaning of the Cross for man frustrated and impotent in the face of the divine demand, Law seems to have no conception. In his sense of the competency of human nature, granted revelation and the assistance of divine grace, he was eminently of his time. Consequently his Christianity was almost wholly wanting in the deeper note of a St. Paul, a St. Augustine, a Martin Luther, even a Sören Kierkegaard, whom in some ways, granted the latter's peculiar family inheritance and Lutheran background, he resembles. This note it was the work of the Holy Spirit in response to the overwhelming need of man to restore through the Evangelical revival."³⁴

Joseph Butler, (1692-1752)

Joseph Butler was born in 1692 in Wantage, where his father was a Nonconformist clergyman. After attending a Latin school kept by the Rev. Philip Barton, he attended a Nonconformist academy at Gloucester, and another school at Tewkesbury. In 1715 he entered Oriel College, Oxford, and according to one account of his life, he left Oxford and went to Cambridge. He was ordained in 1718, and a year later he was appointed to the preachiership, as it was called, of Rolls Chapel, Oxford. After this advancement came rapidly. In 1721 he was made prebendary of Salisbury, in 1722 he was appointed to Houghton-le-Skerne, near Darlington, and in 1725 the wealthy living of Stanhope was given to him. In 1733 he was appointed chaplain to the lord chancellor. In 1736 his famous work, *The Analogy of*

³⁴. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

Religion, Natural and Revealed, appeared. This work, which was to bring him fame, is a defense of the Christian faith against Deism, but unfortunately he employs the appeal to human reason too prominently in his method of discussion. In 1736 he was made prebend of Rochester, and the same year he became clerk of the closet to Queen Caroline. In 1738 he became bishop of Bristol cathedral, in 1740 dean of St. Paul's, and in 1746 clerk of the closet to the King. He was offered the archbishopric in 1747, but this he declined. In 1750 he was made bishop of Durham, and he died two years later.

Joseph Butler became notable as a preacher because of a series of 15 sermons preached in his earlier years at Rolls Chapel, Oxford. These sermons were intended for attorneys. They are thoughtful, admirable in their logic, but cumbersome in style. They are ethical rather than evangelical. Where an evangelical preacher might have preached on man's fall, sin and its penalty, justification by grace through faith, the perfect obedience to the demands of the Law by our Saviour, and His atoning death, and the work of the Holy Ghost in overcoming man's wilful resistance and in applying to man the fruits of our Saviour's atoning work, — Butler prefers to discuss such topics as the government of the tongue, compassion, self-deceit, love for one's neighbor, etc., all eminently useful subjects, but requiring a solid evangelical basis, without which they become mere lectures on praiseworthy Christian virtues.

Bishop Butler is given a place in most discussions of the history of preaching, but his fame rests upon his *Analogy* rather than upon his sermons. This work has survived as one of the important apologetic writings, despite its rationalistic approach, and its cumbersome literary style. It has proved stimulating to generations of preachers who have excelled Butler in the use of clear, forceful English, as well as depth of spiritual urgency. In this respect Bishop Butler, although not himself a preacher of first rank, has proved stimulating to others and has preached through others. Thus

has he gained for himself a rightful place in the history of preaching.³⁵

James Foster, (1697-1753)

Shortly before the middle of the eighteenth century, and about the time that Whitefield was preaching in Bristol, all London flocked to hear a man who preached with a broad, Devonshire accent in downtown London. James Foster was his name. He was born in Exeter in 1697, and after attending the elementary schools and academy at Exeter, he began to preach in his native town when 21 years of age.

After serving briefly at several small chapels, he was called to London in 1724 to become the associate of Joseph Burroughs, at a chapel in the Barbican. In 1728 he became Sunday evening lecturer at Old Jewry, and in 1744 the pastor of an independent chapel at Pinner Hall.

He became famed as a controversialist. Although somewhat of a deist himself, and inclined to rationalism, yet he delivered a series of fiery sermons against the views of Tindale.³⁶ It was a case of a man who is not sound in the Christian faith, yet bearing witness against a man even more unsound. So great was his fame as a popular preacher that there was a saying in London, "those who have not yet heard Farinelli sing and Foster preach, are not qualified to appear in intelligent society."

John Gill, (1697-1771)

John Gill, a Baptist preacher of note, was born in 1697 in Kettering, Northants. His formal education never went beyond that of the grammar school. However, he showed exceptional promise, and learned to read Latin and Greek while very young. A little later he studied Hebrew and theology.

³⁵. Among a number of editions of Butler's collected *Works* are those edited by William E. Gladstone, 2 vols., (Oxford, 1897), and J. H. Bernard, 2 vols., (London, 1900). A memoir, by Kippis, is included in some editions of Butler's *Works*. Other biographies are: T. Bartlett, *Memoirs of Joseph Butler*, (London, 1839); T. R. Pynchon, *Bishop Butler, a Sketch of his Life*, (New York, 1889); *Bishop Butler, an Appreciation*, (London, 1903); A. E. Baker, *Bishop Butler*, (1923); T. Lorenz, *Beitrag zur Lebensgeschichte von Jos. Butler*, (1900).

³⁶. *Sermons of James Foster*, 4 vols., (London, 1755), include them.

In 1716 he began to preach, and he was ordained in 1718. He became assistant pastor of a Baptist congregation in Higham Ferrers, and in 1719 he was called to a languishing congregation in Southwark, London, becoming one of the predecessors to Charles H. Spurgeon. His preaching was evangelical to a degree, and he met with considerable opposition at first. This antagonism gave way gradually, and he gained many more friends than he lost.

Gill was a tireless student, and in spite of his early lack of opportunities, he became a man of considerable learning. He was interested particularly in the Oriental languages, and he made friends with some of the most learned Jewish scholars in London, and through their assistance he mastered the most difficult rabbinical studies. From 1729 to 1756 he delivered Wednesday evening sermonic lectures on the theology of the Bible, and these drew many people of all denominations to his little chapel across the bridge from London.

Gill's sermons show evidence of careful thinking, and they are expressed clearly and directly. He was a doctrinal preacher. His sermons set forth such things as the doctrine of the Trinity, the fall of man, original sin, the plan of Redemption, the active and passive obedience of the Saviour, His suffering, death, resurrection and ascension into Heaven, justification by faith, the Person and work of the Holy Ghost, the perseverance of the saints, the resurrection of the dead and eternal life.

In an age when many of the popular preachers in London were inclined to question the doctrine of the Trinity, and to speak only of God the Father, and rarely of the Son and the Holy Ghost, Dr. Gill bore emphatic witness to the deity of Jesus Christ and the work of the Holy Ghost. He was especially distressed at any effort to claim for man the slightest credit for salvation, and to take from the Saviour the entire process of man's redemption.

Opinions differ in regard to Dr. Gill. Robert Hall can see but little true worth in him, but on the other hand Augustus M. Toplady declares: "This age has not produced, for instance, a more learned, pious and profound divine than the late Dr. Gill. He was, I believe, the greatest man the

Baptists ever enjoyed." John Gill was the author of many doctrinal and evangelical writings, as well as exegetical studies. Men who are led aside by the results of negative Biblical criticism scoff at him and declare that he has no real depth of scholarship, yet all of them are ready to admit that in the subject of rabbinical Hebrew, his words carry weight.³⁷

Richard Pearsall, (1698-1762)

Richard Pearsall, a preacher of evangelical truth in an age of spiritual darkness, was born in 1698 at Kidderminster, Worcestershire. His education was received in an academy in Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire. He was ordained about the year 1721, and his first congregation was in Bromyard, Herefordshire. In 1731 he went to Warminster, Wilts., and in 1747 to Taunton, Somersetshire, where the last 15 years of his ministry were spent.

Mr. Pearsall was a man of deep piety, and an earnest preacher of sin and salvation. Of his sermons Middleton says: "They are not only evangelical, but ingenious; and though he does not exceed Mr. Hervey in these respects, whose style he seems to have admired and imitated, yet his contemplations may be read with pleasure and profit, especially by younger minds to whom they are particularly adapted."³⁸

Just before his death in 1762, Richard Pearsall dictated a long letter to his congregation, requesting it to be read to them "as from the grave," soon after his departure. Among other things he says: "I now (as far as I can) confirm what I have before preached; and would in the most serious manner, as a dying man and minister, recommend the blessed Gospel, and all that system of sacred truths that runs through it. Think of no justification but what is to be had through the righteousness of Christ, accepted by the

³⁷. John Gill's *Exposition of the New Testament*, 3 vols., (1746-48), and *Exposition of the Old Testament*, 6 vols., (1748-63), have appeared in several later editions, among which is one of 9 vols., (Philadelphia, 1811-19). His biography, *Brief Memoir of John Gill*, was published in London in 1838. Gill's several works on dogmatics appeared between 1731 and 1770.

³⁸. E. Middleton, *Biographia Evangelica*, (London, 1810), vol. 4, p. 390).

penitent soul in a way of humble faith. In every kind of approach to God, whether habitual or actual, seek acceptance in the beloved. Let Him be your Mediator and High Priest, by Whom you present yourselves first, and then your various sacrifices to the Lord of all, and think that He could be Priest only as He was and is God Incarnate. As I always maintained the doctrine of original sin, and preached to you as persons that need a regenerating Spirit, so I verily believe, not only from the declarations of our blessed Redeemer, but from the corruption of man's heart, from the nature of sin as the soul's pollution, compared with the purity of the Divine Nature, and of the heavenly world, which are all purity, that verily, except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of Heaven."³⁹

Pearsall lived in a day when preachers of evangelical truth "were but thinly scattered over the land, and by the middle of the century it was said that an evangelic minister was hard to be found."⁴⁰ His manner of preaching is but proof that even in that day when "our pulpits sounded with morality, deduced from the principles of nature and the fitness of things, with no relation to Christ, or to the Holy Spirit; all which the heathen philosophers have insisted upon and with perhaps more than modern ingenuity,"⁴¹ even in such dark days there were men, here and there, who kept the flame of evangelical truth alight. These lights were scattered widely, but it is significant that they were there.

Philip Doddridge, (1702-1751)

Philip Doddridge, who is remembered as a hymn writer, an educator and a preacher, was born in London in 1702, a year before the birth of John Wesley. He was the youngest of 20 children, only two of whom reached maturity. At his birth he was pronounced dead, but one of those in attendance refused to believe this, and succeeded in delaying the burial until finally the feeble signs of life appeared.

The paternal grandfather of Philip Doddridge was an English clergyman who had been ejected in 1662 by the Act

³⁹. Middleton, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 393.

⁴⁰. *Ibid.*, p. 380.

⁴¹. *Ibid.*, p. 380.

of Uniformity. His mother's father was the Rev. John Baumann, of Prague, who left Bohemia in 1626 seeking religious freedom. After living for a time in Germany he went to England where he became a school master at Kingston-upon-Thames.

Young Doddridge was sent to a private school in London, as well as to schools at St. Albans and at Kingston-upon-Thames. Left an orphan at 13, he was cared for by the Rev. Samuel Clark, a Nonconformist. One incident of his youth recalls a like experience of Isaac Watts. The Dutchess of Bedford offered to send him to Oxford or Cambridge, but since this involved formal assent to the teachings of the Church of England, like Watts he declined the offer. With the assistance of Samuel Clark he attended a school at Kibworth, Leics., where he studied theology with the Rev. John Jennings, a well-known educator. In 1723 he became pastor of a Nonconformist congregation in Kibworth, teaching in the academy at the same time, and later becoming its principal. From 1725 to 1729 he was co-pastor with his friend David Some, of a congregation in nearby Market Harborough. In 1729 he was called to the pastorate of an important dissenting congregation in Northampton. He brought his students to Northampton and continued his teaching. During his 22 years at that place he trained about 200 young men, some of whom became prominent Nonconformist clergymen, and one of whom wrote a biography of Doddridge. A study of the curriculum of the academy and theological school of which Doddridge was principal will indicate its high standard, and will disclose the fact that Nonconformist theological students were given a thorough training. Dr. Doddridge laid great stress upon Hebrew, Latin and Greek, as well as upon the various branches of theology, and an expert knowledge of shorthand was one of his requirements. He published an improved edition of an existing text book on shorthand. As one studies the list of required subjects, it will be evident that his young men must know shorthand if they expected to do the amount of work required both in the academy and in the theological department.

Dr. Doddridge was a tall, slender man, and not strong of body, yet by devoting all of his time to useful things he attained fame as a preacher, an educator, a writer of theological and devotional works and as a hymn writer. His *Family Expositor*, in six volumes, was published in 1739-56, but even more popular than this was his *Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*, which appeared in 1745 and has been reprinted many times. Its general plan was suggested to Doddridge by Isaac Watts, who considered himself too old to undertake such a work. Doddridge published a book of sermons on the education of children, (1732), and a collection of sermons to young people, (1735). His *Ten Sermons on the Power and Grace of Christ* appeared in 1736, and his *Lectures on Preaching* and a work on Pneumatology, ethics and divinity were published after his death. His collected sermons appeared in ten volumes, (Leeds, 1802-05), and an edition in four large volumes exists, (London, 1826).

Philip Doddridge's hymns are known throughout the world. He was a prolific writer, and often his hymns, like those of Charles Wesley, give evidence of hasty composition. He has suffered much at the hands of men and hymnal committees, who have felt called upon to alter his lines in order to make them conform to their own theological views. In some cases these alterations have improved the original hymns, for Doddridge's expressions are trite at times, and his hymns are marred by such expressions as "down to the present day."

Several biographies of Dr. Doddridge have appeared, and most of these are of the old-fashioned laudatory kind, where excellencies are exaggerated and faults passed over without mention. If we are to take these biographers seriously, then Philip Doddridge must have been an exceptional preacher of sin and grace. David A. Harsha, one of his theological students says of Doddridge:

"His favorite topics of public discourse were the distinguishing doctrines of Christianity. He considered himself as a minister of the Gospel, and therefore could not satisfy himself without preaching Christ and Him crucified. He never puzzled his hearers with dry criticisms and abstruse disquisitions; nor contented himself with moral essays and

philosophical harangues. He thought it cruelty to God's children to give them stones when they came for bread.' . . . In his own pulpit efforts Doddridge has furnished an example of what ministers everywhere should preach. He labored earnestly to preach Christ and Him crucified, and to bring sinners near to Him by the blood of the Cross. In his addresses to theological students he insisted upon the grand design of preaching as revealed in the Scriptures. Thus, says he on one occasion: 'I would strictly charge all who are designed for this glorious work that they preach Christ; that they insist upon Him as the only Foundation of a hope for glory; that they labour that He may be in all their hearers by a lively faith, and not only by outward profession.' . . . While in the pulpit Doddridge appears to have kept before his mind the preciousness of the redemption of the soul; and to have dealt with great pathos and solemnity on this momentous subject."⁴²

As one reads the sermons of Philip Doddridge, one finds much to commend, for they contain a considerable degree of saving truth. However, Doddridge was not a fearless confessor. Arianism had undermined the faith of many people in his generation, and while Doddridge himself rejected it, yet his attitude toward men of Arian views tends to be that of unionistic toleration. With his learning and his gifts as a forceful preacher, he might have done much to counteract the Arian outbreak which caused much distress in England in the eighteenth century. Burdened with a multitude of duties, Doddridge's strength failed, and he died at the age of 49 in Lisbon, where he had gone seeking rest. In addition to the biography by Harsha, several other accounts of his life have been published.⁴³

Laurence Sterne, (1713-1768)

This unworthy clergyman does not deserve even the brief notice that he has been given in the past. The wit and

⁴². D. A. Harsha, *Life of Philip Doddridge, D.D.*, (Albany, 1865), pp. 176-79.

⁴³. J. Stoughton, *Life of Philip Doddridge*, (London, 1851); Job Orton, *Memoirs of Philip Doddridge*, (Edinburgh, 1825); Chas. Stanford, *Philip Doddridge*, (London, 1880); J. R. Boyd, *Memoir of Philip Doddridge*, (New York, 1860); and especially J. D. Humphreys, *The Correspondence and Diary of Philip Doddridge*, 5 vols., (London, 1829-31).

satire of his *Tristram Shandy* series, and his over-rated *Sentimental Journey* have given him a place among Britain's lesser literary men, but his sermons hardly need be mentioned except as an evidence of the worthlessness of much of the preaching of his generation. In describing this sad chapter in the history of preaching, Dr. Dargan said: "It is scarcely necessary to say that among the latitudinarian and worldly clergymen — of whom, unhappily, there was a considerable number — few became distinguished, and these few for other things than their sermons. Naturally the first name that occurs is that of Dean Swift, of Dublin, but he more properly will claim attention along with the Irish preachers."⁴⁴ When men of our own day assure us that liberalism in theology is the remedy for the world's ills, one need only mention the notorious Laurence Sterne and other men of his type. They were thoroughly worldly, and nepotism, pluralism and patronage flourished among their kind. Such men were often guilty of neglect of their pastoral duties, as well as of liberal theological views and a convivial manner of life.

Laurence Sterne was born of English parents in Clonmel, Ireland, where his father, an Army officer, happened to be stationed at the time. During his earlier years Sterne was moved from place to place with his father's regiment. His early education was secured chiefly at Halifax, Yorkshire. He attended Jesus College, Cambridge, taking his degree in 1736. He was ordained deacon in 1736 and priest in 1738. Through the influence of his uncle, who was a canon of York, he received the presentation of Sutton-in-the-Forest, Yorks, and Stillington. In 1740 the prebendaryship of Givendale, at York Cathedral, was added to his other offices. He was made commissary of Pickering and Pocklington, and in 1760 he was presented to the curacy of Coxwold.

Laurence Sterne's efforts in the pulpit were not noteworthy, and without doubt his name might have sunk into well-merited oblivion had it not been for the nine volumes of *Tristram Shandy* nonsense that he published, as well as his *Sentimental Journey* and the satirical *Sermons of Mr.*

⁴⁴ E. C. Dargan, *A History of Preaching*, (New York, 1905-12), vol. 2, p. 300.

York. This second-rate literary work of a thoroughly worldly clergyman chanced to prove extremely popular in an age of indiscriminating taste. Laurence Sterne became the G. B. Shaw of his generation, and with but a fraction of Shaw's genius. Sterne's popularity survived him by at least three decades, for his collected writings were published in seven volumes in Dublin in 1779; a ten volume edition was printed in London in 1780; an eight volume edition appeared in Edinburgh in 1799; while a new edition in six volumes was published in New York in 1904. A number of biographies have appeared, of which at least six are well known.⁴⁵ The reader need waste no time over the three volumes of sermons of this clerical mountebank, unless it is done in order to observe the depths to which the pulpit can sink during one of the recurring periods of decline. No spiritual awakening has ever been produced by liberalistic and Christless preaching, and men such as Sterne are mentioned only as a solemn warning.

⁴⁵. Percy Fitzgerald, *Life of Laurence Sterne*, 2 vols., (London, 1864); P. S. Stapfer, *Laurence Sterne, sa Personne et ses Ouvrages*, (Paris, 1870); H. D. Traill, *Life of Sterne*, (London, 1882); Walter Sichel, *Sterne, a Study*, (London, 1910); Louis S. Benjamin ('Melville'), *Life and Letters of Sterne*, 2 vols., (1911); W. L. Cross, *Life and Times of Laurence Sterne*, (New Haven, 1925).

CHAPTER VIII

THE EVANGELICAL AWAKENING

THE PERIOD of spiritual deadness that marked the closing decades of the seventeenth century and the first three or four decades of the eighteenth was followed by a remarkable era known as the Evangelical Awakening. Like many significant epochs in Church History, it made its appearance almost simultaneously in several countries, and in its earliest stages it appeared to be several independent movements. However, it was a widespread reaction against generations of spiritual exhaustion.

As early as the year 1720, Theodore J. Frelinghuysen began to bear vehement witness against the spiritual deadness that he had found among the settlers in central New Jersey, in America. In 1726 William Tennent, an Irishman, founded the famous "Log College" at Neshaminy, twenty miles north of Philadelphia, where he trained men to range through the central American colonies and cry out against the religious indifference of their time. Among the men whom he trained were his own sons, Gilbert, William, Charles and John. In 1734 Jonathan Edwards began his noteworthy work at Northampton, Massachusetts, which was to spread throughout the northeastern colonies. At almost the same time a great spiritual awakening became apparent in two distinct parts of Wales, and Howel Harris and Daniel Rowland were the men identified with it at its outset.

The awakening in England proper had its origin in 1739, when George Whitefield, a young Anglican clergyman, began his outdoor preaching at Kingswood Common, near Bristol. It was several months later that John Wesley, another young Anglican clergyman, was able to overcome his dislike for outdoor preaching and to unite with Whitefield in the work that had been started. In 1742 the awakening of religious interest appeared in Scotland. At Cambuslang, at Kilsyth and elsewhere, enormous gatherings of people actually stood all night in the open air to hear the urgent preaching of James Robe, William McCulloch and later of George Whitefield.

The Evangelical Awakening has been called a revival, but it was not a revival in the American sense of the term. Carefully organized evangelistic campaigns, with professional evangelists, highly emotional preaching and appeals for instant decisions, were common enough at the beginning of the twentieth century, but these were but refinements of the old fashioned American camp-meeting rather than of the technique of Wesley and Whitefield. The Wesleyan movement was a natural reaction to generations of spiritual torpor, and was not a campaign planned after the manner of an American revival.

"It was an age of a shallow and confidant Deism," declares Principal Fitchett, "a Deism exultant and militant, served by wit and humour as well as defended by logic. It had captured literature; it coloured the general imagination; it stained the common speech; it sat enthroned in the place of Christian faith. Now Deism of any type is morally impotent," Principal Fitchett continues, "and Deism of the eighteenth century type is nothing but a little patch of uncertain quicksand set in a black sea of atheism. It does not deny God's existence, but it cancels Him out as a force in human life. It breaks the golden ladder of revelation betwixt Heaven and earth. It leaves the Bible discredited, duty a guess, Heaven a freak of the uncharted imagination, and God a vague and far-off shadow. Men were left by it to climb into a shadowy Heaven on some frail ladder of human logic. And while in those sad days there was this obscuring mist of Deism outside the churches, inside them there was a mist almost as evil and dense. Open and confessed Arianism had captured almost completely the dissenting Churches; and an unconscious and practical Arianism reigned, in spite of its Articles, in the Anglican Church. The sense of sin was faint; and with it had grown faint, too, the doctrine of a divine and redeeming Christ."¹

English Deism, German Rationalism and Scottish Moderatism are essentially the same in spirit, for they all tend to exalt human reason and ignore divine revelation. All students of the history of preaching are agreed that

¹ W. H. Fitchett, *Wesley and his Century*, (London, 1906), pp. 141-142.

evangelical truth is seldom proclaimed from the pulpit when Deism, Rationalism or Moderatism flourish. The great doctrines of Redemptive Christianity are not necessarily attacked: they are merely set aside, and a preaching of outward morality is always characteristic of such periods. Dr. Thomas Chalmers preached the sermon at the funeral of Dr. Andrew M. Thomson, the great foe of Rationalism; and in his sermon he called attention to the fact that Rationalism causes men to make light of evangelical truth, to look upon the preaching of sin and grace as vulgar, and to substitute a purely secular morality, the ethics of philosophy and the speculations of natural theology for the great facts of man's sinful nature and his salvation solely through the merits of Jesus Christ.

These recurring cycles, when the message of the pulpit degenerates into sleepy lectures on good behavior, man's attitude toward his fellow man, and his reactions to that uncertain thing which our own generation calls "Life," are generally followed by a marked reaction. At times when the light of evangelical truth seems all but extinguished, the Lord raises up witnesses, and the great truths of Redemptive Christianity are heard once more. The common people, starving because of the poor husks of a mere natural morality upon which they have been fed, flock to hear the declarations of the reformers, and almost overnight a great awakening of spiritual zeal is under way. The history of preaching has followed just this pattern again and again, whether in the days of the Old Testament prophets, whether in the days of our Lord, His forerunner and His Apostles, or throughout the centuries that have followed.

Just such an awakening took place in England, in Scotland, in Wales and in America. Various men were identified with its beginnings, but it was essentially a general movement. The progress of all such movements have much in common. People flock to hear the ringing words of the new witnesses. The clergy and the bishops of the old order denounce these evangelical preachers as fanatics, and close the churches against them. Forbidden the use of church buildings, the heralds of the new order resort to the fields, or to great assembly halls and preach to thousands. This

has happened again and again in olden times, and in more recent days in the British Isles, in America and in Continental Europe.

At the time of the Evangelical Awakening, outdoor preaching became an effective method of missionary work. Such preaching was not a novelty in Britain, for many a sermon had been preached at St. Paul's Cross and elsewhere by such men as Coverdale, Grindall, Scory, Jewell, Sandys and Sampson, while large congregations assembled on the moors or more often in the secluded glens, to hear the words of their spiritual leaders. However, the people of Britain had all but forgotten these things, and when Whitefield and Wesley began to preach in the open fields, there was much opposition at first. The clergy of the old order were horrified, and at once called meetings and decided by resolution that the parish church is a consecrated building, set apart from all secular buildings as God's house. To preach in the open air, or in a private home, or in any building other than the parish church, was not only disorderly, but it was a form of disorder that must be dealt with. The great majority of the bishops agreed fully with this position. Even the people themselves, ready as they were to hear Whitefield and Wesley, were somewhat confused at first. Habits fix themselves with peculiar tenacity upon the Christian congregation. Congregations accustomed to sing their hymns without the aid of a musical instrument, have often risen in indignant revolt when an organ was introduced. Congregations accustomed to sing the Psalms often refuse to read them responsively, and vice versa. Thus it was when Wesley and Whitefield began to preach in the fields. While vast congregations assembled to hear them, yet many opposed the idea at the outset; and any biography of John Wesley or George Whitefield will disclose many instances when these field preachers were pelted with sticks and stones, driven out of towns, and even threatened with imprisonment. There were riots in England and Scotland, in Wales and in America.

The bishops and the clergy recalled an old agreement that no clergyman may preach within the parish of a fellow clergyman, or perform any pastoral acts in such a parish,

unless he has first obtained the consent of the pastor loci. Wesley and Whitefield, as well as the Scottish and Welsh evangelical leaders, sought to obtain this permission, but where it was refused, they often considered it their duty to bear witness nevertheless. This led to bitterness of feeling, and frequent charges that the evangelicals were guilty of invading the rightful territory of duly called and ordained spiritual leaders. Regardless of the objections, the preachers of the Evangelical Awakening decided that it was their solemn duty to preach wherever a need existed. They met their congregations in the open fields, in the village square, in barns, in churchyards and on the moors. When Wesley was forbidden to preach in the church of his boyhood days, he mounted his father's tomb and preached to a large gathering of people.

In all such awakenings of religious zeal, it is a noteworthy fact that the leaders of the movement are not satisfied to preach once or twice a week. They itinerate from village to village, and preach two or three times each day, seven days a week. During his lifetime John Wesley preached 42,000 sermons; while George Whitefield preached 18,000 sermons during his comparatively short career of 34 years in office. It was not at all unusual for a single sermon to attain a length of two to three hours. So great was the spiritual thirst of the people that they stood for hours in the open air, regardless of the weather, and history records the fact that they often followed the itinerant preacher to his next preaching station.

John Wesley's method was simple. He entered a town on horseback, often without previous announcement. After donning his black robe and white bands, he took his stand at the market cross (known in America as the public square), and attracted attention by singing a hymn. As soon as a crowd gathered he began to preach, and continued for an hour or more. George Whitefield often visited carnivals, fairs and public executions. Selecting a convenient spot where many people could assemble, he preached for one, two or more hours. Executions of criminals were postponed on several occasions in order that all might hear Whitefield. Both Wesley and Whitefield had voices of great range and

power, and Whitefield was a man of exceptional dramatic ability, able to describe incidents from the Bible or from daily life in a manner that often brought forth exclamations from his hearers. Wesley rarely resorted to the dramatic, nor was he partial to the use of illustrations. Both of them discouraged noisy demonstrations, and cautioned their associates to do likewise; nevertheless they preached the Law with severity, and the terror-stricken people often sobbed audibly, fainted, or exhibited other evidences of agitation. The enemies of the Evangelical Awakening spread exaggerated reports of these incidents, and described the outdoor services of the Wesleyans as disorderly gatherings. It must not be assumed that the Methodist leaders sought to create emotional pandemonium. After sober thought Ryle comes to the conclusion that "they preached fervently and directly. They cast aside that dull, cold, heavy, lifeless mode of delivery which had long made sermons a very proverb for dullness. They proclaimed the words of faith with faith, and the story of life with life."² Wesley and Whitefield remained in the Church of England throughout their lives, and the pulpit decorum that is traditional among the Anglicans would not permit them to engage in levity or smartness of expression. Their preaching was lively, but always serious.

The careful student of Systematic Theology will discover that there are certain details upon which neither Wesley nor Whitefield were clear. Wesley's basic theology was that of Epworth rectory, while Whitefield, the son of a tavern keeper, had little home training in theology. The Oxford of 1720 had no theological schools in the present sense of the term. However, these two men had sufficient understanding of basic evangelical truth that they were able to convince thousands that man is a lost sinner by nature, with no spiritual health in him, and able to be saved only by the righteousness and blood of Jesus Christ. Both of these men were firmly convinced that through Adam's fall the human race had become contaminated by sin, and all men are conceived and born in sin. They believed that

². John C. Ryle, *The Christian Leaders of the Last Century*, (London, 1869), p. 25.

Jesus Christ, by His perfect keeping of the Law, became our Substitute in respect to the demands of the Law, and imputed His righteousness to the believer. They were assured that by His death upon the cross, a full and complete satisfaction has been made for the sins of mankind. They believed that man is justified by faith alone, although Wesley was not always consistent on this point, for the resolutions of the unfortunate conference of 1771 were definitely synergistic, and aroused the spirited opposition of Lady Huntingdon and her friends. Wesley's inconsistent attitude toward the relation of faith to good works is proof that the reformed theologian, who is often unclear in regard to objective justification, finds it difficult to grasp clearly the true relation of faith and good works.

The printed sermons of the great leaders of the Evangelical Awakening, and of their able associates, are not remarkable. Most of the sermons that exist today could easily be delivered in half an hour, while it is a matter of record that these men usually preached for an hour or more. Their printed sermons seem to be but the dry bones about which they fashioned a vigorous body of living speech. Very few of the great pulpit orators, whose words electrified multitudes, have been able to animate their printed sermons with living fire. The oratory of Dr. Chalmers often brought great congregations to their feet in incredulous admiration, yet his printed sermons are dry. The same may be said of Dr. John Kennedy of Dingwall, that prince of Highland preachers, as well as of many others. Wesley, Whitefield, Fletcher, Coke, Nelson, and others of their generation, were men whose most effective work was done by means of living speech, rather than with the pen and the inkstand. One regrets that these busy men never took the time to cultivate the art of persuasive writing, and thus preserve for the benefit of unborn generations at least a portion of the strange power that was in their spoken words. Our seminaries today might well establish a chair of effective writing, as well as of effective speech.

— In still another way are the sermons of these great leaders disappointing. The preachers of the Evangelical Awakening had been trained in an age when expository

preaching was at low ebb. Most of us today are accustomed to the careful expository method that is characteristic of the best periods of German and Scottish preaching, and in which the famous preachers of Germany and Scotland excelled. Wesley, Whitefield and their fellow laborers grew up in an age when the art of exposition was not understood, hence their sermons are generally topical. Their printed sermons are serious, carefully written and generally impressive, and they still show traces of the intricate topico-analytical method of the "doctrines, observations and uses" school of preaching. English preaching of all periods might have been improved, had more attention been given to the expository method.

One of the excellencies of the preaching of the Evangelical Awakening lay in the fact that the ordained clergymen, and their many lay-preacher assistants, were not content merely to set forth the fundamental truths of Redemptive Christianity in a factual manner, as a professor might present a subject to his students. This is too often a defect that one finds in Continental Europe, and it has been too prevalent in America in some quarters. The preachers of the Evangelical Awakening "came to close grips" with their hearers, and with a spirit of utmost urgency. They made their congregations realize that they were dying men and women, and facing a terrible eternity unless they repented of their sins and fled for refuge to the foot of the Cross. They may have been unclear in regard to the objective side of justification, and in regard to the means of grace, yet they understood enough of the basic truth of the plan of salvation to awaken in their hearers a terrible realization of their lost condition. After generations of spiritual deadness, one is not surprised to hear of men and women weeping aloud and fainting, under the urgent appeals of the preachers of the Evangelical Awakening. "It may be laid down as a principle established by fact," writes one of Wesley's early biographers, "that whenever a zealous and faithful ministry is raised up after a long spiritual death, the early efforts of that ministry are not only powerful, but often attended with extraordinary circumstances; nor are such extraordinary circumstances necessarily extravagancies

because they are not common.”³ People wept, and some cried aloud to the Lord for mercy when the preaching of the Law brought terror to their souls; and when the joyous promises of the Gospel were proclaimed, and the sermon ended, many lifted their voices in joyous hymns of praise.

As the Evangelical Awakening grew in strength, Wesley's talent for organization asserted itself. He was not willing to mount his horse and ride away, allowing his hearers to drift back into their old ways of living. By means of intricate organization of ordained clergymen and lay preachers, groups of awakened people were organized throughout Britain and America. They met frequently, encouraged one another in their new-found spiritual life, and John Wesley assumed personal supervision of all these groups, as one who must give an account for their souls. He insisted that they remain within the Church of England and act as a leaven among the people of an indifferent generation. George Whitefield died in America in 1770, and for the next twenty-one years John Wesley was the sole leader of the movement, although he was fortunate in having many capable fellow laborers, and among these, John Fletcher was one of the most faithful. When Wesley died in 1791, his followers numbered 76,000 in Britain alone, and they were served by some 300 preachers. Eighty years after his death, Wesley's followers had increased to no less than 12,000,000. Not many years after his death they formed a separate denomination, and so many chapels did they build that in Cornwall, for example, one is hardly ever out of sight of a Methodist place of worship.

This is but a part of the story. J. R. Green, the British historian declares: “But the Methodists themselves were the least result of the Methodist revival. Its action upon the Church broke the lethargy of the clergy; and the Evangelical movement, which found representatives like Newton and Cecil within the pale of the Establishment, made the fox-hunting parson and the absentee rector at last impossible. In Walpole's day the English clergy were the idlest and most lifeless in the world. In our own time no

³. Richard Watson, *Life of the Rev. John Wesley*, (London, 1831), p. 95.

body of religious ministers surpasses them in piety, in philanthropic energy, or in popular regard. In the nation at large appeared a new moral enthusiasm which, rigid and pedantic as it often seemed, was still healthy in its social tone, and whose power was seen in the disappearance of the profligacy which had disgraced the upper classes, and the foulness which had infested literature ever since the Restoration. A yet nobler result of the religious revival was the steady attempt, which has never ceased from that day to this, to remedy the guilt, the ignorance, the physical suffering, the social degradation of the profligate and the poor. It was not till the Wesleyan impulse had done its work that the philanthropic impulse began. The Sunday-schools established by Mr. Raikes of Gloucester at the close of the century were the beginnings of popular education. By writings and by her own personal example Hannah More drew the sympathy of England to the poverty and crime of the agricultural labourer. A passionate impulse of human sympathy with the wronged and afflicted raised hospitals, endowed charities, built churches, sent missionaries to the heathen, supported Burke in his plea for the Hindoo, and Clarkson and Wilberforce in their crusade against the slave-trade. . . . John Howard . . . with wonderful ardour and perseverance devoted himself to the cause of the debtor, the felon and the murderer. . . . Before the year was over he had personally visited almost every English gaol, and he found in nearly all of them frightful abuses which had been noticed half a century before, but left unredressed by Parliament.”⁴

The two decades following John Wesley's death saw the organization of several great missionary societies. The Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen had its beginning in 1792, the London Missionary Society was founded in 1795, the Church Missionary Society in 1799 and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in 1814. The great Scottish missionary societies had their origin in this period. The Religious Tract Society of Scotland was founded in 1793, the London Religious Tract

⁴ John R. Green, *A Short History of the English People*, (London, 1874), 1899 ed., pp. 739-740.

Society in 1799, the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1804, the American Bible Society in 1816 and the American Tract Society in 1816. It is certain that these important organizations owe much to the Evangelical Awakening.

The effect of the Awakening upon preaching was most significant. Here one is obliged to depend somewhat upon the records of men who actually heard the sermons of Whitefield, Wesley and their associates. Fortunately there is ample source material, ranging from the written accounts of people in the humblest walks of life to the records of Benjamin Franklin and other men of sober judgment. All agree that the British Isles and the American colonies were stirred to such an extent that religion was the chief topic of interest. An open air service drew enormous congregations, and Benjamin Franklin, with his characteristic thoroughness, calculated with care the number of people in some of these great outdoor gatherings. Religion was discussed everywhere. Groups of people engaged in discussions on market day, knots of men and women gathered on the corners of village streets, and lingered long in the churchyards on Sunday. The sermons of the great leaders, and of less prominent men, were reviewed again and again during the week, and every point was discussed carefully by the people. One of the curious by-products of the Awakening was a sudden interest in shorthand. Men and women studied shorthand in order that they might take down the sermons that were stirring the English-speaking countries. This had happened once before in Scotland, and it made its appearance once more in all countries where the influence of the Awakening was felt. It was not at all unusual to see men with a portable inkwell strapped about them, and a quill pen thrust over an ear, hastening to join the throng assembling on the village green. Some of the printed sermons of George Whitefield are the notes taken down in shorthand by these volunteer reporters, and their value depends upon the degree of education of the scribe, and his knowledge of shorthand. Obviously they transcribed them into long-hand in their own way, and usually without the benefit of editing on the part of the preacher. All too often they fall short of the actual spoken words. Even where the actual

manuscripts of the famous preachers exist, they are likely to be what Broadus calls "mere preparations, which in free delivery were so filled out with the thoughts suggested in the course of living speech, and so transfigured and glorified by enkindled imagination, as to be utterly different from the dull, cold thing that here lies before us — more different than the blazing meteor from the dark, metallic stone that lies half buried in the earth."⁵

The preaching of the eighteenth century took on new life. The dull, involved, intricate sermon outlines with their "doctrines, observations and uses" gave way gradually to more natural modes of disposition. No longer was animation in the pulpit denounced as fanaticism, as had been the case during the dreary years of the Period of Apathy. Congregations took on new life everywhere. The half empty churches were filled, the decaying stone walls and leaky roofs were repaired, the spiders' webs which had long hung in festoons from the roof trusses were removed, and even the physical appearances of the church buildings and their surrounding churchyards gave indication outwardly of the awakening of interest; for a decaying church building too often is but the external expression of a lack of interest in the preaching of the Word, for which churches are built.

Even more important than these things was the awakening of interest in evangelical truth. It is possible to fill many shelves with books devoted to the religion of the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Some of these are superficial: others careful and scholarly, such as Dr. Dargan's two volumes,⁶ or keen and discriminating such as the great Australian's valuable work.⁷ In certain things they are in complete agreement. The Period of Apathy was a long era of decline, when evangelical truth had almost vanished. Deism ruled in England, rationalistic thinking in Germany, Moderatism in Scotland and boasting skepticism in the American colonies. Clergymen of the slothful sort preached dull sermons on conventional morality, based

⁵ John A. Broadus, *Lectures on the History of Preaching*, (New York, 1879), p. 222.

⁶ E. C. Dargan, *A History of Preaching*, 2 vols., (New York, 1905-12).

⁷ W. H. Fitchett, *Wesley and his Century*, (London, 1906).

upon human reason. Clergymen who considered themselves spiritually-minded preached a form of morality based upon the authority of God's Word. Both classes of preachers erred, for they failed to declare that "Christ died for our offences and rose again for our justification," and "We have redemption in His blood, even the forgiveness of sins." The leaders of the Evangelical Awakening laid utmost stress upon just these truths that had been neglected by others for so long. Their theology was incomplete, and they fell into the error of synergism now and then, for their early religious training had been in the arid age of doctrinal decay. Nevertheless, from their study of the Scriptures they became convinced of the truth that Christ died for our offences, that He rose again for our justification, and that we have redemption in His blood. These fundamental truths were impressed upon their hearers again and again.

The revolution that took place in all countries where English was spoken is a proof of the power of evangelical preaching. The new form of sermon, with its emphasis upon man's sin and his redemption through the Lord Jesus, became the rule rather than the rare exception. Many clergymen of the Church of England became Methodists during the years that Methodism was still a movement within the Established Church. Others were friendly toward the movement, and began to preach as the Methodists preached. In Scotland, Thomas Boston and the Erskine brothers had prepared the way for an Evangelical Awakening, and while Methodism as such was less successful in Scotland than in England, yet a great wave of evangelical preaching swept the land. In many a large, influential Presbyterian church in Edinburgh and Glasgow, in the smaller towns, and throughout the Highlands and the Western Islands, people flocked once more to their kirks, and listened with close interest to lengthy sermons on the great doctrines of Redemption. In Wales, Ireland and Cornwall the same things were taking place, and within less than a century Wales gave the world a brilliant group of preachers, and their lasting influence will never be realized until some Welshman gives the world a careful account of these men, in the English language. Every Welshman

knows the story. In America the Great Awakening, as it is called, swept through the colonies and its effects were felt for a century. It burned itself out in the wild fanaticism of the frontier camp-meetings, and reasserted itself once more in a manner somewhat more dignified in the revivals of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

In England and Scotland the nineteenth century saw the growth of many enormous city congregations, assembling in great preaching halls called tabernacles and chapels. Whitefield's Tabernacle in Tottenham Court Road, London, Wesley's Chapel in City Road, Spurgeon's Tabernacle at the Elephant, Westminster Chapel at Buckingham Palace Gate, City Temple, the West London Mission in Piccadilly, Carr's Lane in Birmingham, Collier's Mission in Manchester and Central Hall in Edinburgh are a few of many such buildings. They are large rectangular buildings, with one or more tiers of galleries extending entirely around the interior walls. These great preaching halls are more or less directly the result of the Evangelical Awakening. In all of these assembly halls the original intention was to provide a place where the common people might assemble and hear sermons on man's sin and salvation.

It is not possible to mention the names of hundreds of books that have been published, each one of which is an account of the Evangelical Awakening or the men associated with it. Many pages would be required merely to list the titles. Tyerman's biographies,⁸ while old, will provide much source material for the beginner, while Principal Fitchett's penetrating and beautifully written analysis⁹ must be given a high place on any list of works devoted to this period of Church History.

John Wesley, (1703-1791)

John Wesley, one of England's most famous preachers, was a man without a congregation. His active ministry covers a period of no less than 66 years. Of these, the first 13 were years of comparative failure. Then he became a

⁸. Luke Tyerman, *Life and Times of John Wesley*, 3 vols., (London, 1870-71); *Life of the Rev. George Whitefield*, 2 vols., (London, 1876-77); *Fletcher of Madeley*, (London, 1882).

⁹. W. H. Fitchett, *Op. cit.*

traveling preacher, and during the 53 years that followed, he journeyed no less than 250,000 miles, visiting every part of the British Isles and preaching to congregations that often numbered from 25,000 to 30,000. During his public ministry he preached some 42,000 sermons.

Wesley lived and died a clergyman of the Church of England. He was born in the rectory of Epworth parish church in the dreary, flat fenlands of Lincolnshire. His great-grandfather, Bartholomew Wesley, was ejected in 1662 from his congregation in Dorset because of his religious and political principles. His grandfather, John, was imprisoned in 1661 for failing to use the Book of Common Prayer, and a year later he was deprived of his parish at Blandford. This Wesley was imprisoned four times for his religious views. The father of John Wesley was a fiery little High Churchman, loyal to the king and the bishops, but not always able to support his large family on an income of 30 to 50 pounds a year, and on one occasion he was sent to debtor's prison. He suffered much persecution at the hands of his own parishioners, who burned his crops, maimed his cattle and were suspected of having burned Epworth rectory.

The mother of John Wesley was one of the most remarkable women of the eighteenth century. She was the twenty-fifth child of the Rev. Samuel Annesley, a Nonconformist clergyman. At the early age of 13, she was studying theology, and her emphatic religious opinions led her to sever her connection with her father's church and unite with a congregation of the Church of England. She mastered Greek, Latin and French while yet a young girl, and she read the Church Fathers for pastime. Throughout her life she maintained her keen interest in theology, although her religion was somewhat of an external kind. In her girlhood days and later as the wife of the Rev. Samuel Wesley, everything was regulated by the clock. Certain hours were set apart for religious study, others for prayer, others for her household tasks. She was a woman of exceptional energy, very positive in her likes and dislikes, an able teacher and a woman whose determined views were not always shared by her husband. She regarded with undisguised disapproval

his prayers for the king. When he was attending Convocation, she gathered the people of Epworth parish and exhorted them, much to the annoyance of her husband who believed that women should not "teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence."¹⁰

Susanna Wesley was the mother of 19 children, of whom nine reached maturity. Their mother maintained an extremely efficient parish school in the old timbered rectory. Each child, on his or her fifth birthday, was required to learn the alphabet in a single day. On the following day he was given the Bible to read. Mrs. Wesley was the only teacher of this school, and her children were taught many Scripture verses, entire Psalms, hymns and the Collects of the Prayer Book, in addition to their secular studies, which included Latin and Greek among other things.

The Wesley children were all bright and lively, and out of that little parish school of 19 children came John Wesley, one of the great preachers of the ages, Charles Wesley the hymn-writer and their gifted brother Samuel. The girls, with their exceptional educations, threw themselves away in almost every case upon rude, boorish, drunken husbands.

When John Wesley was six years old, Epworth rectory was destroyed by fire. John was sleeping on an upper floor, and was rescued by neighbors who climbed upon one another's shoulders and drew him through the window of the blazing old building. His mother had always maintained firmly that a special guardian angel watched over the Wesley family. The rescue of the little lad from the fire convinced her that the Lord had spared him for some great future, and she bestowed particular care upon him.

In 1714, when not yet 11 years of age, John Wesley was sent to London to Charterhouse School, where his unusual piety and his devotion to the external practices of his church, made him the object of coarse ridicule. The religious training received from his father and mother bears all the defects of the age in which he lived. In later years John Wesley summed up its legalistic character by declaring that he went out into the world believing that one "could only be saved by keeping all the commandments of God."

¹⁰. I Timothy 2, 12.

There is no evidence that any of the instruction received either at Charterhouse or at Oxford corrected this error. "I still read the Scriptures," said Wesley, "and said my prayers morning and evening. What I now hoped to be saved by was, (1) Not being so bad as other people. (2) Having still a kindness for religion. And (3) Reading the Bible, going to church and saying my prayers."¹¹

John Wesley's theological training seems curiously inadequate, but this was typical of the English educational system of those days. He had learned Latin and Greek in boyhood. While at Charterhouse he studied Hebrew with his older brother Samuel, who was a teacher in Westminster School. John Wesley studied Arabic, and in later life he studied French, German, Spanish and Italian. He and his brother Charles conversed freely in Latin, but a comprehensive knowledge of eight languages is hardly a complete pre-theological course.

In 1720, at the age of 17, John Wesley entered Christ Church, Oxford. He was surprised at conditions there. Not only was there coarseness and profanity among the students, and drinking and gambling, but there were teachers who drew salaries but delivered no lectures, and students who received credits for lectures that had never been given. Religious life was hopelessly empty and formal, and undergraduates, fellows and tutors subscribed to doctrines in public and ridiculed them in private. Wesley took his Bachelor's degree in 1724, was elected to a fellowship of Lincoln College in 1725, made lecturer in Greek and moderator of the classics in 1726 and awarded his Master's degree in 1727.

The serious young Wesley, short of stature, slender of build, and with reddish hair, became known to many of his fellow students. He read Thomas à Kempis, as well as Jeremy Taylor's *Rules for Holy Living and Holy Dying*, William Law's *Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life*, as well as his *Practical Treatise on Christian Perfection*.

John Wesley was ordained in 1725, and spent part of his time as his father's assistant at Epworth and the nearby church at Wroote. His university training had not clarified

¹¹. Wesley's *Works*, vol. 1, p. 92.

his religious confusion. It seems difficult to believe that for thirteen years the very man who was to shake all Britain, and to establish a world-wide church, preached sermons that were considered dismal failures. Poor Wesley was but a victim of the spiritually barren age into which he was born. "It was many years," he tells us, "after I was ordained deacon before I was convinced of the great truths above recited; during all that time I was utterly ignorant of the nature and condition of justification. Sometimes I confounded it with sanctification, (particularly when I was in Georgia). At other times I had some confused notion about the forgiveness of sins; but then I took it for granted the time of this must be either the hour of death or the day of judgment. I was equally ignorant of the nature of saving faith, apprehending it to mean no more than a 'firm assent to all the propositions contained in the Old and New Testaments'."¹²

Thus did John Wesley begin his ministry. "I preached much," he said, "but saw no fruit of my labour. Indeed, it could not be that I should, for I neither laid the foundation of repentance nor of believing the Gospel, taking it for granted that all to whom I preached were believers, and that many of them needed no repentance."¹³ Realizing that his preaching neither impressed nor improved his hearers, Wesley accepted an invitation, in November, 1729, to return to Lincoln College, Oxford, where he presided over the daily disputations. There he remained until October, 1735.

The story of the Holy Club is well known. John Wesley's younger brother Charles, a student at Christ Church, had gathered a few of the more serious students about him. Strict rules, that recall Epworth rectory, were drawn up and observed with legalistic zeal. The fifteen young men who made up the club fasted twice a week, they attended church service with rigid regularity, they received Holy Communion according to the calendar, they read their Bibles at fixed hours every day, and even determined the number of chapters and verses to be read. The other students recognized this zeal for external things and they nicknamed the group

¹². Wesley's *Work*, vol. 8, p. 108.

¹³. *Ibid.*, vol. 8, p. 450.

"the Methodists." The members of the Holy Club were not discouraged. They visited sick beds and prisons according to a given schedule, they gave alms to the poor, they refrained from profane language and foolish jesting and they spent much time in what they considered holy conversation. When John Wesley returned to Oxford he soon became an influential member of the club. About three years after Wesley's return to Oxford, a new youth begged to be admitted to the Holy Club. They hesitated at first, for the roughly clad young man was the son of a Gloucester tavern-keeper, and had been a bar-tender for a year and a half. He cursed and swore, he had been a drunkard and a thief, but the quiet influence of the persecuted "Methodists" had been one of the things that awakened within him a desire for better things. The Holy Club, hoping that his professed repentance was sincere, admitted him to their meetings. They instructed him in the Scriptures to the best of their ability, and they urged him to lead a decent life. The unpromising tavern-keeper's son was named George Whitefield, who was to become one of the most famous men in all the annals of Christian preaching.

John Wesley's father was old and ill, and he begged his son to come to Epworth and become pastor of the parish. In a letter of incredible length John declined, insisting that his own spiritual condition made it necessary for him to remain at Oxford. This was partially true, for Wesley was still struggling for spiritual light, attempting by means of the Law to find peace of mind and an assurance of the forgiveness of sins.

In 1735, when 32 years of age, John Wesley and his brother Charles responded to an appeal for pastors willing to go to America. "My chief motive," Wesley declared in a letter dated October 10, 1735, "is the hope of saving my own soul. I hope to learn the true sense of the Gospel of Christ by preaching it to the heathen. . . . I have been a grievous sinner from my youth up, and am yet laden with foolish and hurtful desires; but I am assured, if I be once converted myself, God will then employ me both to strengthen my brethren and to preach His Name to the Gentiles. . . . I can-

not hope to attain the same degree of holiness here which I may there.”¹⁴

The voyage to America required over sixteen weeks, almost one-third of a year. The Wesleys and their fellow missionaries drew up a covenant, pledging themselves to help one another and to undertake nothing without first seeking the consent of the group. On the journey to America a great storm arose. The passengers and crew were terrified, but John Wesley became calm when he observed a group of Moravians singing their German hymns and paying no heed to the fury of wind and sea. He determined to discover the secret of their calm behavior, for he had been haunted by fear all his life.

Charles Wesley soon returned to England. John remained less than three years, but his missionary work was not successful. He had met a young girl, but whether or not they were actually engaged has never been clear. She finally married another man who was not a professing Christian. Not long afterward, John Wesley found it necessary to admonish her for some more or less minor offense, and when she gave evidence of a stubborn spirit he refused to allow her to receive Holy Communion. This caused trouble in the congregation and charges were drawn up against Wesley, accusing him of such things as “inverting the order and method of the liturgy” and “meddling with affairs of private families.” The case dragged on and on, and finally it became evident to Wesley that his days of usefulness in Georgia were over, and he returned to England.

Wesley went to London, only to discover that he was not wanted. The news of his failure in America was generally known, and it was rumored that he was a poor preacher, lacking in conviction. Surely this was a strange accusation, for in the year 1738 poor preaching was the rule in England, rather than the exception. Wesley, now 35 years of age, tramped the streets gloomily, finding himself without a call. Shortly after his return he met a young Moravian pastor, 25 years of age, who was to change his entire life. His name was Peter Boehler.¹⁵ He was a

¹⁴. *The Works of John Wesley*, (London, 1809), vol. 7, p. 35.

¹⁵. J. P. Lockwood, *Life of Peter Boehler*, (London, 1868).

graduate of Jena, and was in London awaiting a ship which was to take him to Carolina. Remembering the calmness of the Moravians in the storm at sea, Wesley told the young German missionary his own troubles, and asked him whether the teachings of the Moravians might help him. Boehler spent an entire day explaining to Wesley the nature of saving faith, as he understood it. "But how can I preach to others, who have not faith myself?" asked Wesley. "Preach faith till you have it, and then *because* you have it, you will preach faith,"¹⁶ replied Boehler. Wesley set out, with misgivings, and resolved to make the attempt. He heard of a criminal who had been sentenced to death. He visited the condemned man and began to preach faith to him, as Boehler had explained it to him. Gradually the criminal's hard face softened, and at last he confessed his sins and showed "a serene peace" even as he ascended the stairs of the gallows.

A few weeks later Wesley attended an afternoon service at St. Paul's Cathedral. The words of the anthem arrested his attention: "Out of the deep have I called unto Thee, O Lord: Lord, hear my voice. O let Thine ears consider well the voice of my complaint. If Thou, Lord, wilt be extreme to mark what is done amiss, O Lord, who may abide it? But there is mercy with Thee; therefore Thou shalt be feared. O Israel, trust in the Lord: for with the Lord there is mercy, and with Him is plenteous redemption. And He shall redeem Israel from all his sins."¹⁷

That same evening, Sunday, May 24, 1738, Wesley attended service at the little Moravian mission in Aldersgate. Some one read Martin Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans, "and across more than two centuries the great German spoke to the great Englishman." John Wesley was deeply moved. "I felt my heart strangely warmed," he declares in his journal, "I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation; and an assurance was given me that He had taken away *my* sins, even *mine*, and saved *me* from the law of sin and death. I began to pray with all my might

¹⁶. John Wesley's *Journal*, under Feb. 28, 1738, in the *Works of John Wesley*, (London, 1809), vol. 1, p. 261.

¹⁷. *Ibid.*, entry of May 24, 1738, in the *Works*, vol. 1, p. 280.

for those who had in a more especial manner despitefully used me and persecuted me. I then testified openly to all there what I now first felt in my heart.”¹⁸ It must have surprised the little handful of people in the German mission chapel in Aldersgate when an Englishman in clerical attire arose and professed conversion.

To those whose religion goes no farther than a shallow moralism it must seem incredible that a 35-year-old clergyman, hitherto a complete failure, and unable to get a call, should become suddenly one of the two greatest preachers of Britain. Wesley began to preach, as opportunity offered, in the pulpits of his own denomination, but it was not long until these were refused him. Justification by grace, through faith, was a forgotten doctrine in 1738. It was proclaimed once more, in ringing tones, by the young clergyman without a call. It offended the bishops and the clergy, for it meant that all their outward keeping of the Law gave them no advantage in Heaven over the vile criminal whom John Wesley had accompanied to the scaffold. It offended the seasoned church-goer, whose theology agreed entirely with that of Epworth rectory, for such people looked upon the Established Church as the veritable ark of salvation, and diligent observance of the Sundays and festivals of the Christian Year a means of grace. To such people salvation was gained by going to church regularly, listening to the sermon, responding heartily to the liturgy, receiving Holy Communion at least two or three times a year, respecting the bishops and the clergy, praying for the king and the royal family and in short, observing all the outward demands of the religion established by the laws of the land. For a pastor of their own denomination to arise and declare that all these things are as dross, unless there is a firm belief that only by the grace of God and merit of Jesus Christ can our sins be forgiven, was to place the repentant drunkard and wastrel on the same level as the man who had not been absent from a Church service, man and boy, for fifty years. John Wesley's preaching aroused antagonism. Invitations to supply vacant pulpits became few, and when he asked to be allowed the use of a church, this was denied him. It

¹⁸. *Ibid.*, May 24, 1738.

was among the little group of Moravians that Wesley found a warm welcome at this period of his life. He went to Germany, met the leaders of their denomination, and then returned to England more determined than ever to preach evangelical doctrines as he understood them.

In February, 1739, Wesley's old Holy Club acquaintance, George Whitefield, began his field-preaching at Kingswood Common, near Bristol. Whitefield urged Wesley to undertake field-preaching, since few churches were open to either of them. Wesley's High Church nature was shocked at first, for he considered it highly improper to preach in any place other than a duly consecrated church; but when he discovered that no bishop was willing to give him a congregation he finally yielded unwillingly, and in April, 1739, he began to preach in the open.

To give an account of the next 52 years of John Wesley's life would require volumes. When George Whitefield took his stand in the open air on February 17, 1739, the first note of the great Evangelical Awakening was sounded. John Wesley followed his example six weeks later, and his brother Charles joined them in June of the same year. The fame of Charles Wesley falls far short of that of his two companions, insofar as preaching is concerned, and within a few years we hear little more of him except as a hymn-writer of enormous energy. Whitefield's incredible career was of but thirty-four years' duration, but during that time he preached 18,000 times, dying in Newburyport, Mass., in 1770. Then, for 35 years, John Wesley was the undisputed leader of the Evangelical movement. He visited every part of England again and again, with frequent trips to Scotland, Wales and Ireland. He travelled more than 250,000 miles, often on horseback, sometimes in his own coach. He preached more than fifteen times a week, rising every morning before dawn and preaching to people wherever he could find them: in a cottage, in a chapel, in the village square, in market-places, in the open fields or in the city streets. One of his favorite preaching stations was Gwen-
nap Pit, near the village of St. Day, in Cornwall. This natural amphitheatre seated 20,000 people in Wesley's day, and often his congregations overflowed into the surrounding

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fields. The Cornish tin miners climbed ladders, from platform to platform, from mines half a mile deep, singing Charles Wesley's hymns as they ascended, just as the miners of Wales sing *Cwm Rhondda* today. They crowded Gwennap Pit, often with their candles still in their caps; and Wesley describes those vast evening congregations as the grandest sight this side of Heaven. Between 1743 and the end of 1789, Wesley visited Gwennap Pit again and again. On one occasion his congregation there numbered 32,000.

In his earlier years of outdoor preaching, Wesley met with much persecution. He was often attacked by mobs, pelted with sticks and stones, driven from place to place, brought before magistrates, and threats were often made against his life. He was entirely fearless when faced by a mob, and his steady gaze and his perfect calm often caused his opponents to drop their clubs and stones and allow him to continue his preaching.

Wesley's many biographers have attempted to explain the secret of his great power over his audiences. While Principal W. H. Fitchett's excellent life of Wesley¹⁹ is not as famous as those of certain other biographies, yet no writer has excelled this Australian in his penetrating analysis of the religious conditions in Wesley's day. In an age when religious life and teaching was dominated either by a lifeless Deism or by a sacerdotalism with its stress upon a mechanical piety regulated by the clock and the calendar, John Wesley burst upon the scene with his preaching of sin and grace. Where the deistic preachers had failed with their chill moralism, and the sacerdotalists with their stress upon the Church as the ark of salvation and its bishops and clergy as the channels through which that grace is conveyed to the faithful, — John Wesley succeeded by declaring to sinners that salvation is given, fully and freely, to all who repent and believe truly in the grace of God and the redemption which is in Jesus Christ.

It was John Wesley's simple, evangelical preaching that stirred Britain from end to end: his declaration of the fact that man is a lost sinner, deserving only eternal damnation

¹⁹. W. H. Fitchett, *Wesley and his Century*, (London, 1906).

in hell; that man can in no wise remedy his hopeless condition; that salvation through the demands of the Law is impossible for any human being; that Jesus Christ, Who kept all the requirements of the Law perfectly, has provided a righteousness that avails for us; that by His death on the Cross, He has suffered in our stead and paid in full the penalty of all our sins; that the repentant sinner is justified not by his works, but by a God-given faith in the redemptive work of Jesus Christ.

Wesley did not understand all these things from the outset. It is curious to observe that he caught a partial glimmer of the objective side of Justification before he understood its subjective side. In the year 1733 he defines faith as "an unshaken assent to all that God hath revealed in Scripture; and in particular to those important truths, Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners; He bore our sins in His own body on the tree; He is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world."²⁰ Thirty-two years later he reprinted this sermon, with the following important addition: "*Nota bene.* It is likewise the revelation of Christ in our hearts; a divine evidence or conviction of His love; His free, unmerited love for *me*, a sinner; a sure confidence in His pardoning mercy wrought in us by the Holy Ghost; a confidence whereby every true believer is enabled to bear witness, 'I know that my Redeemer liveth'; that I have an Advocate with the Father, and that Jesus Christ the righteous is *my* Lord, and the propitiation for *my* sins. I know that He hath loved *me*, and given Himself for *me*, He hath reconciled *me*, even *me* to God, and I have redemption through His blood, even the forgiveness of sins."²¹ Again he defines justifying faith as "a full reliance on the blood of Christ as shed for *me*; a trust in Him as *my* Saviour, as *my* sole justification, sanctification and redemption."²² This grasp of the significance of subjective justification — the application of a grace that has always existed, to the believer's own needs — caused Wesley to lay great stress upon

²⁰. Fitchett, *Op. cit.*, p. 85.

²¹. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

²². *Ibid.*, p. 280.

assurance, that is, a positive knowledge that one's sins have already been forgiven through the merit of Jesus Christ the Saviour.

It might be an easy matter to find errors in Wesley's theological system. He tells us frankly that in his youth he was unable to distinguish between justification and sanctification. This difficulty was never entirely cleared away. While it is true that we find whole paragraphs in his sermons and other writings where justification by grace, through faith, is set forth with admirable clearness, yet we find Wesley, throughout his long life, enacting minute rules and regulations for his own conduct and for that of his followers. He was never able to free himself entirely of the High Church regulations of Epworth rectory. In 1738 he drew up a series of rules for his own conduct: to be absolutely open and unreserved with all whom he met; to cultivate seriousness, "not willingly indulging myself in any the least levity of behaviour, or in laughter, no, not for a moment"; to say nothing that does not tend to the glory of God, and not to speak of worldly matters; to take no pleasure in any matter that does not tend to the glory of God.²³ Wesley had the British love for tea, but in 1747 he felt it his duty to abstain forever after from that refreshing beverage. He never seemed to realize fully that good resolutions and regulations are not the seeds of faith, but its fruits. Good works accompany true faith as surely as the long reflections in the Thames accompany the lights on the opposite bank. However, the lights are the cause of the reflections, and not *vice versa*, even though it may be the latter that we admire most.

Wesley was an Arminian, in contrast to Whitefield, who was a staunch Calvinist. Wesley found the cause of man's salvation to lie solely in the love of God for the sinner. He paid no heed to the teaching that God is also just, that man's sin is an outrage to God's perfect justice, and that this justice must be satisfied vicariously by Jesus Christ. The Calvinist's doctrines of election and reprobation did not appeal to him.

²³. *Journal*, Feb. 28, 1738.

Wesley was an organizer almost without an equal. The very thought of a new religious denomination was distasteful to him, for he desired to reform the English Church from within. To assist in this task, he organized his followers into a multitude of local societies. These were to be small groups within the Established Church, and their chapels existed only because the pulpits of the parish churches were closed to them. Class-leaders were appointed, who were required to report regularly in regard to the spiritual progress of each member of the class. Class meetings were held frequently for the mutual improvement of the class members. When the movement grew so rapidly that ordained preachers were lacking, Wesley appointed "local" or lay preachers and he supervised their training. These men were not ordained, and usually they followed a secular calling in order to support themselves, but on Sunday they preached in places where ordained clergymen were not available. A number of these men came to be noted for their deep piety, their zeal and their power in the pulpit, and the rapid spread of Wesleyanism owes much to them. Men such as John Nelson, and William Bray of a later generation, have become world famous. Wesley's genius for organization is realized when one recalls the fact that he assumed personal charge over the vast group of 80,000 followers, which was their number by the year 1790.

It was not until his 85th year that Wesley became a national hero. Opposition to his methods and teachings had ceased, and in his old age he was hailed with enthusiasm wherever he went. At his coming every shop was closed and every school dismissed, and people crowded the streets to catch a glimpse of the famous preacher. He was short of stature, his weight never exceeded 120 pounds, his hair was snow white in his old age and his face smooth and ruddy. He was immaculate in his dress, and whenever he preached, whether indoors or in the fields, he wore his robe and white bands. His voice was so clear and penetrating that he could be heard by outdoor congregations of 30,000 people. He refrained from shouting, he was not dramatic, and he seldom made use of illustrations. No matter how turbulent his hearers might be, Wesley was always calm.

He spoke in an animated conversational tone, and with easy grace, his fine, resonant voice audible to the farthest fringe of the congregation. He tells us that his largest congregation was at Gwennap Pit, in Cornwall, where by careful estimation it was found to number 32,000. Not all his congregations were of this magnitude, for in his journal he often mentions small groups of a dozen people to whom he spoke at a moment's notice.

Of all the sermons that John Wesley preached, but 150 have existed to the present day. Most of these appeared in the *Arminian Magazine*, and later in book form. They are written carefully and simply, with no attempt whatever at oratory or at "fine writing." Wesley disliked such things. He preached the same sermon again and again, rewriting it frequently, scrutinizing each statement, striving for a simple, direct manner of expression. Sometimes he called in his domestic servant and asked her to listen to a sermon. Any statement that she could not understand was rewritten. His sermons are direct, and with no attempt at humor, or pathos, or smart epigrams, all of which things he looked upon as serious blemishes. He avoided a popular style. Exposition and instruction predominate, and when Wesley preached doctrine, it was not doctrine for its own sake. Rather did he expound doctrines because of their practical value to his hearers. Between his Aldersgate experience and his death, Wesley preached on an average of 16 times a week, very often delivering his first sermon at five in the morning, before people went to work. His last sermon was preached a week before he died.

Wesley was a prolific writer. His collected works fill 17 volumes,²⁴ and much of this material appeared in book or pamphlet form during his lifetime. They range from sermons and theological works to a popular four-volume *History of England* and a book of rather crude remedies for all manner of physical ailments. His private *Journal* has been printed several times,²⁵ and fills several volumes. It

²⁴. *The Works of the Rev. John Wesley*, 17 vols., (London, 1809-13), and later English and American editions and abridgements.

²⁵. *Wesley's Journal*, 8 vols., edited by Nehemiah Curnock, (London, 1909-16).

gives a day-by-day account of his life and labors from the time of his departure for America in 1735 until shortly before his death in 1791.

Biographies of John Wesley are legion. Among the earliest are those of Hampson,²⁶ Whitehead²⁷ and Coke and Moore,²⁸ all published shortly after his death. For many years Tyerman's three-volume biography²⁹ was held in high esteem, and that of Southey³⁰ found many readers. Among recent biographies may be mentioned those of Gifford,³¹ Barber,³² Fitchett,³³ Simon,³⁴ Hutton³⁵ and McConnell,³⁶ to mention but a few.

Charles Wesley, (1707-1788)

Biographers of John Wesley and George Whitefield often say that Wesley was the great organizer of the Evangelical Awakening, George Whitefield its pulpit orator and Charles Wesley the man who sang its teachings into the hearts of the people by means of his hymns. This is but a partial truth. For fifteen years, at the beginning of the movement, Charles Wesley preached throughout England and Ireland, and with unusual success. Had it not been for his more illustrious brother, to say nothing of Whitefield, Charles Wesley might have been a great preacher in his own right.

Charles Wesley was the eighteenth child of Samuel and Susannah Wesley, and like his brother John he was born in Epworth rectory in the fenlands of Lincolnshire. When the rectory was burned in 1709, Charles Wesley was rescued by his nurse. He was taught by his exceptional mother, and

²⁶ John Hampson, *Life of John Wesley*, 3 vols., (London, 1791).

²⁷ John Whitehead, *Life of John Wesley*, 2 vols., (London, 1791-93).

²⁸ Coke and Moore, *Ibid.*, (London, 1792). Amended edition, 2 vols., (1824-25).

²⁹ Luke Tyerman, *Life and Times of John Wesley*, 3 vols., (London, 1870-71).

³⁰ R. Southey, *The Life of Wesley*, 2 vols., (London, 1820), John Telford, *Life of John Wesley*, (1886).

³¹ W. A. Gifford, *John Wesley, Patriot and Statesman*, (1922).

³² F. L. Barber, *The Philosophy of John Wesley*, (1923).

³³ W. H. Fitchett, *Wesley and his Century*, (London, 1906).

³⁴ J. S. Simon, *John Wesley, the Master Builder*, (London, 1927).

³⁵ W. H. Hutton, *John Wesley*, (London, 1927).

³⁶ F. J. McConnell, *John Wesley*, (Cincinnati, 1939).

he read Latin and the Greek Testament while yet a small boy. Before he was ten years old he was sent to Westminster School, London, where his older brother Samuel was a teacher. He was made captain of the school in 1725, when but 18 years of age, and a year later he was elected to Christ Church, Oxford. His first year was not noteworthy, but then, he tells us, "diligence led me to serious thinking." He began to attend the Lord's Supper once a week. With a few companions he formed the Holy Club, and they spent their days in religious reading and conversation, while the other boys of the college were out on the playing fields. When his brother John returned to Oxford in 1729 as moderator of the daily classic disputations at Lincoln College, he became a leader of the Holy Club.

Charles Wesley was ordained in 1735, and went with his brother John to America, Charles in the capacity of secretary and chaplain to Governor Oglethorpe. Like his brother John, Charles was a strict High Churchman, and his rigid discipline was distasteful to the colonists. Charles was treated roughly, he was taken ill, and after five months he returned to England. In London he met Peter Boehler, the young Moravian missionary. Of Charles Wesley Boehler said, "He is at present very much distressed in his mind, but does not know how he shall begin to be acquainted with the Saviour. Our mode of believing in the Saviour seems so easy to Englishmen that they cannot reconcile themselves to it. If it were a little more artful, they would much sooner find their way into it. They justify themselves; and, therefore, they always take it for granted that they believe already, and try to prove their faith by their works, and thus so torment themselves that they are at heart very miserable."³⁷

Charles Wesley became ill of pleurisy. A Scripture verse spoken by a woman who was nursing him, arrested his attention. Of these words he said, "They struck me to the heart. I never heard words uttered with like solemnity. I sighed, and said within myself, 'Oh that Christ would thus

³⁷. From a letter written in 1738 by Boehler to Count Zinzendorf, *Methodist Magazine*, 1854, p. 687. Chas. Wesley's *Journal and letters*, (London, 1849).

“speak to me!’ I lay musing and trembling.” He dates the beginning of his spiritual awakening to this incident. During the days that followed it would seem, from the journal of his brother John, that Charles Wesley spent some time with Peter Boehler, the Moravian missionary to whom John Wesley owed so much.

A little later Charles Wesley began to preach in the jails and workhouses. They were wretched places in those days, for men were hanged for comparatively trifling causes. Writers tell us of seeing the hangman’s cart, filled with well-dressed young girls, making its way toward Tyburn gallows, and this as late as the year 1780. They had participated in some manner in the Gordon Riots, and they were all hanged for it. Charles Wesley tells us in his writings of visiting a prison in which were 52 persons awaiting execution, one of them a child of but 10 years. Even housewives in their aprons were dragged from their family circle to prison and to the gallows, for having uttered some unguarded remark. It was to such poor wretches as these that Charles Wesley preached. Nominally he was curate of Islington, London, but he was soon deprived of his cure.

Charles Wesley’s first open air sermon was preached on June 24, 1739. He visited Moorfields and found some 10,000 people assembled there, and he preached to them. Then he preached at Kennington Common, in the south of London. Archbishop Potter threatened to excommunicate him, and on another occasion he was fined ten pounds and costs for trespassing. He had crossed a field in order to reach a preaching station. For fifteen years he itinerated in England and Ireland, preaching as often as two and three times a day to congregations that numbered as many as 15,000 to 20,000. He married in 1749 and limited his preaching to Bristol, and later to the City Road Chapel in London. In 1771 he moved permanently to London, living there until his death in 1788.

In his old age he was a slight, bent, white-haired old man, dressed warmly even in Summer, jogging along on an old horse, and stopping frequently to jot down the stanzas of a hymn that had come to him. Again we hear of him rushing into City Road and crying, “Quick! The pen and

ink!" Then he would write, with trembling fingers, the stanzas of another hymn. Charles Wesley wrote over 6,500 hymns during his lifetime. Some of them are of a high order: others little more than amusing limericks. In the early editions of his hymnals the hymn, "How happy they who their Saviour obey" actually contains the following lines:

"Fully justified I,
I rode in the sky
Nor envied Elijah his seat;
In a chariot of fire
My soul mounted higher,
And the moon, it was under my feet."

Editions of *A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People Called Methodists*, in its later editions, omitted this stanza. It is almost cruel to quote it. Much rather would we recall the fact that Charles Wesley gave the world at least fifty hymns that are included in the hymnals of all evangelical denominations, — hymns such as: "I know that my Redeemer lives," "Hark! the herald angels sing," "Christ the Lord is risen today," "Love divine, all love excelling," and "Jesus, Lover of my soul." Charles Wesley's poetical works were collected and published in thirteen volumes, or 6,000 pages in all.

During the fifteen years of his open air preaching, Charles Wesley was considered an orator of great persuasiveness. He had little of the dramatic qualities of Whitefield, nor the calm of John Wesley. He found it difficult to control his emotions, and, like Whitefield, tears flowed freely from his eyes as he pleaded with sinners to repent. He spoke rapidly, and "in the prime of his life he was a preacher of almost unsurpassed power, talking in sentences which had the rush and impact of bullets, but which vibrated with electric thrills of emotion."³⁸ In his old age, when certain mild eccentricities became apparent, he used to preach with his eyes closed, with long pauses, his head bent, as though trying to recall his next statement. Before his death he made his friends promise that he would not be buried in the churchyard of City Road Chapel, for this was not con-

³⁸. W. H. Fitchett, *Wesley and his Century*, (London, 1908), p. 177

secrated ground. He was buried in the churchyard of Marylebone Old Church, and by some irony of fate, in a portion of the burying ground that was unconsecrated. His son Charles was organist of St. George's, Hanover Square, while Samuel, another son, became a well-known organist and composer. A grandson became sub-dean of the Chapel Royal, while yet another grandson was the great Samuel Sebastian Wesley, the noted composer of church music, and organist at Hereford, Exeter, Winchester and Gloucester cathedrals.

A volume of Charles Wesley's sermons was published some time after his death,³⁹ as well as his journal⁴⁰ and a collection of his hymns and poetical works.⁴¹ Several biographies have been written from time to time.⁴²

George Whitefield, (1714-1770)

If the worth of a preacher is to be judged solely by popularity and numbers, then George Whitefield stands without equal. He preached 18,000 times within 34 years, and to congregations numbering from 20,000 to 30,000. He was as well known in Colonial America as in the British Isles, and enormously popular wherever he went. His power as a public speaker proved bewildering to many of the most famous men of his generation. They called him "the Demosthenes of the pulpit," and "the apostle to the English-speaking world." England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland and America hailed him as though he were a conquering hero. He died at the age of 56, in Newburyport, Mass., and he is buried there beneath the pulpit of the Presbyterian church. He had just preached to a great congregation, who followed him to his lodgings, urging him to preach again. Standing on the steps, with a candle in his hand, he preached until the candle flickered out. Then he went upstairs and died.

³⁹. *Sermons of the Rev. Charles Wesley*, (London, 1816).

⁴⁰. *Charles Wesley's Journal and Letters*, (London, 1849).

⁴¹. *Poetical Works of John and Charles Wesley*, 13 vols., (London, 1868).

⁴². Thomas Jackson, *The Life of the Rev. Charles Wesley*, 2 vols., (London, 1841); F. L. Wiseman, *Charles Wesley, Evangelist and Poet*, (Cincinnati, 1932), etc.

George Whitefield was the son of a tavern keeper, and he was born in 1714 at the Bell Inn, Gloucester. At the age of 15 he was taken out of school by his widowed mother and obliged to work behind the public bar. An English "pub" is not the best place for a young boy, and it is not surprising that Whitefield learned to drink and steal, to lie and to swear. With it all he was a strange lad, for he owned a Bible; and after the saloon was closed, he went upstairs to his room and read the Word of God by the light of a stolen candle. He did not find his Saviour, but he did experience great uneasiness because of his lying, stealing, drinking and foul language. After working for a year and a half as bar-tender, Whitefield returned for a time to the parochial school of St. Mary-le-Wigford church. In 1733 he entered Pembroke College, Oxford, as a servitor. There he became acquainted with John and Charles Wesley, and their Holy Club. They had misgivings at first, for the roughly clad young man had come from a public house and not from a rectory, and he had, by his own confession, been a drunkard and a thief. However, his repentance seemed sincere, and they admitted him to their select circle. Whitefield attended lectures and was graduated in 1736, at the age of 22. John Wesley was his senior by eleven years.

In 1735 we find Whitefield, who had taken deacon's orders, but was not yet ordained to the Anglican priesthood, preaching with great success. His first sermon caused a great sensation, and complaint was made to the bishop, (probably exaggerated), that the sermon drove fifteen people mad. Following the example of the Wesleys and their friends, Whitefield visited the prisons and work-houses in and around Oxford, admonishing and instructing the inmates. He went throughout Gloucestershire, preaching to great congregations. Next we find him in London, not yet ordained, and preaching in some of the leading churches of the metropolis. People arose before dawn in order to gain entrance to the churches where he was to preach. All of this seems remarkable when the fact is recalled that Whitefield was in his earliest twenties, but it must not be forgotten that preaching in Britain was hopelessly dull and lifeless, and the least show of animation in

the pulpit was considered indecent. George Whitefield was anything but lifeless.

In 1738, when but 24 years of age, he resolved to follow his friend John Wesley to America. He had not yet learned that Wesley was having serious trouble in his congregation, and preparing to return to England. Whitefield set out, but for some reason his ship was detained at Downs. Just as they were about to weigh anchor, a second ship dropped anchor nearby. Some biographers declare with utmost conviction that a messenger boarded Whitefield's ship with a note from John Wesley, who was on the ship that had just arrived from Georgia. Wesley begged Whitefield to return to London, quoting a Scripture verse that he had found when opening the Bible at random. Whitefield replied by recalling the incident in I Kings wherein the Lord had called a prophet to a certain task. The prophet turned back upon the advice of another prophet, and was devoured by a lion for his disobedience to the Lord. Wesley was satisfied, and Whitefield sailed with his ship. This incident, while interesting, is not recorded by Wesley in his famous *Journal*. Under date of February 1, he merely says: "The day before Mr. Whitefield had sailed out, neither of us then knowing anything of the other."

Whitefield reached Georgia in May, 1738, but at the end of three months he was obliged to return to England for his ordination. After weeks at sea he arrived in England in December of the same year and went up to London and joined John and Charles Wesley. John was fresh from his Aldersgate experience and his trip to Herrnhut. Charles, nominally a curate in Islington, was preaching with great success in the prisons and workhouses of London, to the great annoyance of the bishop, who looked upon his activities as irregular.

The three friends preached to the neglected and the unchurched of London and vicinity, and fraternized with the Moravians. London was not a great city in 1739, and the word soon got about that notorious thieves had given up their evil ways, drunkards of long standing had been made sober, convicted felons had confessed their sins and had gone to the gallows singing hymns and quoting Scripture

promises and the unchurched were coming in great numbers to hear the three young missionaries. The bishop and the local clergy were offended, and denounced it all as fanaticism. Efforts were made to silence the three men. They replied by saying that if their methods were "irregular" then the ways of the holy Apostles must be irregular, for they went about among the neglected, preaching everywhere with great success. So long as there are immortal souls without the Law and Gospel, and so long as the organized Church made no effort to reach this neglected class, they proposed to testify. The clergy found these things difficult to answer, and they replied by closing their pulpits one by one to the three clergymen, and it was arranged in official circles that they were not called to parish work.

In some manner Whitefield managed to preach in Bermondsey Church in South London. The congregation was so great that he was compelled to go to the churchyard and stand on a tomb to deliver his sermon. He attended a service at St. Margaret's, Westminster, in the very shadow of the Abbey. He was recognized and the people fairly dragged him to the pulpit, pushed him up the steps by main force and cried out, demanding that he preach. The outraged parochial clergy got possession of a letter attributed to Whitefield, in which he had expressed himself rather tartly in regard to indolent clergymen, their frost-bitten formalism and their neglect of the great truths of Redemptive Christianity. Whitefield decided to visit Bristol until the excitement in London subsided.

He selected Bristol partly because of the sharp remark of an acquaintance who had said, "You went to America to convert the Indians. If you have a mind to convert the Indians, what about the colliers of Kingswood, who are without spiritual care?" Whitefield found conditions in Bristol worse than he had imagined. There were whole families in the Kingswood colliery district who had never seen a Bible, had never set foot within a church and who had never heard the name of the Saviour except in profanity. The local churches appeared to be totally indifferent to the spiritual needs of this district. Whitefield, as an obedient clergyman of the Established Church, went to the chancellor

of the diocese, who informed him bluntly that he was forbidden to preach in that diocese without a license. The canons prohibited it. The quick-witted Whitefield, who seems to have had a drop of Gaelic blood in his veins, replied that the same canons prohibited ordained clergymen from hanging about in the public houses, drinking and playing at cards.

Whitefield made no further attempt to preach in the churches. He went promptly to St. Nicholas street and started to preach. A great crowd collected. Then, on February 17, 1739, he took his stand on a hill on the outskirts of Bristol, in Kingswood Common, and preached to a congregation of 200. His next sermon drew 3,000 people. The third sermon attracted 5,000, and in a short time he was preaching to congregations of 20,000. In graphic words he describes the miners, many of whom had never before listened to a sermon, standing before him with their tears cutting white furrows through the coal dust on their faces. "The open firmament above me," he wrote, "the prospect of the adjacent fields, with the sight of thousands and thousands, some in coaches, some on horseback, and some in the trees, and at all times affected and drenched in tears together, to which sometimes was added the solemnity of the approaching evening, was almost too much for and quite overcame me."

Whitefield was the hero of the hour. As he walked through the streets people crowded round him. Mothers lifted up their young children so that they might catch a glimpse of him. People appeared even on the roof tops when he passed by. All of this enraged the local clergy, who considered it disorder of an extreme kind. Even so good a man as Samuel Wesley, Jr., brother of John and Charles, complained that Whitefield, in his field-preaching, had neglected to read the liturgy of the Church.

Mr. Whitefield had agreed to return to America after his ordination, and his stay in Bristol was cut short. He landed at Lewes, Delaware, in August, 1739. The way had been prepared for him by Frelinghuysen and the Tennents, and the people of the Middle Colonies were awaiting the

famous young preacher. He made a triumphal tour of New Jersey, Eastern Pennsylvania and New York. He met the elder Tennent, founder of the Log College, and he captivated even Benjamin Franklin, who speaks of him again and again in his writings. George Whitefield remained in America from August, 1739 to January, 1741. This was the second of his seven trips to America. The Great Awakening, which had appeared in the Middle Colonies and then in New England, owes much to him. Frelinghuysen, the Log College group and Edwards prepared the way, each in his own community, but it was Whitefield who ranged up and down the American colonies and caused it to become a widespread awakening of religious interest, instead of several local movements. He visited America seven times, and his labors on these occasions varied from a few months to as much as four years. Almost one-third of his ministry was spent in America.

When Whitefield returned to England after an absence of two years in America, he found that John Wesley had departed from strict Calvinism. This led to a temporary estrangement between the two great leaders of the Evangelical Awakening. Friends built a large wooden tabernacle for Whitefield in Moorfields, London, not far from Wesley's headquarters. It was not long until the two were reconciled.

In 1741 Mr. Whitefield visited Scotland, where he was welcomed by Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine and other leaders of the Secession Church, who had separated, because of matters of conscience, from the Presbyterian State Church. The Secession group was relatively small at this time, and when invitations came from other religious bodies, Whitefield accepted them.⁴³ This gave offense to the Erskines and their brethren, and a conference with Whitefield was the result. It is unfortunate that accounts of this difficulty have been written by various men who have described the Erskines as narrow bigots. On the contrary, they were men of principle, and they recognized the fact (so sadly overlooked by many men), that pulpit and altar fellowship with

⁴³. D. Butler, *John Wesley and George Whitefield in Scotland*, (1898).

errorists implies that doctrinal differences are of secondary importance. Such fellowship is forbidden by Romans 16, 17-18. It was as true in Scotland in 1741 as it was in St. Paul's day, and it is equally true today. Two churches cannot teach conflicting doctrines and yet both be right; and to make common cause with men who knowingly tolerate error, as was the case in the Scottish Kirk, was tantamount to an approval of their false teachings. In this matter the Erskines were more correct in principle than was Whitefield.

From Scotland George Whitefield went to Wales, and then made a second tour to Scotland. During his ministry he visited Scotland fourteen times, spending much of his time in the great industrial centers of the Lowlands. The Lowlanders are of Saxon background, and are taught to hide their emotions rather than give outward expression to them, and it was predicted freely that the emotional preaching of Whitefield would be received coldly. Such was by no means the case. In Edinburgh, always famed for its exceptional preachers, the people came in great numbers. They filled a great public park with seats, and with the thriftiness of the Sasunnach, sold the seats at fixed prices to the multitudes who thronged about Whitefield, and sat spell-bound under his flamboyant eloquence. We might expect such vast congregations in the Gaelic Highlands and Western Islands, where perfervid pulpit oratory was a tradition, but the dour Lowlanders wept or rejoiced as the case might be. Whitefield swayed their normally concealed emotions at will, and with the same ease as Wesley's famous namesake caused the great Winchester cathedral organ to respond to his slightest mood.

On one memorable Sunday, Whitefield was obliged to preach four times in order that the great open-air congregations might all hear him. On Monday he preached three times and then delivered a lecture. On Tuesday he was obliged to preach no less than seven times. His popularity is compared, by one of his biographers, to that of Savonarola. When he heard of the so-called "Cambuslang wark," of Robe and McCulloch, he hastened to that town, preaching at 2 p.m., 6 p.m. and again at 9 p.m. The last service

did not close until almost midnight, and even then, hundreds of people remained in the fields, singing hymns and hoping that he might return and preach again. He visited Ireland, and his visit there was a triumphal tour. Ireland was sorely oppressed at the time, and a small minority who formed the ruling group and who were protected by unjust laws, persecuted most cruelly both the Roman Catholic majority, and the Presbyterian minority in the northern counties. In addition to Whitefield's work, John Wesley visited Ireland no less than 42 times between 1747 and the time of his death.

In 1748, Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, named Whitefield one of her chaplains. In 1756 the great Whitefield Chapel was built in Tottenham Court Road, in downtown London, where it stood until the recent war. However, George Whitefield could not be confined to one locality. An orphanage in Savannah was one of his favorite projects, and he had an active part in the founding of Dartmouth and Princeton colleges. On one of his visits to Philadelphia, then but a good sized village, Benjamin Franklin emptied his pockets when the offering was taken for the Savannah orphanage.

It is hard to find such a man as Whitefield in all the pages of history. John Summerfield might have become his equal, had he not died at so early an age. The Countess of Huntingdon was one of his greatest admirers. Horace Walpole, David Hume, Lord Chesterfield and Lord Littleton sang his praises. Bolingbroke declared, "He is the most extraordinary man in our times. He has the most commanding eloquence I ever heard in any person." Hume, although a Deist, declared that George Whitefield "was worth going twenty miles to hear." Foote the actor, William Pitt and Lord North praised him. David Garrick declared that he "would give a hundred guineas," — about \$500, — "if I could say 'Oh!' like Mr. Whitefield."¹¹ Whittier, who was not an orthodox believer, wrote a tribute in verse. On one occasion Whitefield, in comparing spiritual blindness to physical blindness, described a sightless man moving step by

¹¹. Luke Tyerman, *Life of Rev. George Whitefield*, (London, 1876-77), vol. 2, p. 355.

step toward a cliff. So realistic were his words that Lord Bolingbroke, who was in the congregation, cried out, "In Heaven's name, Whitefield, you are not letting him go over, are you?" Seafaring men were visibly agitated when Whitefield indulged in a word-picture of a storm on the Atlantic. Garrick declared that Whitefield towered above all the great actors of the day, as a giant oak towers above the forest, and he urged others of his profession to attend Whitefield's services and study his methods.

Nathan Cole, an American farmer, has left in writing a long account of Whitefield's visit to Middletown, Conn. Mr. Cole was working in the field when word came that Whitefield, then 26 years of age, was coming to the nearby town. He dropped his tools in the field, ran to the farmhouse at top speed, and taking his wife on the horse behind him they galloped toward Middletown, all the while "fearing we should be too late to hear ye Sarmon for we had twelve miles to ride dubble in little more than an hour." As they drew near to the town, Mr. Cole says: "i saw before me a cloud or fog rising i first thought of from ye great river but as i came nearer ye road i heard a noise something like a low rumbling thunder & i presently found it was ye rumbling of horses feet coming down ye road & this Cloud was a Cloud of dust made by the running of horses feet it arose some rods into ye air over the tops of ye hills and trees & when i came within about twenty rods of ye road i could see men and horses Sliping along . . . it was like a steady stream of horses and their riders scarcely a horse more than his length behind another . . . when we gat down to ye old meating house thare was a great multitude it was said to be 3 or 4000." Looking toward "ye great river" he saw its banks black with people, and "fery boats running swift forward and backward bringing over loads of people ye ores rowed nimble and quick every thing men horses and boats all seamed to be struglin for life." Then Mr. Whitefield arrived and ascended the outdoor platform. "He looked almost angellical a young slim slender youth . . . with a bold countenance," whose very expression put Mr. Cole into "a trembling fear."

George Whitefield made it a rule to preach about ten times a week, and a single sermon usually was from four to six hours in length. Once he was passing Hampton Common, where 12,000 people had gathered to see a criminal hanged in chains. Whitefield took his stand on a slight hill and began to preach, and the people flocked away from the gallows and crowded about him until the end of the sermon. At a place known as Hannam Mount the crowds were so great that an observer declared, "you could have walked on the peoples' heads." After a single sermon on Moorfield Common he tells us that he received over one thousand letters from people who were anxious in regard to their souls.

He visited Hampstead Heath, a great open common in the northern part of London. As he preached to an immense gathering, the skies darkened and a severe thunder storm broke forth. So great was his power over the congregation that they remained to the end of the long sermon, standing in a downpour of rain. The thunder crashed like shrapnel overhead, and between its peals Whitefield compared the lightning and thunder to the wrath of God against the unrepentant. Several of his hearers are said to have died of heart attacks on that occasion.

Once he visited a carnival and preached for three hours. The concessions were at once deserted, and all crowded around his improvised pulpit. One of the clowns rushed at him with his whip, but the whip fell from his hand under the steady gaze of Whitefield. Others pelted him with sticks and stones, but he continued his sermon without noticing them. At the end of three hours he told them that his tabernacle was not far away, and should any care to hear him, he would preach again in a few moments. Thousands forsook the carnival grounds and followed him to his tabernacle.

Although a university graduate, yet Whitefield was not a man of exceptional depth of thought, neither was he a theologian of first rank. His success lay in the fact that he had "a pure, heart-kindling Gospel, a lucid and simple style, boldness and directness, intense earnestness, pathos and feeling, perfect action, a powerful and sonorous utter-

ance, and a singular faculty of description." One of his contemporaries said that Whitefield could utter the single word "Mesopotamia" in such a way as to make his hearers weep or rejoice at will. As he preached, tears often rolled down his cheeks and fell upon the open Bible before him.

Whitefield was slightly over middle height, slender in his earlier years and moderately stout in middle age. He had the round face of the Saxon and the fervid eloquence of the Celt. His eyes were deep blue and one of them had a slight squint, like Edward Irving of later days. Although his father was a tavern keeper, yet several of his immediate ancestors had been clergymen. Somewhere in his background had been either a Scottish or an Irish Celt, and all of the fire, the emotionalism and the undercurrent of melancholy of that race appeared in this man, whom many authorities have called the greatest preacher of modern centuries. Actors have declared that had he followed the stage, he would have been the greatest actor of all time. However, Whitefield's preaching was not mere acting, for if there is anything upon which all his contemporaries agree, it is his absolute sincerity. He felt deeply everything that he preached, and if tears flowed when he pleaded with sinners to repent, his interest in their eternal welfare was absolutely genuine.

Like many great orators, Whitefield was a poor writer. A number of his sermons have survived, and may be found in his published *Works*. They give us no hint of his phenomenal power. Much of his material, as is the case with Summerfield, is in the form of rough notes. Again do we find sermons that seem to be mere shorthand reports, taken down by his hearers, and transcribed by men of mediocre ability. Men such as Whitefield and Summerfield and Chalmers had a rare gift of "magic speech." They could combine words and sentences with overwhelming effect while before an audience, but when they attempted the slower process of writing with pen or pencil, they were but mediocre. John Kennedy, the great Highland Scot, was another such preacher; while the meagre literary remains of William Bray, the famous Cornish preacher, are often crude.

All of these men, to say nothing of Rowland and Harris, Christmas Evans, Spurgeon and Rodney Smith, had a gift that was of much greater importance than eloquence or a good written style. They were able, when they rose before a congregation, to set forth the great truths of Redemptive Christianity in a manner that carried conviction.⁴⁵ Making all due allowance for the handicap that was present because of their zeal for the old, harsh type of Calvinism, men such as Whitefield, Chalmers and Kennedy were able to preach enough sin and saving grace that thousands of people were changed for the better.

In his published *Works* there is a sermon by George Whitefield on Jeremiah 6, 14. He begins by warning his hearers against certain wolves in sheeps' clothing "that prophesied smoother things than God did allow." In the first part of the sermon he describes the state of the man "that continueth not in all things that are written in the book of the Law to do them." He reminds his hearers that the Law demands perfection. They must continue in the Law in thought, word and deed, and they must keep it perfectly or else face eternal damnation. He calls upon his hearers to search their hearts and be convinced that they have not kept the Law, nor have they met the demands of its perfection: therefore the wrath of God burns hotly against them. God has written bitter things against such sinners, and the arrows of the Almighty are directed against them. One can realize how this thundering message, uttered in Whitefield's highly dramatic style, aroused the people of his day, accustomed, as he declared, to "those false teachers who, when people were under conviction of sin, when people were beginning to look toward Heaven, were for stifling their convictions and telling them they were good enough before." Under his thunderbolts of the Law, terror swept through his congregations and they cried aloud to be delivered from the penalty of their sins.

Then, in the same sermon, he warns the people against sewing together the fig leaves of good works in order to hide their sins from God. Mere resolutions to reform one's

⁴⁵. Whitefield declared that no sermon is really effective until it has been preached forty times.

evil ways, trusting for salvation in prayer, and other human efforts are of no avail. Then he points them to the righteousness and blood of Jesus Christ, and he cries out: "Before we can ever have peace with God, we must be justified by faith through our Lord Jesus Christ; we must be enabled to apply Christ to our hearts; we must have Christ brought home to our souls, so that His righteousness may be made our righteousness; so as His merits may be imputed to our souls." Like all great preachers, Whitefield had gifts more important than eloquence and dramatic ability. Such men have something worth saying, and they say it well.

A number of biographies of George Whitefield have been written,⁴⁶ and in addition to his collected *Works*, in seven volumes, his *Journal* was edited and published by W. Strahan, in 1739.

John Nelson, (1707-1774)

John Nelson, one of Wesley's first lay preachers, was one of the most interesting men of his generation. It is unfortunate that the world judges a man by his possession of a college diploma. D. L. Moody, Joseph Parker and Campbell Morgan were not college graduates, neither was Spurgeon, but who will deny that they were preachers of rare ability? John Nelson was another such man. He was born in 1707 in the parish of Birstall, in the West Riding of Yorkshire. His father was a stone mason, and John spent a number of years at the same trade. His parents were devout church people, and the children were instructed carefully in the Scriptures. From the age of ten years and onward, John was beset with religious perplexities. The Church of England did not satisfy an undefined inner craving, and he attended the Presbyterian, the Roman Catholic, the Quaker and the Independent churches in turn, but in

⁴⁶ Among these are: John Gillies, *Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. George Whitefield*, (London, 1772); Robt. Philip, *The Life and Times of the Rev. George Whitefield*, (London, 1837); Jos. Belcher, *George Whitefield, a Biography*, (London, 1857); J. P. Gledstone, *The Life and Travels of George Whitefield*, (London, 1871), and *George Whitefield, Field Preacher*, (London, 1901); Luke Tyerman, *The Life of the Rev. George Whitefield*, 2 vols., (London, 1876-77); A. D. Belden, *George Whitefield, the Awakener*, (1930); D. Butler, *John Wesley and George Whitefield in Scotland*, (1898).

none of these was he able to find peace of mind. Then he heard George Whitefield and John Wesley. Of these men he declares:

"Mr. Whitefield was to me as a man who could play well on an instrument, for his preaching was pleasant to me, and I loved the man; so that if anyone offered to disturb him, I was ready to fight for him; but I did not understand him. I was like a wandering bird cast out of its nest till Mr. John Wesley came to preach his first sermon at Moorfields." (Nelson was following his trade as a stone mason at the time, he was 32 years of age, and he was helping to build the Royal Exchequer in London.) "As soon as he got upon the stand," continued Nelson, "he stroked back his hair and turned his face toward where I stood, and, I thought, fixed his eyes upon me. His countenance fixed such an awful dread upon me, before I heard him speak, that it made my heart beat like the pendulum of a clock; and when he did speak, I thought his whole discourse was aimed at me. When he had done I said, 'This man can tell the secrets of my heart; he hath not left me there; for he hath shown the remedy, even the blood of Jesus.' I thought he spoke to no one but me, and I durst not look up, for I imagined all the people were looking at me. . . . But before Mr. Wesley concluded his sermon he cried out, 'Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts; and let him return unto the Lord, and He will have mercy upon him; and to our God, for He will abundantly pardon.' I said, 'If that be true, I will turn to God today'." This was not long after John Wesley's memorable experience at Aldersgate, and his acquaintance with Peter Boehler. John Nelson, like many others, realized the strange power of the young clergyman who was soon to stir the whole Empire.

A year later we find Nelson back at his home in Yorkshire, declaring "rather than spend another thirty years like those already passed, I would choose to be strangled," and "God never made man to be such a riddle to himself, and leave him so. There must be something in religion that I am unacquainted with, to satisfy the empty mind of man, or he is in a worse state than the beasts that perish." While still in London, and later in Yorkshire, Nelson refused to

work at his trade on Sunday, although it brought upon him the severe rebuke of his foreman, who declared Nelson "a rebel against the king." To this Nelson replied that the greatest rebels in England were the drunkards, swearers and Sabbath-breakers, who provoke the just wrath of God against both king and country. Once, when ordered to work on Sunday or else be discharged, Nelson replied that he "would rather want bread than wilfully offend God." Out of his small wages he once paid another workman to go and hear John Wesley preach.

John Nelson began to speak privately to his friends in Birstall, and they gathered about him urging him to preach. He refused at first, for he was without a higher education, and unordained. He "would rather be hanged on a tree than go to preach." However, under the influence of his informal admonitions, when pressed by his neighbors to explain to them the way of salvation, it was found that he had a strange influence over them. Through his informal expositions of the Word of God, a number of men in the village gave up their evil and careless ways. When Nelson realized that village drunkards had become sober, that profane men and women had ceased their profanity and had begun to speak of the things of the Lord, and when families, long indifferent, were attending church regularly, he at last gave up his scruples against preaching, and began to speak with immediate success.

John Wesley learned of this. He had made it an express rule that his lay helpers must not preach. He permitted them to exhort others, and to expound the Scriptures, but they must not preach. At this early stage Wesley did not seem to realize that one cannot solve a difficult problem by giving it a different name. For a layman, upon whom the bishop had not laid his hand, to arise and preach was repugnant to Wesley, with his pronounced churchmanship. When he heard that Nelson had been guilty of delivering sermons, he went to Birstall, visited Nelson in his humble cottage, met Nelson's followers and preached to them. The results of Nelson's work were so apparent that Wesley realized that exceptional men may be useful as unordained missionaries, whether the bishop has touched them with

his fingers or not. He discovered that a man who is well grounded in the great truths of the Scriptures, may in unusual cases be of greater service to his fellow men than even an Oxford or Cambridge graduate who is lacking in conviction. While ordained men, trained in university and theological seminary, must be the rule, yet one finds occasional exceptions. The penetrating spiritual common sense of John Jones of Talsarn has influenced thousands for a century; the strange power of Gipsy Smith drew some of the greatest congregations in the history of preaching; while in our own day, the quiet influence and heroic work of Joseph Pedlar, in Cornwall, is known to many of us.

John Nelson was a persecuted man. The local vicar used his influence, and Nelson was drafted into the Army. Clad in his red coat, he went with his outfit throughout the North Country, testifying as he had opportunity, even though an officious young ensign did all he could to discourage him. In 1743-44, persecution broke out against the followers of Wesley, who were a group within the Church of England. Wesley, in his *Journal*, tells of the mobs, in three towns where the homes of his followers were broken into by night, their goods seized, their food taken away from them, their men beaten and their wives and daughters outraged, and threats made that every Methodist in England would be utterly destroyed. Nelson was but one of many victims of these outrages. He himself tells us that when his company marched through the towns, "the streets and windows were filled with people, who shouted and huzzaed as if I had been one that had laid waste the nation; but the Lord made my brow like brass, so that I could look on them as grass-hoppers, and pass through the city as if there had been none in it but God and myself."

Finally, through the good influence of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, Nelson was released from Army duty. We hear of him again in 1749, when John Wesley sought to marry Grace Murray. Charles Wesley objected violently, and some biographers have declared that it was because Grace Murray had once been a serving woman. Whitefield and Nelson came to John Wesley, and with many tears begged him to be reconciled to his brother Charles, who had

succeeded in preventing the marriage. John Wesley married another woman eventually, and the unhappiness of his domestic life, and his wife's desertion of her husband are too well known to need more than mere mention.

For 1750 to 1770 John Nelson was one of Wesley's most valuable assistants, working as a lay missionary in London, Bristol, Birstall, Leeds, Derby, Yarm and York. He visited Ireland and Cornwall, and on several occasions we find mention of him as he accompanied Wesley on some of his journeys.

As a preacher, John Nelson was remarkable. Some writers have declared that his power in the pulpit, and his influence over people was second only to that of John Wesley and George Whitefield themselves. Wesley once drafted a list of rules for his students. The third rule in the list directed them to read from six in the morning until noon the Scriptures, Pearson on the Creed and the sermons of Boehm and Nelson.

In a letter dated December 20, 1751, and printed in the *Methodist Magazine*, 1779, page 317, John Wesley urged that both Law and Gospel be preached, and not the Gospel alone. He mentions John Nelson as one who could do this effectively. Speaking of preachers who are afraid to preach the Law he said: "Preachers of this kind spread death, not life, among their hearers. . . . When I came to review the societies, with great expectation of finding a vast increase, I found most of them lessened by one-third. One was entirely broken up. That of Newcastle was less by a hundred members than when I visited it before; and, of those that remained, the far greater number, in every place, were cold, weary, heartless and dead. On the other hand, when, in my return, I took an account of the societies in Yorkshire, chiefly under the care of John Nelson, one of the *old* way, I found them all alive, strong, and vigorous of soul, believing, loving, and praising God their Saviour; and increased in number from eighteen or nineteen hundred to upwards of three thousand. These had been continually fed with wholesome food. From the beginning they had been taught *both the Law and the Gospel*. 'God loves *you*; therefore love and obey *Him*. Christ died for *you*; therefore die to sin. Christ is risen;

therefore rise in the image of God. Christ liveth evermore; therefore live to God, till you live with Him in glory'." Unless one reads the whole lengthy letter, which is quoted by Tyerman,⁴⁷ this seems to be strange theology, and a lack of clearness in regard to the uses of the Law; but our point is that Wesley directed attention to John Nelson as a man who used effectively both Law and Gospel.

John Nelson was a strongly-built man with the round face of the Saxon. His simple, sturdy manner of expression reminds one of John Bunyan, the famous lay preacher of Bedford. Nelson, with all his seriousness, was good-natured, displaying a strong sense of humor in his private conversation, and a man possessed of an unusual degree of common sense. Wesley always looked upon him as a man of sound, practical judgment.

Few men have suffered so much as did John Nelson, and his only offense was that of preaching salvation by grace alone. In the eighteenth century unordained men were not supposed to preach. Nelson was beaten by mobs and cast into jails. In York a mob of ruffians seized him, beat him until he was unconscious, dragged him through the streets by the hair, and were about to cast him into an old well when the screams of a woman caused them to change their plan and hurl him into a ditch instead. No amount of persecution could silence him. When beaten by a mob, he would drag his battered, bruised body to his next preaching station and deliver his sermon as fearlessly as ever. John Nelson's *Journal* was published in 1745, shortly after his death, and his biography was written early in the nineteenth century by his grandson.⁴⁸

John Fletcher, (1729-1785)

Of John Fletcher of Madeley, John Wesley said: "Such a burning and shining light, instead of being confined to a country village, ought to shine in every corner of the land." John Fletcher was born in Nyon, Switzerland, and his true name was Jean Guillaume de la Fléchère, and his family has

⁴⁷ Luke Tyerman, *Life and Times of John Wesley*, (London, 1870-71), vol. 2, p. 131.

⁴⁸ *Memoirs of John Nelson*, (Birmingham, 1807). See also Luke Tyerman, *op. cit.*

been traced from the ancient house of Savoy. His parents sought to make a clergyman of him, but as a youth he was interested in the Army. He enlisted, and was ordered to go to Brazil. Just before joining the ship that was to take the troops overseas, he met with an accident and was obliged to remain behind. The ship was lost at sea. After trying in vain to get into active service in Portugal and Flanders, he decided to go to England. He learned the language and became tutor to a family in Shropshire. He became deeply interested in an ascetic form of religion, fasting and practicing other forms of austerity that weakened him in body.

Mr. Fletcher was ordained in 1757 and presented to the parish of Madeley, a mining village in Shropshire. In this uninviting village, surrounded by mountains of coal slag and rows of smoking brick kilns, John Fletcher lived from 1760 until his death in 1785. While there he watched the building of a bridge across the Severn, believed to be the first iron bridge in the world. The parish church, in Fletcher's day, was an ancient Norman building, and within its thick stone walls he preached his remarkable sermons. He became acquainted with John Wesley and became a close friend of the great leader. This is noteworthy, for while Wesley had many admirers, he had few close personal friends. Fletcher's zeal in the performance of his parish duties is almost without an equal. Although an exceptional preacher, yet he rose at five in the morning and went through the streets of Madeley ringing a bell and inviting people to the church. His heart-searching sermons bore excellent fruit, and gradually the rough workers from the collieries, the clay pits and the brick yards became devoted Christians. Fletcher found time now and then to accompany Wesley on his preaching tours, and from 1768 to 1771 he was principal of the Countess of Huntingdon's evangelical training school at Trevecca, bearing patiently his double duties without neglecting either his parish or the college.

He became involved unwillingly in an acrimonious dispute that threatened to disrupt the entire evangelical movement. In their zeal for the doctrine of justification by faith alone, some of Wesley's associates went to extremes and at least gave the impression to their hearers that good works

were to be held in contempt. John Wesley was aroused, and his usual calm judgment failed him for the time being. He expressed himself in a document that is synergistic without question. The Countess of Huntingdon, a rigid Calvinist, was shocked. She determined to cleanse her college of all who might be tainted with this new heresy in their midst. Every master, tutor and student was called upon to express his attitude, in writing, toward the points in dispute. The Conference, including Wesley himself, were called upon to recant. A meeting of protest was called, but the excitement abated, and barely twenty people were present. Augustus M. Toplady, the great hymn-writer, expressed himself in bitter terms, and Thomas Olivers, another writer of hymns, became wrought up. Of all the group the calmest man was John Fletcher. While others were hurling vitriolic epithets at one another, Fletcher wrote and spoke calmly and kindly, and proved that a controversy need not degenerate into name-calling, no matter how strongly one may feel in regard to the matters under dispute. An outgrowth of the controversy was Fletcher's *Five Checks to Antinomianism*. While certain statements cannot be accepted, yet none will deny that Fletcher's *Five Checks* deserves its place among the historic documents of Christian literature.

Fletcher preached in English and French with equal ease. Although a Swiss by birth, yet he was able to use the English language with admirable precision, whether in speaking or in writing. He had a good speaking voice, and a slight foreign accent remained with him throughout his life. His sermons were always evangelical and strongly spiritual. He was a man of singular gentleness of spirit, called by all who knew him "the saintly Fletcher"; nevertheless he could, upon occasion, preach the Law and all its terrors, as well as the comforting Gospel. When drawn into a controversy he never shirked his duty; and his treatment of his opponents was always gentlemanly, but with a firm insistence upon the truths that he believed were Scriptural. Robert Hall called him "a seraph who burned with the ardor of divine love, and sounded all the depths of Christian piety." Even though he had an excellent speaking voice and all the gifts of a persuasive orator, he guarded

himself against all temptation to use these gifts merely to awaken the admiration of his hearers. Extremely modest in private life, he was fearless in the pulpit. He visited places of worldly revelry and preached to the people whom he found there, urging them to turn from the tarnished tinsel of the frivolous world and live a life that finds its greatest pleasure in following the Saviour. He preached in jails and workhouses, and at public executions. Once, when a Frenchman was being hanged, Fletcher persuaded the officers to wait until he had preached with appealing eloquence in the French language for the benefit of the condemned man and his friends.

All who knew John Fletcher were surprised that so gifted a man should be content to remain in an obscure and unattractive mining village and devote his rare talents to the rough people who attended his church. Fletcher felt that he had a duty toward those people; and the grimy rows of colliery houses, the heaps of coal slag, the clay pits and the dreary smoke of the brick kilns which blotted out the sun at mid-afternoon were home to him. Nominally a clergyman of the Church of England all his days, and adhering to the theology, liturgy and customs of that denomination, at the same time his religious beliefs were modified by his Methodist leaning, and it was Methodism of the Arminian type, rather than the Calvinism of Whitefield and the Countess of Huntingdon.

Southey declared that "no age ever produced a man of more fervent piety, or more perfect charity, and no church ever possessed a more apostolic minister." Voltaire, the scoffer, in an effort to prove that a mere human being can keep the whole Law perfectly, declared that Fletcher of Madeley had lived a sinless life. In a memorial sermon John Wesley said of Fletcher: "'Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright; for the end of that man is peace.' . . . I was intimately acquainted with him for above thirty years. I conversed with him morning, noon and night, without the least reserve, during a journey of many hundred miles; and, in all that time, I never heard him speak one improper word, nor saw him do an improper action. To conclude: Many exemplary men have I known, holy in heart and life, within

fourscore years; but one equal to him I have not known: one so inwardly and outwardly devoted to God. So unblamable a character, in every respect, I have not found either in Europe or America; nor do I expect to find such another such on this side of Eternity.”⁴⁹ In comparing John Fletcher and the peerless George Whitefield Wesley said: “He was full as much called to sound an alarm through all the nation as Mr. Whitefield himself; nay, he was far better qualified for that important work. He had a far more striking person; equal good breeding; an equally winning address; together with a richer flow of fancy; a stronger understanding; a far greater treasure of learning, both in language, philosophy, philology and divinity; and above all, a more deep and constant communion with the Father, and with the Son Jesus Christ.”⁵⁰ Whitefield had been in his tomb beneath the pulpit of the Presbyterian church in Newburyport, Mass., for fifteen years, and Fletcher had just died. Perhaps John Wesley’s sense of perspective was dislocated temporarily by the death of his great friend Fletcher. Every man who has been asked to write an obituary, or to preach a funeral sermon, has realized the danger of overstatement.

Fletcher’s last visit to the Conference was touching. Prematurely old, wasted to a mere skeleton by tuberculosis, and looking like an alabaster effigy from a tomb in the side aisle of an ancient church, Fletcher was led to the platform. “In an instant the whole assembly stood up, and Wesley advanced to meet his almost seraphic friend. The apparently dying man began to address the brave itinerants, and, before he had uttered a dozen sentences, one and all were bathed in tears. Wesley, fearing that Fletcher was speaking too much, abruptly knelt at his side and began to pray. Down fell the whole of Wesley’s preachers and joined in the devotion of their great leader.”⁵¹ Wesley had selected

⁴⁹. John Wesley, *A Sermon Preached on Occasion of the Death of the Rev. John Fletcher, Vicar of Madeley, Shropshire*, a pamphlet, London, 1786); pp. 21-22.

⁵⁰. Luke Tyerman, *The Life and Times of John Wesley*, (London, 1870-71), vol. 3, p. 150.

⁵¹. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 247.

Fletcher as his successor, but it was to be otherwise. Fletcher died at the age of 56, and Wesley attained the age of almost 88 years. Fletcher's collected writings were published in 1803 and again in 1836. His *Five Checks to Antinomianism* has found a lasting place in religious literature. At least four biographies have been written.⁵² It is a mistake, however, to say that he is of the same stock as the Scottish Fletchers, whose correct designation is Mac-an-Leistear of Glenorchy, and whose *duthus* is at the castle of Achallader, not far from the upper end of Loch Lomond. This ancient family, once numerous, were the original inhabitants of Glenorchy, antedating the MacGregors and the Campbells. Fletcher of Madeley was a descendent of the well-known house of Savoy.

Thomas Coke, (1747-1814)

Thomas Coke, one of the five great leaders of Methodism, and the man who caused it to become a world-wide movement, was born in 1747 at Brecon, Wales. He was educated at Jesus College, Oxford, where he was graduated in 1770, and where he received his doctor's degree in 1775. He received ordination in the Church of England and served as curate of South Petherton, Somerset. He began his career as an ardent High Churchman, and it was only with great effort that he could treat civilly the unfortunate Dissenter who visited his church. A friend gave him copies of Wesley's sermons and journal and he began to read them with a mind full of prejudice. However, he soon became distrustful of his former reliance upon the outward observance of churchly ordinances, and to feel a deep concern in regard to his own soul, and the souls of his congregation. He met a devout Methodist lay preacher who did much to quiet his distress. He returned to South Petherton and began to preach evangelical sermons with all the fervor of his Welsh nature. His church became crowded, yet there were many people in the village who resented his intense

⁵² John Wesley, *Life of the Rev. John Fletcher*, (London, 1786); Luke Tyerman, *Fletcher of Madeley, his Life, Letters and Labours*, (London, 1882); F. W. Macdonald, *Life of Fletcher of Madeley*, (London, 1885); Jos. Benson, *Life of the Rev. John de la Fléchère*, London, 1805). J. Maratt, *John Fletcher*, (1902).

zeal, and who accused him of having introduced Methodist ideas into the congregation. In 1776 a mob took possession of his church, rang the peal of bells so loudly that he was unable to preach his sermon, and drove him from the building. He preached his sermon in the open air. On the following Sunday an attempt was made to stone him, and he was driven from the parish.

Dr. Coke went up to London and preached in one of John Wesley's chapels. He visited Ireland in 1782 and presided over the Conference, returning there from time to time and directing the work in that country. He proved to be so valuable a helper that he took his place with John Wesley, Whitefield, Fletcher and Charles Wesley as a leader of the movement. He was a man of intense missionary zeal, and he thought of Methodism in terms of a world movement.

Methodism in America owes much to Dr. Coke. Wesley sent Joseph Pilmore and Richard Boardman to New York and Philadelphia in 1769. Devereux Jarratt, an Episcopal clergyman of Bath parish, Dinwiddie County, Virginia, was a man with Methodistic sympathies, and he did much to prepare the way for Dr. Coke and his fellow worker, Francis Asbury. However, the American Revolution broke out, and it became known that John Wesley looked upon the Americans as rebels, and had compared them to drunkards and libertines. Both Episcopalians and Methodists of British birth were suspected of disloyalty, and some of them were compelled to leave their fields of activity, and hundreds were left without spiritual care.

John Wesley soon realized that he had a duty toward those whom he had called "rebels," and he appealed to the bishops to ordain at least one man and send him to America. This petition was refused. On another occasion a delegate was sent from America to England, calling attention to the fact that large areas in America were without spiritual care. It was impossible to receive the Sacraments because of a lack of clergymen who had been duly ordained by the bishops. The English bishops did not seem disposed to help the Americans, and the delegate was made to wait for two years before any action was taken. Benjamin Franklin declared: "A hundred years hence, when people are more

enlightened, 'twill be wondered at that men in America, qualified by their learning and piety to pray for and instruct their neighbours, should not be permitted to do it till they have made a voyage of 6000 miles to ask leave of a cross old gentleman at Canterbury."

In 1784 John Wesley resolved that something must be done. At the age of 82 he risked his reputation by ordaining three men without the assistance of a bishop. He ordained Dr. Coke as superintendent for America, and Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey as presbyters. Upon learning of this, Charles Wesley, always a High Churchman, was furious. He wrote a stinging letter of protest to his brother, and there were other Methodists who looked upon it as the act of an old man in his dotage. Coke went to America and ordained Francis Asbury as superintendent, and three years later the two, Coke and Asbury, began to call themselves bishops, much to the displeasure of John Wesley, who urged them not to use the term.

Returning again to England, Dr. Coke was very active there, and when John Wesley died he became one of the influential leaders of Methodism. He crossed the Atlantic 18 times, in a day when ships were small, travel tedious and the dangers of the voyage considerable. In one respect Coke was greater than Wesley, for Wesley might have been content to reform the British Isles, while Coke had a vision of a religious awakening that should extend around the world. He visited the West Indies, where he established a number of missions and built up a strong following. "Methodism is the product of many forces," says Dr. Fitchett, one of its distinguished modern historians. "Whitefield set it the example of an heroic aggressiveness, Fletcher coloured its theology, Charles Wesley taught it to sing, John Wesley was the central flame of its zeal and the shaping brain of its ecclesiastical form, but Coke gave it geographical range. He forbade it to be insular."⁵³

Dr. Coke was a thick-set little Welshman, dynamic, good-natured, eloquent and with the gift of powerful personality. He was a man of tact and good judgment, a uni-

⁵³. W. H. Fitchett, *Wesley and his Century*, (London, 1906), p. 396.

versity man, and with the habits and bearing of a gentleman. He was a man of social position, and his personal income of \$6000 a year was devoted freely to his missionary work. As a preacher he had the fire, the directness of appeal and the unusual persuasiveness for which his race is famous. Wesley was fully aware of his valuable qualities and considered him one of the Lord's greatest gifts to the Methodist movement. Dr. Coke proved himself a fine administrator to the last. At the age of 70 he visited the Conference and pleaded for missionary work in East India. When others seemed reluctant to go, he offered to go himself, and he contributed \$30,000 of his own personal fortune to the cause. Under his direction a ship was fitted for the voyage, and helpers were recruited. They set out for East India, with Dr. Coke as their leader, but before they reached India, Dr. Coke was found dead in his cabin. He had evidently died in his sleep.

Together with Francis Asbury Dr. Coke drew up the *Doctrines and Discipline* of the American Methodist Church. His other writings include a six-volume *Commentary on the Old and New Testaments*, (1801-03), a history of the West Indies,⁵⁴ several books of sermons and, together with Henry Moore, a life of Wesley.⁵⁵ His own account of the first five voyages to America has been published,⁵⁶ and several biographies have been written.⁵⁷ John Wesley called Dr. Coke his "right hand man," and of the five founders of Methodism he stands foremost in missionary zeal. During his lifetime the Methodists needed no missionary treasury, for Coke supplied all such funds freely from his own private funds. It was fitting that this great missionary and eloquent preacher should die at sea and be buried at sea, for he belongs not to England, not to America, but to all the world.

⁵⁴. *History of the West Indies*, 3 vols., (Liverpool, 1808-11).

⁵⁵. Thos. Coke and Henry Moore, *Life of John Wesley*, (London, 1792).

⁵⁶. *Extracts from the Journals of the Rev. Dr. Coke's Visits to America*, (London, 1793).

⁵⁷. S. Drew, *Life of the Rev. Thomas Coke*, (New York, 1837); J. W. Ethridge, *Life of Thomas Coke*, (London, 1860); W. Moister, *The Father of our Missions*, (London, 1871); See also Luke Tyerman, *Life and Times of John Wesley*, 3 vols., (London, 1870-71), vol. III, pp. 214, 378-382, 426-448, 478-485, 542-544.

CHAPTER IX

THE EVANGELICAL GROUP

NOT ALL of the evangelical clergy of the eighteenth century were members of the Methodist group. During those remarkable middle decades of the eighteenth century men appeared in various parts of England and began to preach sin and grace. In England we find such men as Grimshaw, Romaine, Berridge, Venn, Hervey, Newton and Toplady, all of whom were contemporaries of Whitefield and Wesley. A few years later were such men as Cecil, Simeon, Carey, Hall, Robertson and Hill. Early in the century the movement appeared in Scotland under the leadership of Boston, the Erskines, Robe and McCulloch. It was made known in Wales by Griffith Jones, Rowlands, Harris, Williams of Pant-y-celyn, Charles of Bala and toward the end of the century by Evans. Meanwhile Walker of Truro was stirring Cornwall, and Frelinghuysen, the remarkable Tennent family and Edwards appeared in the American colonies. These men appeared as evangelical witnesses after an age of spiritual decline, and most of them were contemporaries. Had an evangelical conference been called in the year 1750, no less than 22 of the 35 great leaders of the evangelical movement might have been present.

Although the men whose names we have mentioned were not closely associated with Wesley and Whitefield, yet they were friendly toward them, and in many cases welcomed them to their pulpits. They were remarkable men, for they had grown up in a period of spiritual apathy, and their theological training, in most cases, had been received in a rationalistic atmosphere. Through their own study of God's Word they had arrived at certain truths, and in scattered places they began to preach sin and grace, and usually with remarkable success. Not all of them arrived at a complete understanding of evangelical truth, for some of them were clear in regard to *sola gratia*, and yet confused in regard to universal grace. Others preached individual justification and yet failed to grasp the fact that this has its basis in a universal justification as old as Calvary. Incomplete as their preaching often was, yet they declared enough saving

truth that thousands of people were brought to repentance and faith.

The truths that these men held in common were: the fall of man; the complete inability of man to save himself by his own reason or strength; the offer of the grace of God through Jesus Christ; the fact that Jesus Christ kept perfectly all the demands of the Law; the imputation of this righteousness of the Lord to the believer; the death of Jesus Christ on the cross for the sin of the world; His resurrection and ascension; the work of the Holy Ghost in applying to the believer the benefits of our Lord's righteousness and death; the necessity of repentance; justification by grace through faith; the believer's assurance of salvation through Jesus Christ. While most of their contemporaries were preaching lifeless sermons on mere conventional morality, these men, with only the Scriptures as their guide, were preaching stirring doctrinal sermons, and laying utmost stress upon sin and grace and upon repentance and faith. They saw the need of individual salvation, and of repentance rather than mere outward reformation. Despite certain shortcomings, the preaching of these men was as sunshine breaking through the clouds after a long period of darkness. Grimshaw, in a little village among the rough Yorkshire moors, Venn in the crowded industrial city of Huddersfield, Romaine in London, Berridge in Everton, Hervey in Weston Favell, Walker in Cornwall and Rowlands and Harris in Wales, all preached with remarkable success and transformed their respective communities into great centers of evangelical influence. In their century few people had ventured more than a few miles from their native villages, yet when these men preached, men and women were willing to travel all night long over muddy roads and across wild moors. So great was the demand for their preaching that some of these evangelical witnesses were obliged to itinerate during the week, and in some cases to preach from ten to twelve times every week, in as many different places. J. C. Ryle, who has given posterity a valuable account of these men and their labors,¹ has declared again and again that a

¹ J. C. Ryle, *The Christian Leaders of the Past Century*, (London, 1869).

dozen men awakened all England. They did it without the aid of boards or committees or denominational machinery. They depended, Ryle assures us, solely upon the power of the Word of God. In the early stages of the movement there were but a dozen men, each with only his Bible as his equipment.

These men preached both Law and Gospel, although they were not always clear in regard to the distinction between the two. They described sin in all its hideousness, going much farther in this respect than is the fashion in many places in our own day. They described man's utter helplessness in ridding himself of sin's foul pollution. To these men the devil was very real, and his power over his servants absolute. In their preaching these evangelical clergy did not condemn sin in the aggregate: they made it seem personal. Again and again do their hearers declare, "His sermon seemed to be directed to me alone."

The evangelical clergy preached the Gospel as well as the Law. In describing their preaching J. C. Ryle says that they "taught constantly that Christ's death upon the cross was the only satisfaction for man's sin; and that, when Christ died, He died as our Substitute — 'the just for the unjust.' This, in fact, was the cardinal point in almost all their sermons. They never taught the modern doctrine that Christ's death was only a great example of self-sacrifice. They saw in it something far higher, greater, deeper than this. They saw in it the payment of man's mighty debt to God. They loved Christ's person; they rejoiced in Christ's promises; they urged men to walk after Christ's example. But the one subject above all others concerning Christ, which they delighted to dwell on, was the atoning blood which Christ shed for us on the cross. Furthermore, the reformers of the last century taught constantly the great doctrine of justification by faith. They told men that faith was the one thing needful in order to obtain an interest in Christ's work for their souls; that before we believe, we are dead, and have no interest in Christ; and that the moment we do believe, we live, and have a plenary title to all Christ's benefits. Justification by virtue of church membership — justification without believing or trusting — were notions to

which they gave no countenance. Everything, if you will believe, and the moment you believe; nothing, if you do not believe, — was the very marrow of their preaching.”²

This conception of Justification is unsatisfactory because it fails to mention the fact that Justification is universal as well as personal. Entirely apart from the attitude of the individual human being, God declared all the world justified for Christ's sake, and all sins forgiven for Christ's sake. The foundation of this universal Justification is the grace of God, which begins before the world was formed. God provided a way of redemption, and at His own appointed time He sent His only begotten Son, Jesus Christ, Who accomplished two things for us: He kept all the Law as our Substitute, and on the cross He suffered the punishment that we deserved. “Therefore as by the offense of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of One the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life. For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of One shall many be made righteous.” This redemption was accomplished when our Saviour was upon earth in visible form, and it was finished completely on Calvary. When a sinner says, “I believe that Jesus Christ is my personal Saviour,” at that moment this universal or objective Justification becomes his own. He was already forgiven through the merits of Jesus Christ, but when faith comes into his heart, this Justification becomes his personal possession.

Although these men never came to a complete understanding of evangelical truth, yet when one considers their rationalistic background and the meagre character of the theological training of the eighteenth century, it is remarkable that they were able to grasp as much evangelical truth as they did. It is proof that the Bible is not an obscure Book; and if they did not understand revealed truth in its completeness, it was due to the fact that they were never able to rid themselves entirely of the rationalistic influences under which they grew up. While one can only regret their shortcomings, yet we must rejoice in the fact that the Lord

². *Op. cit.*, 1899 ed., p. 27.

blessed their testimony, incomplete as it was, and used these men together with Wesley, Whitefield and Fletcher, to awaken a nation that had long walked in spiritual ignorance. According to the written testimony of many contemporary witnesses, these men preached powerfully and with a ring of conviction. They presented the truth as they understood it, and made no effort to modify it so as to gratify the intellectual vanity of their hearers. Because of the uncompromising character of their preaching Dean Zabriskie calls Grimshaw, Berridge, Romaine, Hervey, Walker and Venn the "Awakeners," for "the basis of their message was man's sinfulness and inability to win for himself eternal life," "a belief in the gracious mercy of God and the atonement wrought by Christ," that "all God's forgiveness was appropriated by faith," and "that to those who had faith, God would give the Holy Spirit to renew their characters and to bestow eternal life."³ The same writer calls the leaders of the latter part of the eighteenth century the "Pastors and Organizers,"⁴ and to this later group belong Simeon, Cecil, Newton, Scott, the Milner brothers and the Clapham group.⁵ They did not neglect the awakening of the secure sinner, but their chief task was that of indoctrination.

While the evangelicals were always a minority group, yet they exerted a wide influence in Britain. They accepted the inspiration of the Bible and laid great stress upon its teachings, finding in it a source of all doctrine and right living. They testified against the laxity of their time, and against Socinianism and antinomianism. The clergy of the Evangelical Group led upright lives and they were faithful in the discharge of their duties, thus setting an example to the drinking, fox-hunting type of parson who lived an indolent life and neglected to instruct his people. The evangelicals took a lively interest in missionary, tract and Bible societies. They were active in home and foreign mission work, and through their influence several world-wide missionary and Bible societies were organized. They estab-

³ A. C. Zabriskie, *Anglican Evangelicalism*, (Phila., 1943), pp. 6-13.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 13-18.

⁵ For an account of the Clapham group see John Telford, *A Sect that Moved the World*, (London, 1907).

lished the so-called ragged schools for the children of the slums, they opened parochial schools for the children of their own parishioners, and orphanages for homeless children. Throughout the eighteenth century these men maintained an honorable record, and to this period belong many of the best religious writings and the finest hymns of English origin.

These men did not allow a shallow moralism to occupy their time when in the pulpit. As one pages through their printed sermons, (of which the main library in New York City has an excellent collection), one finds such subjects as these: Original Sin; Man's Inability to Save Himself; Justification by Faith; Good Works the Fruit, Not the Cause, of Salvation; The Demands of the Law Fulfilled by Jesus Christ; Jesus Christ the Friend of Sinners. Such sermons had been preached but rarely during the long period of spiritual decline, and the people responded gladly. Churches long empty were filled to capacity, and some of the evangelical leaders were compelled to divide their parishes into districts, and to preach as many as ten and twelve sermons a week. Although it was considered improper to preach within the parish boundaries of another clergyman, these men were almost compelled to do so. People from other parishes, where evangelical preaching was not the rule, came to them with urgent invitations; and the evangelical preachers made use of barns, private homes and the open fields. Unfaithful clergymen condemned such men, denouncing them as fanatics, and even going so far as to circulate exaggerated accounts of their preaching. They declared that the great congregations that assembled to hear the evangelical clergy were made up of the scum of the community, that such people shouted and screamed, that they made a great show of repentance, but went straightway to their old ways. In answer to such slanderous reports one can only point to the sober testimony of scores of reputable men who knew these evangelical preachers personally and heard them preach again and again.⁶

⁶ Such testimonies are quoted in J. C. Ryle, *op. cit.*, and in G. R. Balleine, *History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England*, (London, 1908); J. S. Stephen, *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*, (London, 1883); C. J. Abbey and J. H. Overton, *The English Church in the Eighteenth Century*, (London, 1878); L. E. Binns, *The Evangelical Movement in the English Church*, (London, 1928).

These great preachers of the eighteenth century were much superior to the religious leaders of the previous century, not only in their understanding of evangelical truth but in the fervor with which they proclaimed it. However, the writer of these lines must make it clear that he does not endorse everything that they taught. When judged by the Scriptures, there were certain points upon which they were in error, as well as important truths which they did not understand clearly. It is only honest to mention these facts, and to regret that their printed sermons, (so admirable in contrast to the weak sermons of many of their contemporaries), cannot be said to be entirely without fault. Nevertheless these men preached enough Scriptural truth that an unprejudiced observer can believe that thousands of people were awakened from their spiritual indifference and sin, and brought to a saving knowledge of the redemption which is in Jesus Christ alone.

William Grimshaw, (1708-1763)

One of the prominent members of the evangelical group that appeared within the Church of England was William Grimshaw. He was born in Brindle, Lancs., in 1708. After attending the grammar schools at Blackburn and Hesketh, he entered Christ College, Cambridge, from which he was graduated in 1730. He was religiously inclined in his boyhood days, but at Cambridge he fell in with a group of young men from whom he learned to drink, swear and gamble.

In spite of his bad habits he was given deacon's orders in 1731, and a little later he was ordained and became the pastor of Todmorden parish. At the outset he led a worldly life, drinking, cursing, and wasting his time playing at cards and going on hunting and fishing trips while his parish duties were sorely neglected. He excused himself at the time, declaring that he was careful in whose presence he swore and cursed, and when he was drunk he says that it was his custom to "sleep it off before he came home."

In 1734, when 26 years of age, Grimshaw began to study the Scriptures seriously. There he discovered certain threatenings of the Law, which brought him to such a state

of terror that he could hardly perform his parish duties, neither did he dare mention his disturbed state of conscience, lest his parishioners think him mad. "But this was the work of the Law upon his conscience, and the preparation of his soul for the Gospel of peace." After a considerable period of great distress, he found in the Gospel the promises of salvation to the most wretched sinner, and he laid hold of them with a God-given faith, rejoicing in the assurance of salvation through Jesus Christ. "I was now," he declared later, "willing to renounce myself, with every degree of fancied merit and ability, and to embrace Christ only for my All in All. O, what light and comfort did I now enjoy in my soul, and what a taste of the pardoning love of God." His preaching improved so greatly that his congregation crowded the church, which had been all but empty before. There was a ring of conviction in his words, and he made clear to his people not only the awful nature of sin, but the great truth of salvation through the merits of Jesus Christ. The great facts of Redemption, which he now declared to his people, brought about an awakening of religious interest in his own parish, and in the countryside for miles around.

In 1742 Mr. Grimshaw became perpetual curate of Haworth, Yorks. The term "parish" in those days included more than a local congregation. The parish of Haworth was an extensive territory, including four small villages and the populous farming community surrounding them. When William Grimshaw went to Haworth parish, most of the people seldom attended a church service because of the "cold lectures upon lean, modern morality" which a listless generation of clergymen inflicted upon their people in lieu of evangelical truth. After the coming of Grimshaw the word of his preaching spread quickly, and the church was filled. In a short time "a growing number who approved and prized his ministry were soon distinguished not only by a change in their lives and sentiments, but in their tempers and conduct. Sin was, in many instances, forsaken and discountenanced; the drunkard became sober; the idle industrious, profaneness gave place to prayer and riot to

decorum.”⁷ Not only was there an outward improvement in the daily lives of the people, but under Grimshaw’s preaching the people became acquainted with the great truths of God’s Word, and throughout the large parish men, women and young people studied the Scriptures daily.

Grimshaw was tireless in his efforts to instruct his people. He established two circuits and made it a rule to make the rounds of one circuit each week. He divided the year into alternate weeks, one of which he termed his “busy week” and the other his “idle week.” During the idle week he preached twelve to fourteen times, and in the course of his busy week he preached no less than twenty-four to thirty times. The Lord had given him great physical endurance, and he carried out his rigorous program month after month, and year after year. Although at this time he had not yet met Wesley and Whitefield, yet his methods were in some respects similar to theirs. His labor of preparation was made lighter because he was able, in going from one hamlet to another, to preach a sermon again and again. George Whitefield once declared that no sermon is really effective until it has been preached forty times or more. Grimshaw learned this lesson by experience, and after preaching the same sermon from twenty to thirty times in a single week, changing its details to suit the immediate occasion, his impressiveness and urgency of appeal increased from day to day.

One of the secrets of the overwhelming effect of the preaching of Whitefield, Wesley, Grimshaw and other such men is due, humanly speaking, to the fact that their sermons improved with repetition. They prepared carefully, and their sermons improved with frequent repetition. If a man preaches the same sermon four times a day in four different places, seven days in the week, even though he may possess but average gifts, his words will soon take on a ring of assurance that will prove impressive.

Grimshaw’s labors bore fruit. His preaching was definite in character, and he did not neglect indoctrination.

⁷ John Newton, *Life of William Grimshaw*, (London, 1814 edition), pp. 48-49).

When he went to Haworth in the year 1742, his communicants numbered but twelve. At the end of twenty years this number had increased to 1200, even though Haworth is a country parish in the bleak Yorkshire moors. As Grimshaw visited the moorland cottages, he found people who hesitated to attend church because of their shabby clothing. He announced a third service each Sunday, in the parish church, and like Norman Macleod of a century later, invited the people to attend in their rough working clothes, which were all that some of them possessed. This service for the poor of the parish soon drew many people. He is often described as Yorkshire's first itinerating preacher, and wherever he discovered a genuine hunger for evangelical truth, he established another preaching station. "He thought that his tongue should never lie still in guilty silence, whilst he could speak to the honour of that God Who had done so much for his soul."

Grimshaw found kindred spirits in William Romaine and Henry Venn, whom he invited to preach in his parish. Although he never identified himself with the Methodist group who were still within the Church of England, yet he welcomed Wesley and Whitefield to his parish and invited them to preach in his church. Grimshaw received many invitations to preach throughout Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire and Derbyshire, and he often visited these counties in addition to his heavy burden of work in Haworth parish. These visits aroused opposition on the part of the indolent type of clergy, who looked upon it as unwelcome intrusion of their territory, and who branded such men as Grimshaw, Romaine and Venn "enthusiasts." On one occasion he accompanied John Wesley on a short preaching tour, and at Colne they were attacked by an angry mob, severely handled, tossed into a ditch and left for dead.

When he died, Grimshaw left a remarkable affirmation of faith, in 26 articles, which his friend Henry Venn read at his funeral. It has been printed in full, and it deserves to be known more widely than through the pages of the somewhat rare works in which it may be found. In positive language he declares his belief in the creation and fall of

man, in original sin, in the natural enmity of the carnal mind against God, in man's utterly lost condition by nature, in his total inability to help himself by his own will or merit, in the plan of Redemption provided by the Holy Trinity from the foundation of the earth, in the Incarnation of Jesus Christ the Son of God, in His perfect obedience to the demands of the Law, in the imputation of His perfect righteousness to unrighteous man, in the Saviour's suffering and death for the sins of mankind, in His resurrection and ascension into Heaven, in justification by faith through grace, in the Person and work of the Holy Ghost (which Grimshaw sets forth very fully), and in eternal life. In this admirable confession of faith, Grimshaw quotes the opening lines of the hymn "Jesus, Thy Blood and Righteousness." Although the document contains a gap or two, yet it is a remarkable statement when one considers the fact that it was drafted in a period of great religious darkness, and by a man whose early theological training was meagre. It was just these great truths that Grimshaw preached daily for a period of almost thirty years. In an age of spiritual drought it was just these truths that brought joy to a generation of people suffering from what is called in Scotland a great spiritual thirst. They had been deprived of evangelical preaching by the indolent and worldly-minded clergy of those days, and evangelical truth might have died out entirely had it not been for a few serious clergymen such as William Grimshaw, and for the fact that there were many homes in England and Scotland where devout men and women still read their Bibles and impressed their truths upon their children. The persuasive preaching of William Grimshaw, and of other men of his kind (unfortunately far too few), found a ready response in the hearts of the Bible-reading Christians in the community, and gradually extended to the more careless majority of the parish. In a space of twenty-one years, Grimshaw's preaching and teaching transformed a rough moorland population into the delightful spot so beautifully described by the three Bronte sisters, who spent much of their lives there and whose father was vicar of Haworth early in the nineteenth century. An excellent biography of Grimshaw, although somewhat brief, was written by John

Newton of Olney,⁸ and another by Spence Hardy.⁹ J. C. Ryle's excellent *Christian Leaders of the Last Century* contains three chapters on Grimshaw and his work. John Newton, who was well acquainted with Grimshaw, declares that the great Haworth pastor was a learned man, and quite able to display his learning in the pulpit, yet he deliberately adopted a simple style because of the fact that his hearers were people of limited education. He preached to them in the language of the market place, employing expressions suited to the dullest understanding, and illustrations drawn from the homely occupations of their daily lives. Some of his expressions are quaint, others commonplace, but no man of his time was more able to express the great truths of God's Word in language that was understood readily by his unpolished, rustic congregations.

As Grimshaw's evangelical preaching became known, people came from afar to hear him. Often they appealed to him after the service was over to come to their communities and preach. They told him of large parishes without resident pastors, and of other places where the rector or vicar spent much time in hunting, fishing, drinking and gambling, and very little time in preparing their sermons. People begged Grimshaw to visit such places, and they offered him the use of their homes, or of large barns, or even their open fields. Grimshaw was unable to refuse such constant invitations, and thus it was that he visited villages, towns and large cities throughout Yorkshire, Lancashire, Derbyshire and Cheshire. He established local groups of evangelical Christians, appointed local leaders over them so that the people might be kept together during the intervals between his visits. Some of the clergy opposed him, and more than once he was attacked by rough mobs who pelted him with stones and sticks and scattered his congregations. On one occasion a group of clergymen, led by the archbishop, confronted him and accused him of preaching in the parishes of other men. The archbishop ordered him to preach a ser-

⁸. John Newton, *Particulars in the Life of the Rev. William Grimshaw*, (London, 1764).

⁹. R. S. Hardy, *William Grimshaw, Incumbent of Haworth*, (London, 1860).

mon on two hours' notice, but when Grimshaw saw that a large crowd had assembled outside, he went at once and preached in such a manner that even the archbishop was in tears. "I would to God that all the clergy in my diocese were like this good man," he declared.

Grimshaw died at the age of 55. An epidemic swept through his parish, and day and night he went among the sick and dying. He contracted a fever which proved fatal. Even though many of the clergy denounced him, yet he adhered firmly to the Church of England to his dying day. Unfortunately he published very little. Too often does posterity judge the worth of a great preacher by his published works rather than by the excellency of his spoken words. For this reason Grimshaw has not always received the full credit that he deserves, although we have the written testimony of a number of eminent contemporaries that he was one of the greatest preachers of the eighteenth century.

James Hervey, (1713-1758)

Another prominent member of the evangelical group within the Church of England was James Hervey. He was born at Hardingstone, Northampton, where his father was a clergyman. After attending a grammar school in Northampton he was sent, in 1730, to Lincoln College, Oxford. He arrived there a few months after John Wesley had been recalled as junior Fellow and moderator of the daily disputations. James Hervey did not show exceptional ability at the outset, for he was a lover of reading and gave too much of his attention to weighty subjects that were useful enough, but not a part of the curriculum. Among other things that engaged his time was the study of Hebrew grammar.

Hervey made the acquaintance of John Wesley, and of the members of the Holy Club, and these men influenced him. He was a young man of good deportment, but he had developed a dislike both for the doctrine of justification by faith and for the teaching of the imputation of the righteousness of Jesus Christ to the believer. Hervey was rationalistic at this period of his life, and he feared that the teaching of these doctrines would lead men to antinomianism. In his study of the Scriptures, the Saviour's teaching

in regard to the two great commandments of the Law attracted his attention. He came to the conclusion that he had not kept these, hence he was guilty in God's sight as the drunkard and the thief.

James Hervey took his degree in 1737, was ordained and given the curacy at Dummer, Hampshire. A year later he became curate at Stoke Abbey, in Devon, and in 1740 he was made curate at Bideford, Devon. Three years later he became his father's curate at Weston Favell, and when his father died in 1752 he became his successor. He was offered the living of Collingtree as well, but he declined it at first because of his dislike for pluralism. However, certain members of his family continued to urge him to accept it, and finally he yielded to their wishes, intending in all sincerity to give the most conscientious attention to both places. It was only due to failing health that he was prevented from doing this.

James Hervey preached every Sunday, and he introduced Wednesday evening preaching services as well. He would have preached daily throughout the surrounding country, and he longed to do so, but gradually failing health limited him to the three Sunday services in his own church. He died at the early age of 45, after a lingering illness, and while bedridden he often expressed his sincere regret that his bodily weakness made it impossible for him to preach daily. His inability to preach regularly at Collingtree, and in other nearby places, weighed heavily upon his conscience, and he often spoke sadly of the many poor sinners to whom he might have declared the good news of salvation through Jesus Christ.

As long as his waning strength permitted, this gentle, deeply religious man dragged himself to the church nearby and expounded the Scriptures to his congregation. He preached without notes, and arranged his sermons under two or three simple heads. At the end of each main division he quoted a pertinent proof-text, pausing so that his people might page through their Bibles and find it. He directed his people to turn down the corner of the page at every such proof-text, saying, "Now, after I am gone, if you forget my

sermon you cannot forget God's Word in this text, unless you wilfully throw your Bibles aside. Shew these to your children, or the absent part of your family, when you return home."

Mr. Hervey conducted daily devotions with his own family and his servants punctually at nine in the morning and eight in the evening. In the evening he expounded the Scriptures, and on the following morning he catechized each member of his family and each servant in turn on the exposition of the previous evening. After he was too ill to preach, a few members of his congregation were allowed to attend these daily devotions. At the time of afternoon tea, when the weather permitted, he made his way painfully to his garden, with a Hebrew Bible or a Greek Testament in his hand; and read a few verses, translated, and then expounded them to his family. Very often he invited five or six people of the village to attend these afternoon expositions.¹⁰

While essentially a Calvinist in his theology, yet James Hervey was a great admirer of Luther, whose works he often studied. He declared that it was through reading Luther's *Table-Talk* that he had learned to express his thoughts in the simplest possible language, so that the humblest servant or farm laborer could understand him. Before his health failed, his catechetical hours in the church drew many grown people as well as children. While he directed his questions to the children, yet he often framed them in such a manner that they applied to the lives of the older members of the congregation as well, rebuking with great gentleness their known sins, and showing them by quotations from the Word of God how they might correct their errors of doctrine and life. As he lay dying, James Hervey called in his family and servants and repeated in a clear voice Psalm 73, 26. Then, sitting up in his bed, he repeated 1 Corinthians 3, 22-23, and delivered a simple, eloquent sermon on this text. Thus the last words of this noted evangelical preacher were in the form of a testimony to his Saviour.

¹⁰. *Memoir of the Rev. James Hervey*, prefixed to *The Whole Works of James Hervey*, (London ed. of 1825), vol. 1, p. 16.
Ibid., pp. 17-18.

James Hervey's writings have been published in six volumes,¹¹ and of these two were famous, namely his *Meditations and Contemplations*,¹² which saw over 25 editions within 45 years, and his equally noted *Meditations among the Tombs*.¹³ These were both written before he had learned from Luther to express his thoughts in simple language, and their style is florid. However, they gained great popularity, and were to be found on the little shelf of Christian literature that was part of many an English home of a century or two ago. His *Meditations among the Tombs* is said to have been written after a visit to the old churchyard at Kilkhampton, in Cornwall. In addition to the collected works of Hervey, abridged editions have appeared from time to time,¹⁴ usually with a good memoir of his life by Birch, Maddock and others. A more recent account of his life was written by D. A. Harsha.¹⁵ Bishop Ryle includes a chapter on Hervey's life and influence in his *Christian Leaders of the Last Century*, and in his discussion he calls attention to a fact often overlooked when Hervey is mentioned, namely the influence of George Whitefield. Whitefield and Hervey were friends while at Oxford. After his graduation, Hervey was a diligent young curate, but like many others he laid utmost stress upon holiness of living. The doctrine of the active obedience of our Saviour, and the imputation of His righteousness to the believer, proved actually distasteful to Hervey. Whitefield had grasped this truth, and he wrote letter after letter to his friend Hervey, urging him to cast aside all thought of human merit, and to depend wholly upon the perfect righteousness of the Lord Jesus. Hervey ignored these letters at first, but George Whitefield continued to write, showing him from the Scriptures that our Saviour has fulfilled completely all the demands of the Law. Finally James Hervey realized the importance of this truth, and he wrote a letter to Whitefield

¹¹. *The Whole Works of the Rev. James Hervey*, 6 vols., (Edinburgh, 1769).

¹². 2 vols., (London, 1746-47).

¹³. (London, 1755).

¹⁴. Robt. Campbell, editor, *The Beauties of Hervey*, (Wilmington, 1796).

¹⁵. D. A. Harsha, *Life of James Hervey*, (Albany, 1865). See also John Brown, (Whitburn) *Life of James Hervey*, (Edinburgh, 1806).

declaring that he now was filled with shame and sorrow, for he had been preaching false doctrine. "I have dared to invade the glories of an all-sufficient Saviour, and to pluck the crown off His head. My writings and discourses have derogated from the honour, the everlasting, incommunicable honour of Jesus. They have presumed to give works a share in the redemption and recovery of a lost sinner. They have placed filthy rags on the throne of the Lamb, and by that means have debased the Saviour and exalted the sinner."¹⁶

The self-righteous young curate became a changed man. Daily he searched the Scriptures, and on Sunday he preached evangelical truth to his congregation. His years in office were few, but he attempted to make amends for his youthful blindness, and very few men have borne witness more fully to the active obedience of our Lord Jesus, by which He fulfilled all the requirements of the Law in our stead. This vital truth, so widely rejected in Hervey's day (and in our own day as well), became the central fact of all his preaching. Weakened by a malady which took his life at an early age, he was not able to engage in field preaching. His voice lacked strength, yet he preached with an intense persuasiveness, urging his hearers to cast aside all self-righteous arrogance and place their trust wholly in the merits and death of the Saviour.

Not content with preaching, he spent long hours writing letters not only to a wide circle of acquaintances, but to men and women whom he had never met personally. In all these letters he pleaded with those to whom he wrote to rid themselves of every thought of personal merit, and to come as poor sinners to the Lord of Righteousness. Hervey's *Meditations and Dialogues* are marred by their florid orateness, but his published letters, to be found in his complete *Works*, are gems of evangelical literature. If reprinted in a small volume today, they would not only attract wide attention, but since they contain so large a proportion of evangelical truth they would prove useful to thousands of people today who have not yet realized that the perfect righteousness of our Saviour has been imputed to the true believer. "Shall

¹⁶. J. C. Ryle, *Op. cit.*, 1899 ed., p. 338.

the Law lay anything to my charge?" asks Hervey in one of these incomparable letters. "That has been fully satisfied by the obedience and death of my divine Lord. Shall sin condemn me? That has all been fully borne, all been abolished, by the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world. Shall Satan accuse me? What will that avail when the Judge Himself justifies me, the Judge Himself pronounces me righteous! (See Rom. 8, 33-34; Gal. 3, 13; I Pet. 2, 24; Daniel 9, 24; John 1, 29). But shall I be pronounced righteous who have been and am a poor sinner? Hear what the Holy Ghost saith: 'Christ loved the Church and gave Himself for it, that He might present it to Himself a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing.' What reason have they to be afraid or ashamed who have neither spot nor wrinkle, nor any blemish? And such will be the appearance of those who are washed in Christ's blood, and clothed in Christ's righteousness. They will be presented faultless and with exceeding joy before the throne. (See Eph. 5, 25, 27; Jude 24)." It was just such letters as these that James Hervey wrote to scores of people. For years the dying man sat in his garden with a writing table before him, penning letter after letter to people in all parts of Britain and overseas. He died at the age of 45, and long after his death there were people throughout the British Isles, in America and in Canada who attributed their religious awakening to the letters of James Hervey of Weston Favell.

William Romaine, (1714-1795)

William Romaine, the best theologian of the evangelical group within the Church of England, was born of Huguenot parentage in 1714 at Hartlepool, near Durham. He was educated at Hart Hall and at Christ Church, Oxford, where he received his bachelor's degree in 1734 and his master's degree in 1737. He was at Oxford during the time that John Wesley was there, but there is no evidence that the two were acquainted. Romaine was ordained deacon in 1736 and priest in 1738. While yet a deacon he attracted attention because of an attack upon William Warburton's *Divine Legation*, and he set forth his views by means of two

sermons at Oxford. He served as curate in parishes at Lewtrenchard in Devon, at Banstead in Surrey and Horton in Middlesex. In 1747-1748 he gave evidence of his coming scholarship by publishing an edition of Mario di Calasio's Hebrew concordance.

Having become acquainted with the work of Wesley and Whitefield, he developed a friendly attitude toward the Methodist movement, although he remained closely associated with the Church of England all his days. He was inclined to follow Wesley at first, but from 1755 onward he was more disposed to accept the position of Whitefield and his Calvinism, although Romaine never became an extreme Calvinist as he is sometimes described.

In 1748 he was given a lectureship in St. George's, Botolph Lane and St. Botolph's, Billingsgate, London. A year later a lectureship in St. Dunstan's-in-the-West was conferred upon him. About the same time he became assistant morning preacher at St. George's, Hanover Square. By this time he had become one of London's most popular preachers. Complaints were made by the people of St. George's that his preaching attracted crowds of strangers who filled their pews so that the members of the congregation were unable to find seats. His Calvinism and his association with the Methodists met with disfavor among the bishops and the clergy, and he was deprived of St. George's and limited to an evening service at St. Dunstan's. Here he met with opposition from the churchwardens and was forced out, but the Countess of Huntingdon, who thought highly of him, appointed him one of her chaplains. In 1756 he was given the curacy at St. Olave's, Southwark, and in 1759 he was made curate of St. Bartholomew the Great, Smithfield. He became curate of Westminster Chapel in 1761, and in 1764 through the influence of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, he was made rector of St. Anne's, Blackfriars, and of St. Andrew's-by-the-Wardrobe.

Although his theological views led to frequent clashes with his fellow clergymen, yet he always remained popular with the people, who considered him one of the most gifted pulpit orators of the time. Churches were crowded to

capacity whenever and wherever he preached. From the beginning his preaching was evangelical. As early as 1741, three years after his ordination, he preached before the Lord Mayor of London, choosing the subject "No Salvation by the Law of Nature." He emphasized salvation through faith in Jesus Christ and His merits. This was but two years after George Whitefield had begun his preaching at Kingswood Common. Romaine declared that all teaching must be built upon the foundation of the Bible. He attached great importance to the fact that man is a fallen creature, standing in need of the all-sufficient grace of God and the merit of the Saviour. He preached justification by faith, as it is set forth by Geneva rather than by Luther. His curate, in a funeral sermon, declared that Romaine made Christ crucified his great theme through a long ministry at St. Andrew's Wardrobe and St. Anne's, Blackfriars. "God had formed him for natural elocution," his curate declared, "and simple eloquence. His voice possessed an admirable sweetness, his countenance a liveliness of expression, his eyes sparkled with delight, and every feature expressed the sensibility of his heart while engaged in his delightful work. His very countenance was a sermon. Yet all was natural and unaffected, for he took as much pains to simplify his style as many do to ornament and polish."¹⁷ His chief concern was to proclaim "the great fundamental truths of the Gospel."¹⁸

William Romaine was very strict and methodical in the management of his time. He had his breakfast promptly at 6 a.m., his mid-day meal at 1.30 and his evening meal at 7 p.m. He ate his breakfast with a Hebrew Psalter before him. At 9 a.m. and again at 9 p.m. he conducted family devotions, and it was not at all exceptional that friends and neighbors were present to hear his expositions of the Scriptures at his family prayers. From 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. he visited the sick and the poor of his parish; from 2 p.m. to 7 p.m. he was in his study, with instructions that he must not be disturbed except by some unusual emergency; and promptly at 10 p.m. he retired. He rarely deviated from this fixed schedule. Once, when invited to the home of a noted church

¹⁷ Wm. Goode, *Funeral Sermon on William Romaine*, (London, 1795).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

dignitary, he went in person and declined the invitation, explaining that it would cause him to diviate from a lifelong schedule.

William Romaine's collected writings were published a year after his death.¹⁹ To these were prefixed a good biography by W. B. Cadogan. Other biographies were written by De Coetlogon, Haweis, Fox and others.²⁰ Three of Romaine's writings had considerable influence upon his own and succeeding generations. These were *The Life of Faith*, (1764), *The Walk of Faith*, (1771), and *The Triumph of Faith*, (1795). He was a scholarly man, and he expressed his thoughts in refined, polished, and yet forceful language. Like Grimshaw and Hervey he was well disposed toward the Methodist movement, and John Wesley considered him a loyal friend. Wesley rarely complained, but on one occasion when Haweis, Berridge and even Whitefield disagreed with him, Wesley wrote to the Countess of Huntingdon, "Only Mr. Romaine has shown a truly sympathising spirit, and acted the part of a brother."

During his 29 years at Blackfriars, Romaine found little time to preach outside of his own parish. Ryle says: "The plain truth is, that as rector of a London parish, Romaine became a rallying point for all in London who loved evangelical truth in the Church of England. Man after man, and family after family, gathered round his pulpit until his congregation became the nucleus of a vast amount of good in the metropolis. His constant, unflinching declaration of Christ's whole truth insensibly produced a powerful impression on men's minds, and made them understand what a true clergyman of the Church of England ought to be. His undeniable learning made him an adversary that few cared to cope with, and gave a weight to his assertions which they did not always possess when they came from the lips of half-educated men. His position gave him peculiar advantages. Almost within sight both of St. Paul's and West-

¹⁹. *The Works of William Romaine*, 8 vols., (London, 1796).

²⁰. C. E. DeCoetlogon, *The Life of the Just Exemplified in William Romaine*, (London, 1795); T. Haweis, *Life of the Rev William Romaine*, (London, 1797); G. T. Fox, *Life and Doctrine of William Romaine*, (London, 1876); W. B. Cadogan, *Life of the Rev. William Romaine*, (London, 1837).

minster Abbey, he held a post from which he was always ready to go forth and do battle either with tongue or pen. If error arose rampant, he was on the spot prepared to attack it. If truth was assaulted, he was equally prepared to sally forth and defend it. In short, the good that he did as rector of Blackfriars, though less showy, was probably more solid and permanent than the good that he did all the rest of his life."²¹

John Berridge, (1716-1793)

Another member of the evangelical group who is worthy of notice is John Berridge. He was born in 1716 at Kingston, Notts., where his father was a wealthy farmer. He was given a good education, he attended Clare Hall Cambridge and received his bachelor's degree in 1738 and his master's in 1742. He served for a time as resident fellow at Clare, and was generally recognized as one of the most gifted men of Cambridge. He was a young man of admirable deportment, and he believed that he had never, to the best of his knowledge, violated a single one of the Ten Commandments. He was accustomed to examine himself, and to take satisfaction in the fact that he had never taken the Lord's name in vain, profaned the Sabbath either by labor or by absence from worship, that he had always respected his parents, had never killed, stolen or coveted. He believed that his conduct was perfect. One day, while thus examining himself, the thought came to him that his whole life had been dedicated to intellectual pleasure. This had become the god that he loved above all else. Then he realized that he had kept the Commandments in an outward way. He began to study the Scriptures carefully, and this gave him a belief in the grace and mercy of God, in the merit of Christ, and in a form of forgiveness that is appropriated by faith.

From 1749 to 1755 he was curate at Stapleford St. Mary's. One morning, as he was studying his Bible, the thought came to him, "Cease thy works, only believe." So strongly did these words lay hold of him that he felt it to

²¹. J. C. Ryle, *The Christian Leaders of the Last Century*, 1899 ed., p. 168.

be a voice from Heaven. He entered upon a study of two words in the Bible. Taking his Bible, he went through it carefully, marking the words *faith* and *belief*, and making a careful study of their connection. Finally he took his written sermons, tore them up, and began to write and preach new sermons in which justification by faith was the central theme.

In 1755 he became vicar of Everton, in Bedfordshire, where he remained for the next 38 years. By the year 1756 he had succeeded in ridding himself of the last vestige of faith and works, and from that time onward he put his trust in faith alone. This he preached with great fervor to his congregation. In 1758 he met John Wesley and George Whitefield, and they preached for him in Everton, and invited him to preach for them in London.

In 1759 he reached the conclusion that no clergyman has a right to preach twice on Sunday and then remain silent for the remaining six days. So long as there are thousands of people who never enter a church, it is the duty of a faithful pastor to go to the places where such people congregate and declare the Word to them. Berridge began to preach outdoors, going on tours that took him throughout Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire. He spent the next twenty years itinerating, often making a circuit of 100 miles a week, preaching ten or twelve times a week, and returning before Sunday for his work in Everton. His preaching attracted many, and on weekly market days and at fairs the people looked for his coming. When it was known that he was at home in the vicarage, he was visited by many who sought the truth. John Berridge was a tall, dignified man, yet withal he was cheerful and even witty. He had a splendid speaking voice and a fine presence. He died in 1793 at the age of 77.

During his curacy at Stapleford and in his early ministry at Everton, Berridge tells us that he preached sanctification with utmost zeal, urging his people to amend their sinful lives. He could see no outward evidence of improved conduct among the people, but his sermons only "tended to make them trust in themselves as righteous than to

depend upon Christ for the remission of sins through faith in His blood.”²² Then he prepared three or four new sermons in which he presented the crucified Saviour as the only source of salvation. Results were apparent at once. From that time onward justification by grace through faith was the great central theme of his preaching. Not only did his bishop reprimand him, but on one occasion he threatened to confine Berridge in Huntingdon Gaol; and this threat might have been carried out had not William Pitt interceded for him. All of this sounds strange to us today, but it must be remembered that Berridge lived in an age when the preaching of justification by faith alone, without the works of the Law, was considered dangerous. Clergymen and bishops believed that it tended to make men despise uprightness of living. This was a strange theory when one recalls the fact that many of these same bishops lived in luxury and many clergymen were noted for their hard drinking and their shameful neglect of their parish duties.

Without neglecting his duties at Everton, Berridge devoted the last 34 years of his eventful life to itinerating. It was his custom to leave immediately after his sermon at Everton and set out on a visit to his many preaching stations, and if at all possible to preach twice every day. He was known by sight by every resident of the two counties throughout which he preached. He was so methodical in his coming that large congregations awaited him, regardless of the day of the week, the time of day or the condition of the weather. At his own request the following inscription was placed upon his tombstone, where it remains to this day to bear witness to the faith that was in him:

Here Lie
the Earthly Remains of
John Berridge
Late Vicar of Everton,
and an Itinerant Servant of JESUS CHRIST,
who Loved his Master and His Work;
and, after running on His Errands many Years,
was caught up to wait on Him above.

²². John Berridge, *The Christian World Unmasked*, (1773), p. V.

Reader!
 Art thou born again?
 No Salvation without a New Birth.
 I was born in sin, February, 1716,
 Remained ignorant of my fallen State until 1730,
 Lived proudly on Faith and Works for Salvation till 1754,
 Admitted to Everton Vicarage 1755,
 Fled to JESUS ALONE for Refuge, 1756,
 Fell asleep in CHRIST, January 22d., 1793.

Two good editions of John Berridge's collected works have been published,²³ while his *Cheerful Piety*, first published in 1792, has been reprinted from time to time in England and in America. He also published a collection of hymns. Short biographies have been published,²⁴ and accounts of his life have been included with his writings. Tyerman mentions him frequently in his biographies of Whitefield, Wesley and Fletcher.²⁵

Henry Venn, (1724-1797)

Among the ten greatest English preachers of the eighteenth century one must include the name of Henry Venn of Huddersfield and Yelling. Venn was one of a remarkable family. Seven generations of Venns, in direct succession, were clergymen in the Church of England, and of these seven, five were men of distinction. They were known for their evangelical testimony for a period of 230 years.

Henry Venn was born in 1724 at Barnes, Surrey, near London. So strong was the evangelical spirit that prevailed in his father's home that Henry, while yet a small boy, refused to greet a visitor who held Arian views. The boy

²³ *The Works of the Rev. John Berridge*, (London, 1838-44); *The Whole Works of John Berridge*, (London, 1864).

²⁴ *A Short Account of the Life and Conversion of the Rev. John Berridge*, (London, 1794); Richard Whittington, *Memoir of John Berridge* prefixed to *The Christian World Unmasked*, (1773); also a memoir prefixed to *Cheerful Piety*, (1792); and Thos. Guthrie *Memoir in The Christian World Unmasked*, (Glasgow ed., 1853).

²⁵ Luke Tyerman, *Life and Times of John Wesley*, 3 vols., (London, 1870-71), vol. II, pp. 309-370, 463-491, vol. III, 2, 158. *Life of George Whitefield*, 2 vols., (London, 1876-77), vol. II, pp. 410, 441, 462; *Fletcher of Madeley*, (London, 1882), pp. 51-53, 283-285, 294-298.

was sent to schools at Mortlake, Fulham and Bristol. He attended St. John's College, Cambridge, then changed to Jesus College, Cambridge, where he received his degree in 1746. For seven years he was holder of a fellowship in Queen's College. Ordained deacon in 1747 and priest in 1749, he served curacies at Barton, near Cambridge; St. Matthew, Friday Street, in London; West Horsley, Surrey and Clapham in London.

The first four years of his ministry were not especially fruitful. He had read Law's *Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life*, and for a time he forgot the excellent evangelical atmosphere of his father's rectory. He fasted, he engaged in acts of self-discipline, he set apart stated times for meditation and prayer, he distributed tracts and alms to the poor, and he invited 20 or 30 poor people to attend his family prayers. However, he did not neglect his study of the Bible, and through its influence he discovered that he had been attempting to "work out a righteousness" of his own, without a sufficient realization of his own sinful nature, and the blood and righteousness of his Divine Saviour. Gradually the tone of his preaching changed. During his curacy at Clapham he became acquainted with George Whitefield, Lady Huntingdon, Dr. Haweis and a devout layman named John Thornton. These people did much to encourage him.

Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, was a woman of exceptional gifts, and a great friend of the evangelical cause. After hearing a sermon by young Venn, she wrote him a letter. "My friend," she said, "we can make no atonement to a violated law; we have no inward holiness of our own; the Lord Jesus Christ is 'the Lord our righteousness.' Cling not to such beggarly elements, such filthy rags, mere cobwebs of Pharisaical pride; but look to Him Who hath wrought out a perfect righteousness for His people. You find it a hard task to come naked and miserable to Christ; to come divested of every recommendation but that of abject wretchedness and misery, and receive from the outstretched hand of our Immanuel the riches of redeeming grace. But if you come at all you must come thus; and, like the dying thief, the cry of your heart must be, 'Lord, remember me.' There must be no conditions; Christ and Christ alone must

be the only Mediator between God and sinful men; no miserable performance can be placed between the sinner and the Saviour. And now, my dear friend, no longer let false doctrine disgrace your pulpit. Preach Christ crucified as the only foundation of the sinner's hope. Preach Him as the Author and Finisher as well as the sole Object of faith, that faith which is the gift of God. Exhort Christless sinners to fly to the City of Refuge; to look to Him Who is exalted as Prince and Saviour, to give repentance and the remission of sins. Go on, then, and may your bow abide in strength. Be bold, firm, be decided. Let Christ be the Alpha and Omega of all your advance in your addresses to your fellow men. Leave the consequences to your Divine Master. May His gracious benediction rest upon your labours! and may you be blessed to the conversion of very many, who shall be your joy and crown of rejoicing in the great day when the Lord shall appear."²⁶ In the year 1756 Henry Venn discarded his old sermons and began to preach sin and grace. During his five years at Clapham he preached six times every week. In addition to a Sunday morning and a Thursday evening service at Clapham, he preached on Sunday afternoon at St. Alban's, Wood Street, London, on Sunday evening and Tuesday morning at St. Swithin's London Stone, and on Wednesday evening at his father's church, St. Antholin's. Finding it impossible to write out six new sermons every week, Venn learned to preach from notes, and he followed this method throughout his life.

Venn's great work began in 1759, when he was made vicar of Huddersfield, a large city in the West Riding of Yorkshire. In the old days of hand craftsmanship the English countryside was famed for its beauty. Its mild climate both in Summer and Winter, an abundant rainfall and its luxurious vegetation caused the hills and valleys of the British Isles to present to the visitor ever changing scenes of incredible beauty. With the invention of the steam engine and labor saving machinery, all this was changed. A wide, black scar began to creep across England, transforming magnificent forests and rich farm lands into a blackened,

²⁶. John and Henry Venn II, *Life and Letters of Henry Venn*, (London, 1834).

treeless waste. Over this picture of desolation hung a perpetual smoky haze through which the sun penetrates with difficulty. Picturesque thatched villages were transformed in a few years into large, grimy cities with their reeking slums. Fertile fields gave way to mountains of slag and endless rows of iron furnaces. Driven out of their ruined farms, many people emigrated to America, and many others crowded into the new industrial cities with their rows of ugly brick tenements. Industrial centers crowded one another so that one may travel from Liverpool on the southwest to York and Sunderland in the northeast and hardly ever be out of sight of rows of smoking factory chimneys. The destruction of the famed beauty of the English Midlands was calamitous, but even worse was the effect of it upon the people. Bewildered in their new surroundings, many people drifted away from church and chapel. A generation grew up without religious care, and there were many young people who had never seen the inside of a church, nor did most of them own a Bible.

Huddersfield had been a picturesque, sleepy village, spread over a hillside, but the Industrial Revolution had overtaken it. Great woolen mills took the places of timbered houses and thatched cottages, trees and flowers disappeared, and miles of workingmen's tenements covered the hillsides. Most of these people had not only forsaken the church, but in the new surroundings many had learned to lead rough, profane lives. Such was the Huddersfield not long after Henry Venn came to it at the age of 35. Strong of body when he came, energetic, and fired with missionary zeal, he began a remarkable pastorate of 12 years, during which period he preached 6,250 sermons — an average of slightly more than ten sermons a week. At the end of 12 years Henry Venn broke down physically under the pressure of his labors, and he was compelled to seek rest in a small country parish near Cambridge.

At Huddersfield he was successful from the outset. People came to his church in such numbers that it was necessary for him to divide the big parish into districts, and to preach during the week in various parts of the city and its surrounding country. His big church was crowded on Sun-

day, and people flocked to his various preaching stations. His congregation grew until its communicant members numbered thousands, and in the short space of 12 years Venn transformed Huddersfield as thoroughly as Robertson transformed Irvine and M'Cheyne Dundee. He laid great stress upon thorough catechization, and prepared an *Explanation of the Church Catechism* to meet the needs of his people. In addition to his preaching, he met with groups of catechumens in various parts of his parish.

All of this remarkable work was done entirely by preaching and teaching. Parish organizations were unknown in Henry Venn's day. There were no boards to whom one might apply for helpful material, no committees, no facilities for canvassing a parish, and none of the weekday activities that are supposed to promote the growth of a congregation. Henry Venn concentrated on preaching and catechization, and he knew of no other material than his well-worn Bible.

When his bodily strength gave way in 1771, and when it was feared that he had contracted tuberculosis, he gave up his large congregation and sought a recovery of health at Yelling, a small village 12 miles west of Cambridge. There the Lord spared his life for 26 years. He performed his duties faithfully, preached to his own little congregation in Yelling, and often in the surrounding country, and now and then in prominent churches in London.

Henry Venn was a preacher of excellent gifts. While he was not the equal of Whitefield or Rowlands, yet his power in the pulpit was far beyond the average, and he has been described as "a preacher at whose voice multitudes wept and trembled." Unfortunately very few of his sermons have survived to our time. In his days at Clapham he preached six sermons a week, and was compelled to preach from notes. The same was true in Huddersfield. Of the 22 sermons that have survived, 14 belong to his early days in Clapham and the remaining eight are sermons preached on special occasions, such as his sermons at the death of Whitefield and of Grimshaw. None of his existing sermons give one a clue to his great fame.

In his excellent book *The Christian Leaders of the Last Century*, J. C. Ryle declares that spoken English and written English are almost two different languages. Many men learn to think while on their feet, but it is not often that such men learn to write. In the pulpit they are all fire and animation. Striking sentences, brilliant word pictures, apt illustrations, persuasiveness of language, convincing proof-texts and a forceful personality all combine to produce a lasting impression upon the people who hear such sermons. When such men sit down in the quiet of their studies and attempt to write a sermon, their language at once becomes stilted, their sentences involved and their thoughts unclear. Henry Venn was such a man. He was certainly one of the greatest preachers of his century, but he was at his best when speaking from notes. That he was exceptional is certain. George Whitefield, the greatest preacher that England produced, spoke very highly of Venn. He said, "The worthy Venn is valiant for the truth, a son of thunder. He labours abundantly, and his ministry has been owned of the Lord to the conversion of sinners. Thanks be to God for such an instrument to strengthen our hands!"²⁷ Charles Simeon, the great evangelical preacher of Cambridge, said, "I most gladly bear my testimony that not the half, nor the hundredth part of what might have been justly said of that blessed man of God has been spoken. If any person now living, except his children, is qualified to bear this testimony it is I, who, from my first entrance into orders to his dying hour, had most intimate access to him, and enjoyed most of his company and conversation."²⁸ Lady Huntingdon, whose standards were exacting, spoke words of highest praise, as does Sir James Stephen, the religious biographer.

In 1657 a devotional work was published under the title of *The Whole Duty of Man*, and for a century it enjoyed widest popularity. It was considered quite the thing for a young man, after a severe spiritual struggle, to date his conversion from the time that he had read this book, as well as Law's well-known devotional work. Henry Venn found

²⁷. J. C. Ryle, *The Christian Leaders of the Last Century*, (London, 1869), p. 266.

²⁸. *Ibid.*, p. 304.

The Whole Duty of Man objectionable, for it tends to lay stress upon sanctification rather than upon justification, and to cause young men to seek salvation upon the basis of some good within themselves, rather than in the righteousness of the Lord Jesus. In 1763 Venn wrote an answer to this book, and he called it *The Compleat Duty of Man*. In his answer to the earlier book, Venn declares it to be unsatisfactory, "since Christ the Law-giver will always speak in vain unless the Saviour is first known." He says in another place, "With respect to forgiveness purchased by the blood of Christ, no impossible or hard condition is previously required on the sinner's part; no works of righteousness are required to be first performed in your own strength, and then pleaded as your recommendation; no set of holy tempers or stock of moral virtue to be first acquired. The Son of Man is come to seek and save that which was lost, to purchase pardon for rebels and enemies of God; of consequence, the only requisite to partake of His grace is that you behold yourself that perishing sinner that God saw you would be when He delivered up His Son for our offenses; and that you are glad to lay hold on this hope set before you."²⁹

Henry Venn published another work called *Mistakes in Religion*. It is based upon the prophecy of Zacharias, and seeks to answer some of the common misunderstandings of Bible truth. Both works are evangelical in spirit, but their stilted language is hardly suited to the tastes of our day. An admirable biography of Venn was written by his son and grandson,³⁰ and J. C. Ryle has included an excellent account of Venn's life and preaching in his biographies of eleven great evangelical leaders of that period.³¹

John Newton, (1725-1807)

John Newton, the preacher and eminent hymn-writer, was born in 1725 in London. His father was a sea captain in the Mediterranean trade. His mother was a devout woman, who taught her boy the Catechism, and taught him

²⁹. *The Compleat Duty of Man*, (London, 1763), pp. 137-138.

³⁰. *Op. cit.*

³¹. *Op. cit.*, pp. 254-305.

to read the Bible. She died when he was seven years old. John Newton had but a few years of schooling. In 1742, when 17 years old, he went to sea with his father, and made several voyages to the Mediterranean. A year later he was impressed into the Royal Navy, and put aboard the warship "Harwich," as a midshipman. Here he learned evil ways, and seems to have lived a very ungodly life. He deserted his ship at Torbay, but was captured and brought to Plymouth in chains, and cast into the brig. Later he was put on a slave-trading ship and made servant to the captain. On one of his homeward trips a storm arose, and he was told to man one of the pumps. As he toiled away, 2 Peter 2, 20, Hebrews 6, 4-6 and Proverbs 1, 24-31 came to his mind and caused him great distress. When he was able to get to his cabin, he read his New Testament and found a measure of relief. It was only an outward reformation, he declares, and not a true conversion. This came about later, when he was transferred to a ship commanded by a captain who was a sincere Christian, and who instructed Newton in the truths of sin and salvation.

While following the sea, Newton studied Greek and Latin, and was a diligent Bible reader. Later he was made surveyor of ships at Liverpool, and held this office from 1755 to 1760. On one occasion as he was about to board a ship, he was delayed for a few minutes. The ship blew up from an internal explosion, and all aboard were killed. He had missed destruction by but five minutes.

While in Liverpool he heard both Whitefield and Wesley preach. He continued his study of ancient languages, mastering Latin, Greek and Syriac. In 1764 he applied for ordination in the Church of England and was ordained deacon, and a year later priest.

His first call was to a curacy at Olney, where one of his closest friends was William Cowper, the poet. It was while in Olney that the Olney Hymnal appeared. In 1780 he became pastor of St. Mary Woolnoth and St. Mary Woolchurch, in London, where he remained for 27 years until his death. On the north wall of St. Mary's Woolnoth, before its recent destruction by bombing, was a memorial tablet to

John Newton, with lines which he himself composed: "John Newton, Clerk. Once an infidel and libertine, a servant of slaves in Africa, was, by the rich mercy of our Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST, preserved, restored, pardoned and appointed to preach the Faith he had long laboured to destroy, near 16 years at Olney in Bucks., and 27 years in this church." He is buried in Olney.

While John Newton was a leading evangelical preacher in London in his day, yet he is remembered more because of the many hymns that he wrote. Among the best known are: "Glorious things of Thee are spoken"; "Safely through another week"; "Come, my soul, thy suit prepare"; "How sweet the Name of Jesus sounds"; "One there is above all others"; and "While with ceaseless course the sun."

At one time a half-starved, half-naked prisoner among the slaves in Africa, he became eventually, through the grace of God and merit of the Saviour, one of the defenders of evangelical Christianity in the Church of England, and pastor of an important London parish. When he became pastor of St. Mary Woolnoth and St. Mary Woolchurch in London, William Romaine was the only evangelical preacher of importance in that city.

William Jay tells us that during Newton's Olney days his study was in the attic. On the wall above his desk was a motto which read: "Remember that thou wast a bondman in the land of Egypt, and the Lord thy God redeemed thee. Since thou hast been precious in My sight Thou hast been honourable and I have loved thee; *et unus pro omnibus.*"

Newton spent six weeks out of each year at Portsmouth. He had too great a love for evangelical truth to spend his annual holiday in relaxation. He sought to preach in the five churches of that seaside city, but because of his religious views he was unwelcome. Walter Taylor, Esq., a nonconformist, placed at Mr. Newton's disposal a room seating 300, where Newton preached three evenings of each week to large gatherings of Church and Chapel people.

When John Newton's wife died, he was in his pulpit as usual on the following Sunday, and he preached a sermon on "He hath done all things well." He preached three times

that day, and then preached the sermon at his wife's funeral. On the following Sunday he preached on Hab. 3, 17-18, "Although the fig tree shall not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the vines; the labour of the olive shall fail, and the fields shall yield no meat; the flock shall be cut off from the fold, and there shall be no herd in the stalls: yet I will rejoice in the Lord, I will joy in the God of my salvation."

John Newton was a ready extemporaneous preacher, and since he often preached several times during the week, his sermons do not always give evidence of careful preparation; but if his sermons are frequently lacking in orderly arrangement, nevertheless they proved attractive to the people who crowded the churches at any place where he preached. His contemporaries declare that he preached with intense conviction, and always with a deep knowledge of the spiritual problems of his hearers. In a generation when evangelical truth was often lacking, his urgent testimony proved valuable to thousands. Thomas Scott the commentator, Richard Cecil, William Wilberforce, William Jay, Hannah More and the famous Charles Simeon of Cambridge were all influenced by him.

John Newton's writings and sermons have been published again and again, and their titles alone fill several columns of the British Museum's catalogue. His collected writings have been published several times,³² and various collections of his letters have appeared in print. His *Authentic Narrative*, in which he gives us an account of his life, has been published many times, and for generations it found a place on the little shelf of treasured evangelical books in thousands of devout homes in the British Isles and in America. Several biographies appeared after his death,³³ most of which were based upon his *Authentic Narrative*, and none of which are entirely satisfactory from the standpoint of scholarly biographical craftsmanship. Certain standard

³². *The Works of the Rev. John Newton*, 6 vols., (London, 1808), New edition, 12 vols., (London, 1821); an edition with a memoir by R. Cecil, (Edinburgh, 1827).

³³. Richard Cecil, *Memoir of the Rev. John Newton*, (Edinburgh, 1827); John Campbell, *Letters and Conversational Remarks of John Newton*, (1808); John Callis, *John Newton Centenary Memorials*, (1908).

reference works contain contradictory statements regarding Newton, while one of the world's greatest encyclopaedias declares that his entire life was spent in Olney, with no reference to his equally fruitful 27 years in London. A man whose influence was as great as that of John Newton deserves a published biography as carefully and clearly written as those of Whyte, Rainy and Drummond. Newton was not a theologian, but his secret may be discovered in his dying words to his friend William Jay: "My memory is nearly gone, but I remember two things: That I am a great sinner, and that Christ is a great Saviour." Whatever may have been his shortcomings, yet he kept these two facts before his hearers whenever he preached.

George Horne, (1730-1792)

George Horne, bishop of Rochester and author of a famous commentary on the Psalms, was also one of the able preachers of the Established Church. He was born in Otham, Kent, near Rochester. His father was a clergyman, and he gave his son a careful elementary education. So well was this done that the headmaster of Maidstone grammar school said, when the boy sought to enter, "he is fitter to go from school than to come to it." He was graduated from University College, Oxford, in 1749, and received his master's degree from Magdalen College, in the same city, in 1752. In 1750 he was awarded a fellowship at Magdalen, in 1769 he became president and in 1776 vice-chancellor of the university.

In 1771 he became chaplain-in-ordinary to King George III, a position which he filled for ten years. In 1781 he was made dean of Canterbury and in 1790 bishop of Rochester.

Dr. Horne was not only one of the able preachers of his day, but he was an excellent Hebrew scholar and well versed in science. It was a time in which scientists were attacking revealed religion, and Horne became involved in controversies with Priestley, Hume and others. He was a witty man, but even in the heat of controversy he managed to maintain utmost good humor, and his wit never became sarcasm. He proved himself more than a match for Priestley and his other opponents,

From 1756 to 1776 he was at work on his famous *Commentary on the Psalms*. Although a fine Hebrew scholar, yet he chose to write this memorable work in a simple, devotional way, with very little direct reference to the Hebrew text. The commentary is remarkable because of the fact that its author mentions the Saviour on practically every page, and finds in the Psalms so many references to salvation.

Dr. Horne was an evangelical preacher, and with Methodist sympathies. The Methodist group, in his day, had not yet separated from the Established Church. His sermons are not marked by great depth of thought, for whether in preaching, writing a commentary or engaging in a theological controversy, it was always his object to express the results of careful scholarship in simple language.

Of his sermons the famous London Nonconformist preacher, Edward Irving, has said: "it may be safely affirmed that he has been equalled by few and excelled by none; for his style is remarkably vigorous, and yet so perfectly simple, that the plainest understanding cannot avoid being immediately convinced by the arguments, and affected by the exhortations."³⁴ Speaking of the sermons delivered by Dr. Horne while dean of Canterbury, Irving declares that they reveal "with what zeal he could plead for the indigent; with what energy he could point out the means of obtaining true wisdom; and with what strength he could 'contend for the faith once delivered unto the saints'."³⁵

Bishop Horne died at the age of 62, and was buried at Eltham, in Kent, where the inscription on his headstone reads in part: "With his discourses from the pulpit, his hearers, whether of the University, the city or the country parish, were edified and delighted. His Commentary on the Psalms will continue to be a companion to the closet, till the devotion of earth shall end in the hallelujahs of Heaven." A memorial tablet, with a copy of this inscription, has been placed in Canterbury cathedral.

³⁴. Edw. Irving, *Memoir of Bishop Horne*, in Horne's *A Commentary on the Psalms*, (London, 1825), p. 7.

³⁵. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

Some of Bishop Horne's sermons were published after his death,³⁶ and his collected writings appeared in print a few years later.³⁷ His sermons are simple and evangelical, and tend at times to be slightly ornate. So anxious was he to avoid a display of learning that one would hardly guess, from a reading of his sermons, that he was a much better theologian than most of the clergy of his generation, and an excellent Hebrew scholar. Since he spent the first 28 years of his ministry at the University, serving as fellow, junior proctor, president and vice-chancellor in turn; and the last decade of his life at Canterbury as dean and then as bishop, he lacked practical experience in parish life. Nevertheless he preached often in and around Oxford and Canterbury, and his sermons were well received, and he won recognition as one of the able preachers of the latter eighteenth century. An account of his life, by his friend William Jones, forms a preface to his collected works, while a memoir by Edward Irving appears in later editions of Horne's *Commentary on the Psalms*.

Samuel Horsley, (1733-1806)

Like his predecessor George Horne, Samuel Horsley, bishop of Rochester, was an excellent preacher and an effective controversialist. Horsley was born in 1733 in London, where his father was a clergyman. Like Horne, he received a careful preliminary education at the hands of his father. In 1751 he entered Trinity Hall, Cambridge. Upon his ordination he became curate to his father at Newington Butts, London. His father died in 1759, and the younger Horsley succeeded him as rector of the parish.

In 1768 he went to Oxford to become tutor to Lord Guernsey, who soon recognized the worth of the young clergyman, and was instrumental in calling attention to him and securing for him several parishes. The first of these, in 1774, was the rectory of Albury, Surrey. In 1777 he became chaplain to Robert Lowth, lord bishop of London, and at the same time he served as prebend at St. Paul's, and

³⁶. George Horne, *Sixteen Sermons on Various Subjects*, (Oxford, 1793); *Discourses on Several Subjects*, 4 vols., (Oxford, 1793).

³⁷. *The Works of the Rev. George Horne*, 6 vols., (London, 1799).

lecturer at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. These were days of pluralism, yet from all accounts Horsley served these three appointments faithfully. In 1780 he was appointed to Thorley, and a year later he was made archdeacon of St. Alban's. In 1782 he became vicar of Smith Weald, Essex. In 1787 we find him at Gloucester as prebend, and in 1788 at St. David's. In 1793 he was made bishop of Rochester and dean of Westminster, and in 1802 he became bishop of St. Asaph's.

Bishop Horsley, like George Horne, spoke with authority in scientific matters as well as in theology, and when the Rev. Joseph Priestly denied the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, Horsley entered into a controversy with him which lasted from 1783 to 1790, when Priestly was willing to be silenced, although not convinced.

Bishop Horsley was an excellent Hebrew scholar and a good mathematician. He is described as an exceptional preacher, whom Coleridge, DeQuincy and other noted men loved to hear. His style was simple and clear, with no attempt to impress his hearers with his learning. Dargan says, "The sermons are solid, sensible, argumentative, without much imagination or appeal to feeling, yet not without occasional traces of such appeal."³⁸ Horsley's sermons have been published,³⁹ and a biography was written by his great-grandson.⁴⁰

Robert Robinson, (1735-1790)

Robert Robinson, the noted Baptist preacher and hymn-writer, was born in 1735 at Swaffingham, Norfolk. His elementary education was interrupted when his father died, and he was sent to London to be apprenticed to a barber. More than once he aroused the displeasure of his employers when they found him absorbed in a book instead of giving attention to customers.

In 1752, when 17 years old, he went with a group of adolescent youths to hear Whitefield, whom they considered

³⁸. E. C. Dargan, *A History of Preaching*, 2 vols., (New York, 1905-12), vol. II, p. 300.

³⁹. *Sermons of Bishop Horsley*, 4 vols., (Dundee, 1810-22).

⁴⁰. H. H. Jebb, *A Great Bishop of a Hundred Years Ago*, (1909).

a "deluded Methodist." Whitefield preached on the text, "O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come?" In the midst of the sermon Whitefield, overcome by emotion, broke down, and could only utter, "The wrath to come! Oh, my hearers! The wrath to come!" The young barber who had come to ridicule was deeply moved. Two and a half years later he recorded in his journal, in imperfect Latin, the story of his conversion.

In 1758 he became a Methodist lay preacher. He gathered a group of people in Norwich and preached to them, but soon became a Baptist, and was given a small congregation in Cambridge. The people were poor and it was necessary for him to engage in secular work during the week in order to support his growing family. The university students ridiculed him because of his lack of a college education. When this reached his ears, he determined to master the subjects taught in the university, and began with great diligence the study of languages, and then of other subjects. He was a man of exceptional energy, working at first on a farm during the week, then selling grain and coal, studying with determination all the while, and serving no less than 15 preaching stations in addition to his little congregation in Cambridge. Gradually he became an excellent preacher, and the little congregation grew numerically and in time were able to build a good church. As time went on the university people recognized his ability, and students and professors began to appear among those who assembled in his crowded chapel. He became one of the leading preachers of Cambridge.

Robinson became acquainted with Joseph Priestly, the Nonconformist pastor who devoted much of his time to the study of chemistry and electricity. Priestly had given up his belief in the inspiration of the Bible and the Atonement, and had begun to question the doctrine of the Trinity. Through his association with Priestly, Robinson's faith became unsettled. His book, *A Plea for the Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ*, published in 1776, gave evidence of unorthodox views. Although Robinson had gained a good working knowledge of several languages, yet he never attained a solid doctrinal foundation.

Robinson made an important contribution to homiletics when he translated Jean Claude's famous *Traité de la Composition du Sermon* into English. In a day when homiletical works in the English language were few, this essay continued to influence theological students and clergymen for years. Robinson translated some of Saurin's sermons into English. However, Robert Robinson is known today because of his hymns, and chiefly because of "Come, Thou Fount of Every Blessing" and "Mighty God, while Angels Bless Thee." There is a tradition in Cambridge that Robinson once heard a woman in a stage coach quoting "Come, Thou Fount of Every Blessing." It was during that period of his life when Priestly's influence over him was strong. In great agitation Robinson exclaimed, "Madam, I happen to be the unhappy man who composed those stanzas; and I would give all I possess to have once more the faith that I had when that hymn was written." It is said that before his death he confessed once more his faith in orthodox Christianity, and his hope of salvation through the righteousness and blood of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Robert Hall was greatly impressed by the preaching of Robinson, and when he became his successor in Cambridge in 1790, he strove to imitate him as much as possible. Robinson's sermons are plain and direct: they were good from the standpoint of fine English prose, but without remarkable depth of thought. Their chief defect lies in the fact that they are moral essays rather than Christ-centered sermons. His illustrations are effective, drawn from the homely experience of the plain people of his congregation. He usually preached without notes, his delivery was emphatic, and he avoided the stilted refinement of manner that was characteristic of many of his contemporaries. He addressed his discourses to the plain townspeople rather than to the professors and undergraduates who attended his church. His *History of Baptism* was read widely in its day, his collected works were published after his death⁴¹ and a collection of his sermons appeared in print.⁴² A biography exists,⁴³

⁴¹. *Posthumous Works of Robert Robinson*, (1792); *Miscellaneous Works of Robert Robinson*, 4 vols., (1807).

⁴². *Sermons of the Rev. Robert Robinson*, (1804).

⁴³. G. Dyer, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Robert Robinson*, (London, 1796).

and sketches of his life appear in the works of Julian and Duffield.

Erasmus Middleton, (1738-1804)

Erasmus Middleton, an Evangelical preacher of the Church of England, was born at Horncastle, Lincolnshire, in 1738. He received a classical education, but was not inclined toward religion until 22 years of age. He studied for a time with a clergyman in Pewsey, and then went up to Edmund Hall, Oxford. There he met five young men who were accustomed to assemble for the purpose of studying the Scriptures. Since these meetings were opened and closed with prayer, and since hymns were sung, the six students were expelled from the college in 1768. The reason given was that the singing of hymns and the use of extemporaneous prayer was an irregularity that might lead to dangerous consequences, and that suggested Methodist sympathies. Middleton's father would give him no more aid after his expulsion from Oxford, but a Christian banker provided the young man with funds to complete his education at King's College, Cambridge, which he entered in 1769.

Because of the trouble at Oxford, Middleton was compelled to go to Ireland, where the Protestant Bishop of Down ordained him. He became pastor of a small congregation of Episcopalians in Dalkeith, Scotland. There he met several evangelical clergymen of the Scottish Kirk and the Secession Synod, who strengthened his evangelical views, so that his knowledge "of the plan of Redemption, through the Atonement and obedience of the Son of God, became more Scriptural, simple and clear . . . and his entire confidence for remission of sin, and the future grandeur and felicity of his nature, was placed on the foundation which God's wisdom, and not man's arrogance, hath laid in Zion."⁴⁴

Returning to England, he became curate to the famous Evangelical, William Romaine, of London. Later he served as curate at St. Luke's, Chelsea, and lecturer at St. Benet's

⁴⁴. *The Evangelical Magazine*, Aug., 1805, p. 339.

Gracechurch Street and St. Helen's Bishopsgate. In 1783 he became chaplain to the Countess of Cranford and Lindsay, and then assistant at St. Margaret's Westminster, adjoining the Abbey. In 1803 he was given the rectory at Turvey, Bedfordshire, but a year later he suffered a stroke of apoplexy and died.

While not as noted or as brilliant a preacher as Romaine, Grimshaw, Hervey, Walker and Venn, yet in Middleton "there was so much artless simplicity, so much earnestness and unction in his manner, as drew the love, if it did not raise the admiration, of all good men."⁴⁵

Middleton's great gift to future generations was his famous *Biographia Evangelica*, first published in four volumes, (1779-1786), and since then reprinted several times, finally with the present title, *Evangelical Biography*. It has long been a source-book for those who would study the lives of the great leaders from the Reformation to the year 1786. About 200 biographies are included, and the wealth of material, considering the day in which it was written, is remarkable. His style is awkward, he is prone to verbosity, and he is inclined to praise impartially both the excellent and the mediocre. Nevertheless he has preserved for us a wealth of material that ought to be edited carefully and reprinted. Among Mr. Middleton's publications was an edition of Luther's *Commentary on Galatians*.

Augustus M. Toplady, (1740-1778)

Augustus M. Toplady was born at Farnham, Surrey, in 1740. After attending Westminster School he went to Ireland in 1755 with his parents. During the same year the lad of 15 attended a service conducted by a self-educated lay preacher in a barn at Codrington, and there he found his Saviour. In speaking of this occasion he said, "The excellency of such power must be of God, and cannot be of man." He was graduated from Trinity College, Dublin, in 1760; and it was while there that he became a decided Calvinist. He took deacon's orders in the Church of England in 1762, and

⁴⁵. *The Evangelical Magazine*, Aug., 1805, p. 341.

is said to have signed the confessional writings five times as an evidence of his zeal. He was ordained priest in 1764.

In 1762 he served as curate at Blagdon, Somerset, and from 1764 to 1766 he held the curacy of Harpford and Venn Ottery. From 1768 to 1778 he served Broad Hembury in Devon, and while there his health failed, nevertheless he continued his habit of studying until long after midnight. In 1775 he spent some time in London, and while there he preached in the French Calvinistic Reformed chapel in Orange street, Leicester Fields.

Toplady was a staunch Calvinist, and was always ready to defend his position. This led to a controversy with John Wesley, and emphatic language was used by both of them, as well as mutual charges of intellectual shortcomings. Although aggressive in controversy, yet Toplady was mild of manner in his private conversation, and often revealed a depth of simple faith in his Saviour that is touching. His deathbed conversations with his friends have been repeated so often that it is hardly necessary to mention them again, except to recall a simple statement of his theology, made shortly before he died. He declared: "God's everlasting love to His chosen people; His eternal, particular, most free and immutable choice of them in Christ Jesus, was without the least respect to any work, or works or righteousness, wrought, or that ever should be wrought in them or by them; for God's election did not depend upon our sanctification, but our sanctification depended upon God's election and appointment of us to everlasting life." Toplady's funeral service was conducted by the famous London preacher, Rowland Hill, and was attended by thousands of people.

While Augustus M. Toplady is remembered throughout the world because he wrote "Rock of Ages," yet in his brief ministry of 14 years he was recognized as a preacher of great ability, and he never grew tired of defending the Calvinistic conception of sin and grace. His *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, (1759-77), enjoyed a wide circulation. His

collected writings have been reprinted many times,⁴⁶ and several biographies exist.⁴⁷

William Paley, (1743-1805)

William Paley was born at Peterborough in 1743. His father was headmaster of Giggleswick School and a minor canon in the cathedral. After attending Giggleswick, Paley was sent to Christ's College, Cambridge, was made senior wrangler and took his degree in 1763. In 1766 he was awarded a fellowship in Christ's College, and in 1768 he became a tutor and lecturer in moral philosophy. There he became acquainted with John Law. In 1767 he was ordained by the Church of England and appointed rector in 1776 of Musgrave, Westmoreland. In the same year he became vicar first of Dalston and then of Appelby. In 1780 he was made prebend of Carlisle and in 1782 archdeacon of the same cathedral. Three years later he became chancellor of the diocese, and it was during the same year that his *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy* appeared. In 1792 he became vicar of Aldingham and prebend of St. Pancras at St. Paul's, London. In 1795 he was appointed sub-dean of Lincoln cathedral and rector of Bishopswearmouth. His famous *Evidences of Christianity* appeared in 1794, and in 1802 his *Natural Theology*.

Although sometimes included in the Church of England's evangelical group, and although he considered himself a defender of evangelical principles, yet Mr. Paley tended toward the Broad Church position. His lively sermons in defense of what he considered Christian orthodoxy were often heard in cathedrals and parish churches, and his answers to the claims of the Deists doubtless encouraged many people of his day. Although a forceful preacher and a clear, convincing writer, yet Paley was not an original thinker. He collected the thoughts of other men and

⁴⁶. *Works of the Rev. A. M. Toplady*, (1783); New edition, 6 vols., (1794), and many reprints.

⁴⁷. Memoirs of his life appear in *Hymns and Sacred Poems* and in his *Works*. Among biographies are: W. Winters, *Memoirs of the Rev. A. M. Toplady*, (London, 1872); *Life of the Rev. James Hervey and the Rev. A. M. Toplady*, (Phil., 18); J. C. Ryle, *op. cit.*, and *Memoir of Some Principal Circumstances in the Life of A. M. Toplady*, (London, 1778).

recast them in his own words. This led his opponents to charge him with plagiarism. While some writers, out of charity, include him in the evangelical group, yet it is to be feared that Paley employed human reason to combat Rationalism. The preaching of Christian apologetics has its value as well as its dangers, and in William Paley's sermons one misses that urgency of appeal and that reliance upon revelation that is to be found in the preaching of the more devout evangelicals. His collected works have been published many times. Short biographies appear in various editions of his *Works*,⁴⁸ at least one biography has appeared,⁴⁹ as well as discussions of his theological views.

Joseph Milner, (1744-1797)

Joseph Milner, author of an important work on Church history, was an evangelical preacher and leader of more than average ability, although he does not hold as high a place as Scott, Cecil and Simeon. He was born in Quarry Hill, near Leeds, Yorkshire. He attended Catherine Hall, Cambridge, and in 1766 he taught school for a year or so. He was ordained and became assistant to the vicar of Thorpe Arch, Yorks. In 1768 he became afternoon lecturer at the important Holy Trinity Church, in Hull. His preaching was decidedly evangelical, and a group of people who held evangelical views developed in Hull. The pronounced tone of Milner's preaching caused many people to forsake him, but in the end he gained many more hearers than he lost. He was also vicar of North Ferriby, where his evangelical preaching caused many to become his outspoken opponents. However, as at Hull, many others were attracted, and in the end some who had opposed him at the outset became his staunchest supporters. In 1797 he became the incumbent at Holy Trinity, Hull, but this was of short duration, for he died the same year.

Joseph Milner was not one of the most eminent preachers of his day, yet his preaching at Hull caused that

⁴⁸. *Works of the Rev. Wm. Paley*, (1805-08); *ibid.*, Chalmers ed., 5 vols., (London, 1819); Lyman ed., (London, 1823); Edmund Paley ed., 7 vols., (London, 1825); also many later editions.

⁴⁹. G. W. Meadly, *Life of William Paley*, (Sunderland and London, 1809); Edmund Paley, *Life of William Paley*, (1805).

city to become one of the important centers of the Evangelical group in the Established Church, and he was their acknowledged leader. As a historian he holds an important place. He believed that Church history too often concerns itself with the disputes, the errors and the heresies of the past, and lays too little stress upon the achievements of Christianity. His *The History of the Church of Christ*, later known as *Milner's Church History*, was a comprehensive work written from a positive viewpoint.

Rowland Hill, (1744-1833)

Had one visited London on any given Sunday morning about the year 1800, he might have seen numbers of people crossing Westminster bridge toward the Surrey side of the river. They were making their way to Surrey Chapel, which stood at that time in Blackfriars' Road not far from the place soon to be associated with Charles H. Spurgeon. Surrey Chapel was famous for fifty years because of the Rev. Rowland Hill, one of London's most eminent preachers.

Rowland Hill was one of three or four noted men who bore the same name. One of them, Viscount Rowland Hill, (1772-1842), was a distinguished warrior. Another one, Sir Rowland Hill, (1795-1879), was the father of the modern postal system. More famous than any of his namesakes was Rowland Hill the great preacher. He was born in 1744 at Hawkstone Park, Shropshire, not far from the Welsh border. His father was a baronet and a man of considerable means. The boy who was to become one of England's most popular preachers was educated at exclusive Eaton, and at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he received his bachelor's degree in 1769. While at Cambridge he became interested in the Methodist movement and in the work of George Whitefield. Mr. Hill was a young man who had known only the proprieties of the Church of England, but due to the influence of the Methodists, who had not yet separated from the Established Church, he began to preach in the fields in the neighborhood of Cambridge. The University authorities tried to discourage him, friends ridiculed him and unruly people attempted to break up his outdoor gatherings.

Upon his graduation he sought ordination, but six bishops in succession refused his request. Not only had he engaged in field preaching, which was looked upon as disorderly, but he had begun his preaching without seeking the consent of his ecclesiastical superiors. Finally the Bishop of Bath and Wells consented to ordain him, and he was given the parish of Kingston, in Somerset. This was in 1773, three years after Whitefield's death in America. The young man of 29 soon gained fame as a preacher. He was not content to preach merely in his own church, but he conducted outdoor services which attracted people from far and wide. He believed with Baptist W. Noel that a pastor's duty is not done when he preaches one or two sermons a week in his own church. There are many people who do not take the trouble to attend church, others who live too far away to attend. Hill believed that a faithful pastor will seek opportunities to preach to such people, even though it involves preaching in the fields, in church-yards, in public market places and at fairs. Wherever people gather in numbers, there Mr. Hill believed that the preacher has a right and a duty to go, and to declare the Word of God. This did not meet with the approval of neighboring clergymen, for it was an accepted principle in the English Church that no man should preach outside the boundaries of his own parish unless especially invited to do so. Mr. Hill considered parish boundary lines as man-made devices, and he believed that the divine command to preach the Gospel to all the world gave him the right to do so wherever there was an opportunity, so long as he did not interfere with the church services of other congregations.

Having inherited a fortune, Rowland Hill went to London in 1783 and built Surrey Chapel at his own expense. It did not take the people of London long to discover the talents of the newcomer, and every Sunday morning found hundreds of them flocking across the river to the Surrey side to hear him. Throughout his life he considered himself a clergyman of the Church of England, but for some reason he was not accepted by the authorities of his church nor by his fellow clergymen. They treated him as a Non-conformist, even though he observed the canons of his

denomination and made use of her forms of worship. He invited the London Missionary Society to hold its annual convention in his church, and permitted Dr. Thomas Chalmers, the great Scottish Presbyterian pulpit orator to speak. When he was criticized for allowing a Nonconformist to preach in his pulpit, Rowland Hill said, "I don't suppose the good man would be allowed to preach at St. Paul's, but if he were, it would not produce a thunder-storm; indeed it is a question with me whether St. Paul himself would be admitted into his own cathedral."

Rowland Hill took extended vacations in summer, spending his time in making preaching tours throughout England, Scotland and Ireland. During his summer absences, William Jay and others were invited to preach for him at Surrey Chapel. Wherever he went he drew great congregations, and he considered these summer tours, with the many sermons that he preached, an important part of his duties as a clergyman. He published a hymnal that is used even to this day. He was one of the founders of the Religious Tract Society, and he was active in the work of the London Missionary Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society. He is the same Rowland Hill of whom one reads in missionary biographies, who was always ready to respond wherever there was a lack of Bibles, and to send a supply where such a need existed.

At the height of his fame his congregation supported no less than thirteen Sunday-schools in which more than 3,000 children were enrolled. One of his last public appearances was before a large gathering of Sunday-school teachers from his branch schools. He urged the teachers not to teach mere good conduct, but to keep the Lord Jesus before the children at all times — how He died for the sin of the world. He urged them to stress "how Jesus Christ gave Himself an offering for sin." He believed that many of the absurd conceptions of religion to be found in many people, such as the idea that "one is saved by doing the best he can," and "I believe that we get our hell in this world" are due to careless teaching on the part of ill-trained and immature Sunday-school teachers.

Rowland Hill died in 1833 at the age of 89. He had rounded out half a century as pastor of Surrey Chapel, and his influence did not die with his passing. An imposing new church was built some years later and it became known as Christ Church, Westminster Bridge Road. Its lofty stone spire, occupying a commanding position at an important traffic center south of the Thames, and within sight of the Houses of Parliament, is a memorial to Abraham Lincoln. The spire is adorned with the stars and stripes of the American flag, done in stone of various colors. It is a friendly tribute to the many American admirers of Rowland Hill who contributed toward the building of the new church.

Rowland Hill's great popularity as a preacher may possibly lie in the fact that he preached vivid sermons in practical language that people could understand, stating the facts of sin and salvation in a manner that awakened interest. He avoided those threadbare terms that Joseph Parker disliked so thoroughly — expressions such as "the pearly gates of Heaven," "the shining battlements of Heaven," "the rustling of the angels' wings," and sentences beginning with the words "methinks I see." Generally speaking, the preaching of Rowland Hill's day lacked fire. The clergy prepared careful essays, generally with pains to avoid any suspicion of evangelical fervor, and these were read in the best manner of the time to congregations that neither expected nor received preaching of the persuasive kind. Rowland Hill had a lively imagination, a gift of practical wisdom and the ability to say things in a manner that was at the same time impressive and interesting. Four or five men have attempted to write his biography, and at least one of them was not entirely friendly. He made it appear that Mr. Hill was an eccentric type of clergyman, at any time ready to say something that was not dignified. Now and then Rowland Hill, in his effort to apply spiritual truth in a practical manner, used some incident from common life. The example most frequently mentioned is his homely account of drove of pigs which he saw in the streets of London. His sense of the ludicrous asserted itself now and then, but far too much has been said in regard to these infrequent lapses from pulpit propriety. He was a preacher of rare

gifts, and his contemporaries are agreed that his manner, more than any other preacher, resembled that of Whitefield. He had the same evangelical fervor, the same love for souls, and much of Whitefield's superior gift of oratory. He was not Whitefield's equal in dramatic qualities, but he was able to lead his congregation up Mount Sinai, and from there to Mount Calvary.

"Rowland Hill was a man of genius," says Dr. Waterbury, "a minister of the apostolic stamp, and an orator who could sway an audience almost as the wind sways the bending reed. . . . His voice had great compass, and he could carry its volume or expression to suit the sentiment. He was a man of strong, but well-regulated passions, easily and deeply excited; and when the topic justified their development, as when he delivered the terrors of the Law, it seemed almost as if he was brandishing the thunderbolts of Heaven."⁵⁰ Dr. Waterbury mentions Hill's splendid voice, his power of illustration, his consecration, his intense zeal for souls, his deep feeling which often choked his utterance and filled his eyes with tears, and his sublime eloquence. "The mantle of Whitefield seemed in fact to have fallen more upon Hill than upon any other man."⁵¹ He preached extemporaneously, after a careful study of his text. He was able to arrange with wonderful rapidity the divisions of his text and their subdivisions. If called upon suddenly to take the place of some preacher who had been delayed, Mr. Hill could take the back of a program, and during the singing of a hymn he could jot down with a pencil the outline of a sermon of superb logical progression; then arise and deliver it in a brilliant manner that gave every outward appearance of days of careful study. He was a tall, handsome man of aristocratic appearance, and his face resembled strongly that of Wellington.

Rowland Hill's *Village Dialogues*, published in 1810 appeared in 34 editions within 29 years. Several biog-

⁵⁰ J. B. Waterbury, *Sketches of Eloquent Preachers*, (New York, 1864), pp. 120-121.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

raphies of this famous London preacher have been written, and have been reprinted both in Britain and in America.⁵²

Thomas Scott, (1747-1821)

Thomas Scott was born in 1747 at Braytoft, Lincolnshire. His early life was not one of promise. After seven years of schooling he was apprenticed to a surgeon, but was dismissed after two months. Whatever his shortcomings may have been one cannot say, but his father seems to have lost patience with him and put him at hard farm labor for nine years. In 1773 he decided to become a clergyman; and he is frank in saying that he did this thinking that it offered an easy life, a sure support and plenty of leisure time to read. He accepted Socinianism because it enabled him to think lightly of his many sins of omission. His preaching at this stage of his life was not only lacking in evangelical teaching, but it often took the form of an attack upon orthodoxy or a denunciation of Methodism. Even his neighbor John Newton did not escape his ridicule.

Thomas Scott's awakening was much the same as that of William Haslam of Baldhu. In Scott's case it was a member of his congregation and his wife, both of whom were taken ill. Scott would not visit them because they had failed to notify him of their illness. John Newton called upon them, even though it meant a walk of several miles whenever he visited them. It was only after one of them died that Scott would call at the home, and it was then he discovered that his rationalistic arguments were entirely lacking in spiritual value, and brought no comfort to the sorrowing family. Scott envied John Newton's pastoral skill and he was overcome with shame when he considered his own inferiority. He wrote several letters to Newton, attempting to defend his own position. Newton replied courteously, but refused to be drawn into a controversy.

Deeply troubled, Thomas Scott began to read his Bible with great diligence, with the intention of justifying his

⁵² W. Jones, *Memoir of Rowland Hill*, (London, 1834); E. Sidney, *Life of the Rev. Rowland Hill*, (London, 1833); Jas. Sherman, *Memorial of Rowland Hill*, (London, 1857); V. J. Charlesworth, *Rowland Hill: Life, Anecdotes and Pulpit Sayings*, (London, 1879); E. Broome, *Rowland Hill, Preacher and Wit*, (London, 1883).

Socinian views. He discovered that they could not possibly be defended upon Scriptural grounds. Then he made a list of the teachings of the Bible, with a number of proof-texts following each doctrine. After three years of laborious study, he yielded to the evangelical position. His development furnishes an unusual study. His first experience was a deep sense of sin. Then he became convinced of the truth of Justification by Faith, without the works of the Law. He turned to the writings of Hooker, examining this man's Scriptural proofs that it is impossible to attain righteousness through the Law. After becoming convinced in regard to the Person and work of the Saviour, he next came to an understanding of the Holy Ghost and His work. Now a convinced Trinitarian, he made a study of the doctrine of election. This proved difficult, for like so many others he tried to solve mysteries that are beyond the reach of man's reason.

Thomas Scott's famous account of his conversion from rationalism⁵³ is considered one of the most touching spiritual autobiographies ever written. His curacies at Stoke-Goldington and Weston-Underwood, Bucks., (1772-75), and Ravenstone, Bucks., (1775-80) were followed by his settlement at Olney, where he became John Newton's successor, and where he made the acquaintance of William Cowper the poet. In 1785 he became chaplain of Lock Hospital, an important evangelical center in London. While there he preached at St. Margaret's Lothbury. In 1799 he became the first secretary of the Church Missionary Society. From 1801 to the time of his death, twenty years later, he was rector of Aston-Sandford.

While the autobiographical account of his conversion from rationalism to strict Calvinism has been read by thousands, yet the work which made Thomas Scott's name a household word throughout the British Isles and America is his five-volume commentary called *The Holy Bible with Notes*.⁵⁴ This laborious work was produced under most trying circumstances at a time when he was much distressed

⁵³. Thos. Scott, *The Force of Truth*, (London, 1799).

⁵⁴. London, 1788-92 and many later editions.

by financial difficulties and the care of a large family of children. While the commentary enjoyed a wide circulation, yet it involved both his publishers and Mr. Scott in serious financial distress. Scott was not a man who could carry his troubles lightly, and this period of his life was far from a happy one.

While Thomas Scott was considered by many to be an exceptional preacher, yet he must not be judged too hastily either by those who might be tempted to give him too high a place in the history of the pulpit, nor on the other hand by some who consider him a man of mediocre talents. His early sermons, produced in the days of his rationalism, are mere moral essays, and with no spiritual warmth nor evangelical appeal. His days at Olney were unhappy ones, clouded by financial distress and family worries, and this is reflected in his preaching, which often reveals a pessimistic note. His work at Olney was not especially successful, for few men could hope to succeed such a man as John Newton, and not suffer by comparison. The people of Olney were accustomed to Newton's cheerful disposition and his buoyant Christian spirit. They looked upon Thomas Scott as a fretful, gloomy man, who devoted too much of his time to his writings and who was too easily distressed by family cares. Scott did not live long enough to know Billy Bray, who began his ministry shortly after Scott's death. Both men were of humble origin, both had their early religious struggles, both were self-educated. In each case they suffered much from poverty, and in each case the care of a large family of children proved a serious problem. However, Scott fretted under his troubles, while William Bray's magnificent faith in the Lord's providence gave him a spirit of Christian cheerfulness that is almost without a parallel. Neither Scott nor Bray was an educated man in the technical sense of those days. William Bray once said of an old woman in his town, who could hardly read or write, "She is the best educated woman in the town, because she can read her title clear to mansions in the skies," which was Billy's quaint way of saying that she had an excellent understanding of the plan of salvation.

Thomas Scott's five-volume commentary is devotional rather than technical. It was intended as a family commentary, to be read at morning and evening devotions, then so universal in all Christian homes. As such it served its purpose, for a century ago it was to be found in unnumbered homes, and was read by the head of the family to his household as though Scott's expositions and applications were the very words of Holy Writ. John Henry Newman declared that he almost owed his very soul to Thomas Scott.

Scott's collected writings were published shortly after his death.⁵⁵ His *Village Discourses* appeared in 1825, and his *Essays on the Most Important Subjects in Religion*, (1793), appeared in 15 editions within 50 years. Several biographies and shorter memoirs have been written.⁵⁶

Richard Cecil, (1748-1810)

Richard Cecil, who was a prominent member of the later Evangelical group in the Church of England, was born in London in 1748. In his youth he became interested in painting, music, poetry and literature. He studied the violin and became a good musician. He spent much of his time painting and in visiting the galleries of England and continental Europe. He led a careless life, and even boasted of his skepticism. His mother was an earnest Christian, and through her quiet influence he was brought to repentance.

At the age of 25 he entered Queen's College, Oxford, resolved to study for the Anglican priesthood. Finding that his love for music not only interfered with his studies, but at times tempted him to give up the ministry for a musical career, he removed the strings of his violin, laid it away and resolved never to touch it again, nor to attend a concert nor to visit the art galleries. He gave undivided attention to his books, and in 1777 he was graduated with honors.

He was ordered deacon in 1776 and ordained priest in 1777. He served the parishes of Ranceby and Cranwell in

⁵⁵. *Works of Thos. Scott*, 10 vols., (London, 1823-25), and many later editions.

⁵⁶. John Scott, *Life of Thomas Scott*, (London, 1822); A. C. Downer, *Thomas Scott, the Commentator*, (London, 1909); see also *Christian Biography*, (London, 1838), and J. Stephen *Essays in Christian Biography*, (London, 1860), pp. 413ff.

Lincolnshire, as well as Sleaford. His salary was but £40 per year. He served briefly at Thornton-cum-Bagworth and at Markfield, in Leicestershire. Next we find him at All Saints and St. Thomas's, at Cliffe, in Sussex. From there he went to a parish in Islington, London. He held lectureships at St. Margaret's, Lothbury, the Orange Street Chapel, Long Acre Chapel, and later at Christ Church, Spitalfields, all in London. In 1780 he became pastor of St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row, London. His reputation as an able evangelical preacher grew meanwhile, and he became one of the representative spokesmen of that party. There were a number of famous preachers in London during Richard Cecil's time, but few men were more highly respected than he. Three months of every year were spent at Chobham and Bisley, in Surrey.

Cecil's sermons are noted for their originality of thought, and his pulpit style was vigorous and his language forceful. He was one of the leaders of a brilliant group of evangelical preachers; and his stateliness of manner and fertility of mind were recognized wherever he went. His originality often led him to abandon the common method of quoting a proof-text and then expounding it. Often he gave the exposition first, and then led up to the proof-text as a climax, quoting it with an impressiveness of voice and manner that proved extremely effective. His sermons were brief for the time in which he lived, for he did not often preach more than forty minutes. He was a staunch evangelical, and he had little patience with the class of men who preach worldly wisdom. He often quoted Jeremiah 23, 28: "The prophet that hath a dream, let him tell a dream; and he that hath My Word, let him speak My Word faithfully. What is the chaff to the wheat? saith the Lord." These, and four verses that follow, were in his mind continually as he wrote his sermons; and if he felt himself digressing, and substituting his own wisdom for the teachings of God's Word, he did not hesitate to tear up his sermon and begin anew.

The great evangelical leaders were dying in rapid succession during the last twenty years of Richard Cecil's ministry. Evangelical preaching was losing its freshness,

and men were beginning to fall into stereotyped phrases which they mistook for devoutness. It was a few men of Richard Cecil's type who kept the evangelical flame alight. Cecil presented the fundamental truths of Redemptive Christianity in a manner that awakened and held the attention of all who heard him. "His style of preaching was original and striking, acutely scrutinizing, richly embodied with evangelical statements, and bearing pointedly upon the experience of the Christian." "His ideas, like the rays of the sun, carried their own light with them. Images and illustrations were at his command, and rendered his discourses not only instructive but fascinating." These statements are true enough, but Richard Cecil's greatest excellency lay in the fact that he proclaimed the greatest facts of sin and salvation in an age when too many clergymen ignored evangelical truth and inflicted upon their hearers intellectual essays on subjects that may have been true enough, but which have little to do with man's most important spiritual needs. Some men fail because they proclaim the great facts of the plan of salvation, but do it in a careless, uninteresting manner. Cecil strove to make his congregation realize that nothing is more hideous than sin, and that there is no good news more cheering than the fact that everlasting life is offered freely to men who have not deserved it. His collected writings were published shortly after his death,⁵⁷ a hymnal that he prepared was used widely among the evangelical group,⁵⁸ and his printed sermons⁵⁹ encouraged younger men to proclaim evangelical truth in an attractive manner.

John Rippon, (1751-1836)

Few men can equal the record of John Rippon, noted preacher and hymnologist, who served but one congregation from the time of his ordination until he died at the age of 85. John Rippon was a man of the West, having been born in 1751 in the village of Tiverton, a few miles north of Exeter, in Devon. Tiverton is the home of Blundell's famous

⁵⁷. *Works of Richard Cecil*, 4 vols., (London, 1811); *Remains of Richard Cecil*, (London, 1876).

⁵⁸. *Psalms and Hymns for Public Worship*.

⁵⁹. *Sermons of the Rev. Richard Cecil*.

school, where John Ridd, the hero of Blackmore's *Lorna Doone* received his education. However, young Rippon did not attend Blundell's, but a school known as the British Academy. He was ordained in 1773, when 22 years of age, and went at once to a Baptist congregation in London that has become world famous, Carter Lane Chapel in Tooley Street. During a period of 224 years that congregation had but five pastors: Benjamin Keach, John Gill, John Rippon, Joseph Angus and Charles H. Spurgeon, — all famous names. Gill and Rippon together served the congregation for 117 years.

In 1826 a new church was built in New Park Street, partly because the old one had become much too small, and partly because the building of a new bridge made such a move necessary. The new building seated 1200 people, and Dr. Rippon had no trouble in filling every seat. In addition to his excellency as an evangelical preacher, this Baptist clergyman became an authority on hymns. His *Selection of Hymns from the Best Authors*, published in London in 1827, was reprinted several times, and became one of four or five such works of historical significance. One of Dr. Rippon's own hymns is "The day has dawned, Jehovah comes."

Andrew Fuller, (1754-1815)

Andrew Fuller, whose preaching contributed much to the work of William Carey, was born in 1754 in Wicken, near the cathedral city of Ely, in Cambridgeshire. He had a grammar school education, but no college or theological training. At the age of 16 he joined a small Calvinistic Baptist congregation in Soham. Shortly afterward a controversy broke out among the people of the little chapel in regard to the freedom of the will. The pastor of the congregation resigned, and since Andrew Fuller was known to be a studious young man, he was asked, although but 21 years of age, to act as vacancy pastor. He began to study seriously, and since he possessed an understanding of the simpler truths of the Bible, and fluency of expression, his preaching proved so acceptable to the people that they called him as their pastor. He read the works of Gill, Brine, Owen and Jonathan Edwards. He was a tireless student, and in

time he became a forceful preacher. Although living in a small village, yet his reputation extended beyond Soham, and he began to get calls from important congregations.

In 1782 he received a call from a Baptist congregation in Kettering, Northants. He accepted this call, and served the church for 33 years. With neither college nor seminary background, yet he managed to master Latin, Greek, Hebrew and theology. He made the acquaintance of Wesley and Whitefield, as well as other leaders of the time, and received encouragement from them. In 1784 he preached a missionary sermon that attracted wide attention in a day when the subject of missions was not a popular one. In 1792 the Baptist Missionary Society was formed in Kettering. He wrote *The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation*, a work that had a wide circulation in his day. This writing convinced many Calvinists that their doctrinal system had gone to extremes, and it contributed its part in the effort toward a more moderate form of Calvinism.

Andrew Fuller was one of twelve men who responded to the plea of William Carey, in his famous Nottingham sermon, and he became one of the leaders of the Baptist Foreign Missionary Society. When Carey sailed for India with almost no funds, Andrew Fuller was one of the men whom Carey implored to "hold the ropes" while he went down into the mine. It was Fuller who journeyed through England preaching foreign missions, at a time when there was not only a lack of interest in the subject, but active opposition to it. His extensive travels and his forceful pleas for foreign missions caused him to be known throughout England, and served to create a wider interest in Carey and his work.

Fuller's preaching was simple, logical and vigorous.⁶⁰ He lacked somewhat in warmth, but his forcefulness of thought and emphatic manner of speech convinced many, even though his style may have not pleased those who love pathos. Thomas Chalmers went to hear him and admired Fuller's ability to preach so effectively without notes, that

⁶⁰. See *Works of Andrew Fuller*, (London, 1838), and several later collections.

Chalmers returned to Scotland determined to learn the art of preaching without a manuscript.

Fuller studied his text minutely, using the King James translation. He had learned Greek, but he felt a lack of confidence in his own understanding of the Greek text. This led him to make a painstaking study of the words of the English text, striving to learn their precise meaning. Selecting a word, he studied the English Bible critically, writing down other verses in which the same word was found, seeking at the same time to discover the exact shade of meaning expressed.

Upon being shown through Cambridge with a group of visitors, Fuller interrupted a talkative verger who was describing the architectural glories of the place. Taking the verger by the arm, he led him to a quiet corner, and while the group of visitors waited, Fuller declared that there was something even more glorious than Mediaeval architecture, namely the doctrine of Justification by faith. Then, with proof-passages from the Scriptures, he explained to the astonished verger the manner in which man's justification is made possible. This incident is often related by those who miss the point of it all, for it is used to demonstrate the Non-conformist's indifference to architectural beauty. In reality it is an example of the intense missionary zeal of the man who was William Carey's chief spokesman on the home front. To Fuller, the old verger was a man with an immortal soul. A question or two convinced him that the verger was unclear in regard to Justification, and he took the opportunity to impress it upon him, even though the other visitors were obliged to wait.

While Andrew Fuller was a man of great missionary zeal, yet he cannot be called as great a preacher as two other Baptists, Robert Hall and C. H. Spurgeon. He was an expository preacher, and his sermons are careful, orderly and practical, and their literary style is good, yet they tend to be prosaic, and lack the exuberant spirit of his contemporary Richard Cecil. However, there were men of his day who considered him a preacher of high order. Robert Hall, who was ready to point out the shortcomings of his contemporaries as well as their merits, said of Fuller: "Fuller was a

man whose sagacity enabled him to penetrate to the depths of every subject he explored; whose conceptions were so powerful and luminous that what was recondite and original appeared familiar; what was intricate, easy and perspicuous in his hands; equally successful in enforcing the practical, in stating the theoretical, and in discussing the polemical branches of theology."⁶¹

John Angell James, in his lectures to theological students, urged them to read Andrew Fuller. He said: "I recommend you to familiarize yourselves with the works of the acute, the philosophical, the profound, the pious Jonathan Edwards, and those of Andrew Fuller. I know nothing like the latter for a beautiful combination of doctrinal, practical and experimental religion."⁶² Again he says: "Did our students and young ministers, yes, and old ones too, know the almost inexhaustible mine of truth in his works, not one that could afford to purchase them would be without them. They contain the most entire union of sound Calvinistic divinity of the moderate school, Christian ethics and religious experience, not even excepting the works of President Edwards, in the English language."⁶³

In addition to his well-known *The Gospel its Own Witness*, (1799-1800), Fuller published several able works against Socinianism and Deism and several volumes of sermons.⁶⁴ His collected writings have been published many times in England and America, and at least three biographies exist.⁶⁵

Charles Simeon, (1759-1836)

During the tragic days of spiritual darkness of the latter part of the eighteenth century and the early nineteenth, there were faithful men here and there. One of the brightest of

⁶¹. *Works of Robt. Hall*, (London, 1831-33).

⁶². *Counsel to Students on Theology*,

⁶³. *Ibid.*,

⁶⁴. *Expository Discourses*, 2 vols., (London, 1806); *Expository Discourses on the Apocalypse*, (London, 1815); *Sermons on Various Subjects*, (London, 1814).

⁶⁵. *Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller*, 5 vols., (London, 1831-32); J. W. Morris, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Andrew Fuller*, (London, 1815); J. Ryland, *Life and Death of Andrew Fuller*, (London, 1816); T. E. Fuller, *Memoir of the Rev. Andrew Fuller*, (London, 1863).

these lights was Charles Simeon, fellow of King's College, Cambridge. He was one of the most influential members of the evangelical party, and one of the founders of the great Church Missionary Society. During his long lifetime he saw the triumph of the Wesleyan movement, the rise of the evangelical group and the beginning of Tractarianism.

This remarkable evangelical leader was born in 1759 at Reading, and he received his education at King's College, Cambridge, where he was awarded a fellowship in 1782. In 1783 he was given Holy Trinity Church in Cambridge. During his university days he was awakened from spiritual indifference, and his earnest preaching at once attracted not only many university students, but the more devout portion of the townspeople as well. The old church, whose dusty benches had been empty for a long period, soon filled to the galleries, and as the word got about, people trudged from nearby villages through the deep snows, to hear the young clergyman who had revived the old-fashioned preaching of the great doctrines of Redemption. Public opinion in Cambridge was divided. While many flocked to Holy Trinity church, there were many others whose attitude toward Simeon was hostile. He was compelled to endure sneers and insults in gatherings of clergymen, and actual persecution from the ungodly portion of the townspeople. However, he spent his entire life in Cambridge, and as the fiftieth anniversary of his pastorate drew near, he found himself one of Cambridge's most distinguished citizens, respected by all.

Charles Simeon remained a staunch churchman to the end of his days. He held in high esteem the customs of the Anglican Church, and her forms of service, but together with his love for the Book of Common Prayer, he combined eloquent, evangelical preaching. John Wesley and John Fletcher, while lifelong members of the Church of England, were despised by many clergymen, but Charles Simeon treated them with utmost kindness, although he never became an active member of the Methodist group.

Simeon introduced evening services at Cambridge, and this innovation was held in derision by many people, nevertheless Simeon preached to congregations that overflowed his church. His morning services were of the formal,

Prayer Book type, but in the evening he made use of a less formal order of service, believing that there might be people in Cambridge and vicinity who would respond to such a type of service. He learned to preach without a manuscript, and his stirring, Christ-centered sermons did much to strengthen the evangelical movement among people who were not yet ready to cast their lot with the Methodist party, who finally withdrew from the Church of England after Wesley's death.

Young men preparing for the Anglican priesthood were influenced by Charles Simeon, and they went forth from Cambridge as evangelicals and preachers of sin and grace. So powerful was Simeon's personality that some of these young men imitated his speech and his mannerisms. They sat in his church, row upon row of them, with pencils and notebooks in their hands, and after graduation they went forth preaching his sermons. Simeon did not rebuke them for this homiletical plagiarism; but on the contrary, he began to give them sermon outlines. They came to his study in the evening, and he dictated to them. He translated Claude's famous *Essay on the Composition of a Sermon* and published it in 1796 for the benefit of the students in whom he took so lively an interest. To his translation he added about one hundred outlines of thoroughly evangelical sermons, which the university boys nicknamed "Simeon's Skeletons." So great was the demand for these among theological students and young pastors that Simeon published a collection of 2,536 outlines, in 17 volumes,⁶⁶ and an enlarged edition in 21 volumes. The rationalistic party in the English Church declared in derision that "Simeon's skeletons rattled in the pulpits of East Anglia for half a century."

Perhaps the most important day in Simeon's long and colorful career was in the year 1803, when a bright young seminarian of 22, with a heavy Cornish accent, came into his study and begged that he might serve as Simeon's curate. After a long conversation, the young man was accepted. He was Henry Martyn, of Truro, who had been impressed by Simeon's frequent sermons on foreign missions, and his frequent references to David Brainerd and William Carey.

⁶⁶. Chas. Simeon, *Hora Evangelica*, 17 vols., (London, 1819-1828).

Henry Martyn served as curate for two years, and by that time he had accepted so thoroughly the missionary zeal of Charles Simeon that he resigned in order to go to India. His career was tragically short, but the name of Henry Martyn is mentioned today with those of Carey and Livingstone. Nine years after Henry Martyn bade farewell to Charles Simeon, the young missionary lay dying of a raging fever, thousands of miles from his home and friends, and his last words were an appeal to the clergymen of England to preach Christ crucified.

Charles Simeon had come from a distinguished family, and one of his ancestors had been Archbishop of York. Had he chosen to seek the favor of the pluralists and nepotists of his day, he might easily have won distinction in church politics, and a bishop's mitre; but Simeon chose the unpopular way because he knew it to be the right way. He remained with his congregation, showing singular devotion to the sick and the needy of Cambridge, while the excellency of his preaching set him apart as one of the most admirable witnesses of his day, and one of the brightest lights of the Anglican Church. His zeal led him to make mistakes. He raised a large sum of money and purchased patronages, filling the pulpits with men of recognized evangelical zeal. This proved a blessing at the time, but after his death both the Evangelicals and the Tractarians followed his example, purchasing livings and filling them with clergymen of these rival parties, and producing an evil whereby many a congregation was deprived of the right to call its own pastor. Patronage had existed long before Simeon's day, and it led, in 1843, to the great Disruption in Scotland among the Presbyterians.

It might be a simple matter to point to theological flaws in Simeon's sermons, yet it cannot be denied that they were immeasurably superior to the miserable, rationalistic form of preaching that was so common during his lifetime. His influence was great, and even a group of Anglicans in America caught his spirit. He was a man who defended, to the best of his understanding, those spiritual truths that are so essential to man's salvation. Ilico, in the *British Weekly*, declares that Charles Simeon was not a party man,

nor a middle-way man, but rather was he "an extremist for all that is good."⁶⁷ He disliked the golden mean, which he considered a lukewarm position of men lacking in conviction. Like many famous preachers he had his faults, but it is cheering to find so positive a man as he in an age of indifference and sloth, when hard-drinking, fox-hunting and absentee clergymen were only too common.

Several biographies of Charles Simeon have been written. Among the older ones were those of Close, Carus and Williamson,⁶⁸ but it remained for H. C. G. Moule to give the world an authoritative account of the life of this noted evangelical leader.⁶⁹ A new edition of Moule's book was issued in 1948 by the Intersociety Fellowship. *Simeon's Works*,⁷⁰ and his *Select Works*,⁷¹ were published after his death.

William Carey, (1761-1834)

It is said that a clergyman arose in a conference meeting and complained bitterly of the unpromising character of his parish, declaring, "The result of an entire year of labor is but one new member, and he is just a cobbler, who sits with a map of the world on the wall before him." Little did that clergyman know that the young shoe-maker was to become the father of modern missions.

William Carey was born in Paulerspury, in Northamptonshire. He learned the trade of a shoe-maker, and united with the Church of England. Deprived of an education because of poverty, he determined to educate himself. As he sat at his last, he would prop open a book, and study as he repaired the shoes of the villagers. In this way he not only learned, but mastered, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Dutch and French. He studied botany and natural history, and might

⁶⁷. *British Weekly*, Dec. 2, 1948.

⁶⁸. F. Close, *Brief Sketch of the Character and Last Days of Charles Simeon*, (London, 1836); W. Carus, *Memoirs of the Life of Charles Simeon*, (London, 1847); J. Williamson, *Brief Memoir of the Rev. Charles Simeon*, (London, 1848); A. W. Brown, *Recollections of Charles Simeon*, (1862).

⁶⁹. H. C. G. Moule, *Life of Charles Simeon*, (London, 1895); new edition, 1948.

⁷⁰. *Works of the Rev. Charles Simeon*, (1840).

⁷¹. *Simeon's Select Works*, 2 vols., (London, 1854).

have distinguished himself in these fields, had not a more important matter occupied his mind. Before him hung a map of the world, and upon it he had made many annotations in regard to the people who dwelt in various lands, and their religion.

Finding little interest in missionary work in his own church, he joined the Baptist church. In 1787 he was licensed to preach, and became pastor of a small Baptist church in Leicester, where he was obliged to augment his small salary by following his trade as a cobbler.

In 1792 he published his *Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens*. This writing is said to have laid the foundation for modern missions. Ziegenbalg and Pluetschau had begun work in India almost 90 years before this time, but England knew little of their work, nor did they care.

It was at Nottingham, in 1792, that William Carey preached his famous sermon: "Expect great things from the Lord; attempt great things for the Lord." Feeling that the sermon had not met with positive response, Carey turned to Andrew Fuller and asked, "Are you, after all, going to do nothing?" There were results, however, for twelve clergymen met in Kettering and founded the Baptist Missionary Society.

Carey continued to preach foreign missions, and this was in an age when men were not only uninterested, but most of them felt that the Christian church had no obligation to try to make Christians of the heathen nations. It is difficult in our day to realize the opposition to mission work in early days. One of the earliest missionary societies was compelled to hold its meetings in secret, and to keep their minutes in cypher. Carey's eloquent preaching won friends for the cause, and in 1793, with almost no funds, he and his family sailed for India.

The East India Company was not at all friendly to his efforts, and he met with opposition. For a time he worked in an indigo factory, meanwhile studying the Indian languages as he had once studied the classics. Due to the opposition of the Indian government, he moved to Serampore in 1800, where he established a church, a school and a pub-

lishing house. He had asked his friends in England to "hold the ropes," and meanwhile they were doing all they could to arouse interest in England. In 1795 they had organized the London Missionary Society, including like-minded pastors and lay members of three or four denominations.

Carey's printing press began to issue Bibles and portions of Bibles, as well as grammars of several Indian languages. Carey did much of the work himself, but helpers were sent out from England from time to time, and they assisted him. His press issued Bibles and portions in almost 40 different languages and dialects. Over 200,000 of these were printed, and the Bible was made available to the three hundred million people of India.

In 1801 Carey was made professor in a college at Fort William in Calcutta. He himself translated the Bible, or parts of it, into 26 languages.

So much has been said about Carey's early years in the cobbler's shop that one is in danger of forgetting that he was a preacher of unusual ability, and able to arouse great interest in a cause which was entirely new to the people of his country, and which met with the opposition that is given all innovations in the religious field. The fact must not be overlooked that the young man who began life as a poorly educated cobbler, became one of the foremost Oriental scholars of his day, and a professor of great learning. While his Indian grammars and Bibles are not without their flaws, yet later workers in the same field have found in Carey's tireless labors a broad foundation for all further work in this field. If Ziegenbalg and Pluetschau were the pioneers in foreign mission work, yet it was Carey whose preaching aroused the English-speaking world to the wide interest that exists to this day in foreign missions.⁷² The London Missionary Society has sent numbers of workers not only to India, but to a number of other flourishing fields.

⁷² See Eustace Carey, *Memoir of the Rev. William Carey*, (London, 1836); H. H. Wilson, *Remarks on the Character and Labours of William Carey*, (1835); Jos. Belcher, *Life of William Carey*, (Phila., 1856); John Taylor, *Biographical and Literary Notices of William Carey*, (London, 1886).

Edward Parsons, (1762-1833)

Edward Parsons, an English Congregationalist, sometimes called "Parsons of Leeds" to distinguish him from his famous son, "Parsons of York," was born in 1762 in Stepney, London. He was one of the earliest students at the Countess of Huntingdon's training school at Trevecca, in Wales. He was licensed to preach before he had attained his majority, and assisted at the Countess of Huntingdon Chapel in Tunbridge Wells, and at Norwich, Bristol and Wigan. In 1781 he served for a time St. Saviour's Gate Chapel in York.

In 1784 he went to London, and served Mulberry Gardens Chapel, Wapping, in the docklands district. For a short time he was at Cannon Street Congregational Church, Manchester, having withdrawn from the group known as the Countess of Huntingdon Connexion. About the year 1785 he became assistant, and then head pastor of White Chapel, Leeds. So great was his reputation as a preacher that the Chapel was enlarged two or three times, and in 1791 the present Salem Chapel was built for the large congregation that he had gathered, and for the large number of visitors of all denominations who came Sunday after Sunday to hear him.

While Edward Parsons was beyond the average in eloquence, yet it was his positive, evangelical preaching that made his work in Leeds so acceptable. Like Whitefield and Wesley in the Anglican Church, Edward Parsons testified fearlessly against sin, pictured fallen man's total inability to save himself, and pointed repentant sinners to the Cross of Calvary. Two of his sons were noted preachers, one of whom, James, is mentioned separately.

Robert Hall, (1764-1831)

Robert Hall was one of the most famous preachers of the early nineteenth century. He was born in 1764 in Arnesby, Leicestershire, where his father was a well-known pastor of the Particular Baptist denomination. Robert, the youngest of 14 children, was frail of body and he was educated privately. At an early age he learned to read by spelling out the inscriptions in the church-yard. At the age of nine he read Butler's *Analogy* and Jonathan Edwards' works;

and at the same age he composed several hymns. He preached a sermon in a private home when but 11 years old. He was sent to Northampton at 14, to a private school, and during the same year he was baptized, and entered an academy at Bristol. When 16 years of age he preached a sermon at an ordination, and the clergymen who were present were surprised at the maturity of his mind. He attended King's College, Aberdeen, receiving his degree in 1784.

In 1785 Robert Hall became assistant to Dr. Caleb Evans at Broadmead Chapel, Bristol, at the same time taking Newton's place as tutor in a nearby academy. His preaching attracted attention almost at once, and the church became crowded. He was attracted by the views of the Rev. Joseph Priestly, and defended him against his opponents. This led some to suspect Hall of liberalism. Hall's great popularity, his youthful self-assurance and his suspected liberalism led to local misunderstandings, and in 1790 he resigned and went to Cambridge, where he became successor to the famous Robert Robinson, whom he admired greatly. He remained in Cambridge for 15 years, his fame increasing steadily, and throughout England he was recognized as a preacher of marvellous power. He was accustomed to study for 12 hours or more each day, and while those who knew him best admired his superb intellectual gifts, they became concerned in regard to his physical condition. His intense study finally shattered his health, and he suffered severe nervous breakdowns in 1804 and in 1805. His physicians insisted that he resign and seek to recover his health.

In 1807, at the age of 43, he was able to accept a call to Harvey Lane Chapel, Leicester. It was a different Robert Hall who served that congregation for 18 years. His youthful pride had given way to humility and his tendency toward liberalism had been succeeded by a simple confidence in evangelical truth. He thanked the Lord for his two periods of severe illness, and looked upon them as a just punishment for his intellectual pride. In his preaching he defended the evangelical position with all his energy, and his popularity was even greater than ever before. Marischal College, Aberdeen, awarded him an honorary

doctor's degree in 1817, but he declined it, and requested his friends never to mention it. In 1825 he was called once more to Broadmead Chapel, Bristol, where, after a period of 34 years, a few of his old parishioners were yet alive and ready to welcome him. He remained in Bristol until his death, at the age of 67.

Although apparently strong of body, yet Robert Hall was never a healthy man. He suffered from a spinal condition which made it impossible for him at times to sit upright. By lying on the floor he was able to ease his pain somewhat, and many of his brilliant sermons and essays were written with great difficulty as he lay on his back. When his pain became intense, he was compelled to resort to dictation. Even when in the pulpit he was often in considerable pain, and men who knew him say that he often clutched at his spine during a sermon.

Mr. Hall had the ability to present evangelical doctrines in so attractive a manner that both the educated and the uneducated held him in highest esteem. University professors and students mingled with artisans and shop-keepers, and all were ready to praise him in highest terms. He loved to preach to overflowing congregations at Cambridge, Leicester and Bristol, but his greatest joy was to visit the country estates, enter at dusk through the servants' doorway, gather the farm hands, the cooks and the scullery maids and preach to them in the kitchen or the carriage house. At times he would visit some obscure country chapel and astonish the simple peasants with his superb oratory.

In addition to his spinal ailment, Robert Hall suffered from shortness of breath. The first few paragraphs of his sermon were delivered with difficulty, but as he continued, he gained control over his breath, and his thin voice gave way to resonance and to a torrent of majestic oratory. One of his hearers, E. P. Hood, describes a sermon delivered in a chapel in Northampton. Announcing his text, "The end of all things is at hand," Hall began in a soft, thin voice, and with considerable difficulty because of his shortness of breath. Gradually his voice became strong and clear and his breathing normal. Under the spell of his oratory, first one then another of the large congregation slowly arose

from their seats, listening in awe to a flow of majestic language which seemed to come from another world. The evening shadows deepened in the chapel, and the colors in the stained glass windows were extinguished one by one. Hall continued to preach in the gloomy chapel until darkness came on. As he finished the entire congregation was standing. There was not a sob, not an audible word from any of them, but they stood there in silence, leaning forward a little as though they feared they might miss a single word. Chalmers had this same power to cause his hearers to rise involuntarily and remain standing during the conclusion of some of his sermons.

In an article on pulpit oratory, published in the February, 1821, issue of the *London Magazine*, a writer gives his impressions of Robert Hall as follows: "When he began, he was usually calm and collected, speaking in a low tone and looking onward as he went, as if to survey afresh the region of thought he was about to traverse, but not often giving an indication of those torrents of eloquence that were to be poured from his lips. Sometimes, at the commencement, he hesitated and seemed perplexed, as if dissatisfied with what he had intended to say; at others, when he was about to establish a truth or enforce a general principle, he would enter upon a course of clear and powerful reasoning, rendered equally attractive and astonishing by the delectable purity and beauty of his style. In this latter case his sentences were finished with such exquisite care, that he appeared to have selected not merely the most appropriate, but the only words which served his purpose, and yet delivered with such freedom and ease that they seemed the first which came into his mind. As he proceeded he increased in animation and strength of utterance: in the application of the principles he had advanced, or the doctrine he had discussed he grew more intense and ardent; and when he had risen to a certain pitch of excitement, his brow would expand, his countenance brighten, and, drawing back his majestic form in the pulpit, he would come forward again, charged with the fulness of his message to his hearers, and address them in tones and language which made every heart vibrate. But it was not with his lips only that he

spoke. His eloquence was more intellectual and spiritual than audible sound could make it. His speaking eye told volumes: whether beaming with benignity, or blazing with intense and hallowed feeling, that eye indicated sentiments and emotions which words were not made to express."

Dugald Stewart said: "Whoever wishes to see the English language in its perfection must read the writings of that great divine, Robert Hall. He combines the beauties of Johnson, Addison and Burke, without their imperfections" Robt. Jamieson declared: "His published sermons will always be ranked amongst the finest specimens of pulpit eloquence ever given to the world. And yet the unanimous testimony of all who heard him is that his discourses, when spoken in the fervid glow of imagination and when the mind was full of the subject, were far superior to what was afterward recorded from his own memory or the notes of others."⁷³ Lord Broughton said: "In the eloquence of the pulpit Robert Hall comes nearer Massillon than either Cicero or Aeschines to Demosthenes."⁷⁴ Spurgeon read Hall's writings and was greatly impressed, and he often said that Robert Hall had taught him many things.

One of Hall's most famous sermons, "Modern Infidelity Considered,"⁷⁵ was preached first at Cambridge and then at Bristol. It is a long sermon, and in some respects a masterpiece. It has one fault, and that is a serious one. Throughout the sermon the Lord Jesus is seldom mentioned, and even then Mr. Hall does not make it clear that sinners are saved only by the blood and righteousness of the Saviour. It is unfair to judge Hall by this one sermon, often as it has appeared in collections of the world's greatest masterpieces. There are scores of other sermons by Robert Hall that are not so well known as the one we have mentioned, and yet are immeasurably better, because they are more evangelical, in that they bear witness to man's sinfulness by nature and the true way of salvation through Jesus Christ. Equally famous is Hall's sermon on the death of Princess Charlotte,⁷⁶

⁷³. *Cyclopaedia of Religious Biography*, (London, 1853).

⁷⁴. *Edinburgh Review*, I, 100.

⁷⁵. Robt. Hall, *Works*, (London, 1831-33), vol. I, p. 23ff.

⁷⁶. *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 177ff.

based upon the text "She hath given up the ghost; her sun is gone down while it is yet day," — Jer. 15, 9. In more fortunate days, when school readers were universal, extracts from this sermon were memorized by many a school boy, and it was considered by teachers of public speech to be one of the finest examples of beautiful English that the language possesses.

Robert Hall did not often write out his sermons before preaching them. After diligent study he constructed an outline, fixed it in his mind, and preached his sermon. A day or so later he wrote it out from memory. His sermons, if we are to judge him by those that have appeared in print, were generally topical. Expository sermons, in the preaching of which the better Scottish clergymen were skilled, have not been characteristic of most of the great English preachers. However, it is said that Robert Hall delivered expository sermons during his days in Cambridge. He had a metaphysical mind, and while he believed thoroughly in the basic teachings of evangelical Christianity as he understood them, yet his method of approach was often intellectual, and some of his sermons, especially those delivered upon important occasions, give the impression of a lecture rather than that of a true sermon. It is not entirely fair to judge him by his printed sermons, which were reproduced from memory after they had been delivered, and without the inspiration of a congregation before him. Competent men who heard him preach are agreed that his spoken discourses had a warmth, a personal appeal and an urgency that is too often lacking in his printed sermons. Robert Hall was a man of learning and culture, his sermons reveal excellent logical development, careful preparation and a magnificent literary style. Whether so stately a style would prove acceptable to a congregation today is a question. Our age is an impatient one, and there are but slight indications that the average congregation will improve in this respect. Even so fine a pulpit orator as Robert Hall might find it difficult to hold the attention of the people of our own day were he to preach the lengthy, closely reasoned sermons that proved acceptable at the opening of the nineteenth century.

Perhaps even the lengthy sermons of such men as Hall and Chalmers have a lesson for us, for we have erred in the other direction. In our fear of becoming tedious we have become too brief. Few men can explain adequately a great doctrinal truth in fifteen to eighteen minutes. Even such masters as Hall and Chalmers required that length of time in order to attain the full *hwyl* of their subject, as the Welsh express it. It would hardly be advisable to preach for a full hour, as Spurgeon did, and as Campbell Morgan often did in more recent years; but on the other hand it is a question whether any man can do justice to his subject in fifteen minutes, much less in a ten to twelve minute radio address. Like the articles in a one-volume encyclopaedia, such sermons are inadequate. Moreover, they have contributed to the present fad for superficial sermons on what was once called psychology, and which, with certain modifications, has been termed spiritual psychiatry. Realizing the difficulty of presenting fully such a subject as, for example, saving grace, in the fifteen minutes which our impatient age permits the preacher, many men have resorted to superficial subjects, and even these they treat inadequately.

Robert Hall's collected writings, published shortly after his death, have been reprinted many times,⁷⁷ and still find many readers among men of discriminating tastes. Some of his essays are still timely, while his characterizations of various famous clergymen are excellent, although now and then adorned with a type of humor that stopped just short of ridicule. Fifty of his sermons were published separately,⁷⁸ as well as several memoirs,⁷⁹ but a really good biography of this famous pulpit orator remains to be written.

William Jay, (1769-1853)

William Jay was a man whose great fame as a preacher did not rest upon mere eloquence or dramatic ability, but upon the skill with which he presented religious truths in

⁷⁷. *Works of Robert Hall*, 6 vols., (London, 1831-33); *Miscellaneous Works and Remains*, (London, 1846).

⁷⁸. *Fifty Sermons of Robert Hall*, (Bristol, 1843); *Sermons on Various Subjects*, (1824).

⁷⁹. O. Gregory, *Memoir of Robert Hall*, (London, 1831); John Green, *Reminiscences of Robert Hall*, (London, 1832); E. P. Hood, in *Heroes of Christian History*, (London, 1881).

a clear, original and practical manner. He was born at Tisbury, near Salisbury, Wilts., where his father was a stone cutter. The younger Jay served for two years as his father's apprentice, and helped build Fonthill Abbey, near Tisbury. He studied at an academy in Marlborough, kept by Cornelius Winter, a Nonconformist clergyman. At the age of 16 William Jay preached his first sermon at Abington, near Stonehenge.

The story is often told of a sermon that he preached in a prominent church. Mr. Winter called him to his office one day and asked him to go to a place a number of miles away and deliver a letter to a prominent clergyman. William Jay did as he was told, and to his astonishment the clergyman said to him, "I did not know that Mr. Winter would send me so young a lad as you, but I have utmost confidence in his good judgment. You are to preach for me tomorrow." Jay begged to be excused, saying truthfully that he was not prepared, and had no idea that he was expected to preach. The prominent clergyman replied, "Here is my library, and it is at your disposal, and here are pens and paper. I am obliged to leave the city, but prepare your sermon and take my place tomorrow." Bidding the astonished lad farewell, he made his departure, locking the door of his study so that Jay could not follow him. The youth realized that he must do as he had been told, and he prepared his sermon and preached it on the following day. By the time he was 21 years old he had preached a thousand times.

In 1788, when but 19 years old, he was asked by Rowland Hill to preach for several Sundays in Surrey Chapel, London. So excellent an impression did he make that this led to an arrangement by which he preached annually at Surrey Chapel for over fifty years. For the first thirty years he preached for eight Sundays each year, then six Sundays at his own request, then four, and finally three.

Upon one of his first visits to London, he asked the names of London's most famous preachers. He was told that one of them was famous for his doctrinal preaching, a second for his experimental and a third for his practical sermons. "Have you nobody in London who combines these three qualities?" asked William Jay. Upon receiving a

negative reply, he determined to prepare his own sermons so that they might contain in correct proportions these three characteristics.

After preaching for a time at Christian Milford and at Hope Chapel, Clifton, he was ordained in 1791 as pastor of Argyle Chapel, at Bath. This chapel had been built shortly before his coming, but owing to the failing health of Mr. Tuppen, its pastor, it had not yet been dedicated. Mr. Tuppen died and William Jay became his successor and served Argyle Chapel for the next 62 years. The chapel soon became too small for the growing congregation, and it was enlarged in 1804 and again in 1821, until it could accommodate the large congregations that Mr. Jay's preaching attracted. In 1810 William Jay's reputation was so great that Princeton awarded him an honorary doctor's degree. Mr. Jay thanked them courteously, but never made use of the degree.

William Jay's sermons are strongly textual. They are planned with great care, and so rich in quotations from the Scriptures that it has been said that a group of people on a lonely island, without a copy of the Bible, could compile a complete copy themselves, if they had a set of William Jay's collected sermons. Robert Hall declared that the man who buys a collection of William Jay's sermons buys a Bible at more than its usual cost.

Jay's preaching attracted people from every walk of life, and he became one of the most noted preachers of the first half of the nineteenth century. He took a lively interest in the London Missionary Society, and is said to be the only man who has been asked to preach the Society's annual sermon on five different occasions. He is one of a very few Nonconformists who have been invited to preach before the royal family. Robert Hall, Chalmers and Wilberforce praised him in highest terms. Almost half a century after his death Joseph Parker declared:

"Mr. Jay's preaching was legitimately effective, for it represented the best opinion of Biblical exposition. From first to last Mr. Jay kept to the Bible. He seemed to penetrate into its eternal meaning, and to apply that meaning to the immediate wants of his age. He was remarkably

quiet, yet remarkably impressive. He could tell a story as briefly and happily as Mr. Moody himself, and he could convey his holy message in terms as simple and direct as Mr. Spurgeon's own Saxon. Mr. Jay was a winner of souls. He went out to bring back sheaves, and he never returned empty handed."⁸⁰

Jay was one of the very few famous preachers who understood fully a point that has caused endless perplexity to men of every generation. He said, "Two grand truths have always seemed to me to pervade the whole Bible, and not to be confined to a few particular phrases, viz., that if we are saved, it is entirely of God's grace; and if we are lost, it will be entirely from ourselves."⁸¹ When men tried to speculate upon these things, it was Mr. Jay's custom to compare these two truths to the two ends of a long chain stretched across a river. We can see the two ends of the chain easily enough, but not the middle, for it lies under the water, and yet it is there.⁸² William Jay's collected works were published in twelve volumes during his lifetime.⁸³ Together with his autobiography he published excellent accounts of a number of the famous preachers of his time. In his religious affiliation Mr. Jay was an Independent.

John Foster, (1770-1843)

John Foster was born at Wadsworth Lane, near Leeds, in Yorkshire. His father, a farmer, apprenticed the lad at the age of 14 to a manufacturer. At 17 he was baptized and became a member of a local Calvinistic Baptist congregation. His pastor, Dr. Fawcett, encouraged him to study for the ministry. After attending Brearly Hall, he entered the Baptist College at Bristol, where he won distinction because of his scholarship and his brilliant work in English literature and composition.

In 1792 he began to preach. He served congregations at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Dublin, Chichester, Battersea, Down-end and Frome. While his written sermons were excellent,

⁸⁰. Joseph Parker in *The Homiletic Review*, (New York), July, 1900, pp. 13-14.

⁸¹. *The Autobiography of William Jay*, (New York, 1855), p. 191.

⁸². *Ibid.*

⁸³. *The Works of William Jay*, 12 vols., (Bath, 1842-48).

yet he suffered from chronic throat trouble, and a huskiness of voice which made preaching difficult. Eventually he retired to Stapleton, near Bristol, where he engaged in literary work. He edited the *Eclectic Review* for 13 years, and his brilliant essays won for him a wide circle of readers. For a century John Foster's mastery of the English language and his clearness of style have been cited as examples to theological students and older clergymen. He is said to have spent as much as two hours recasting a single sentence so that he might express his intentions in the clearest and most forceful manner.

Mr. Foster published several books of essays, and a book of lectures on Biblical subjects which he delivered in a church in Bristol. He urged his contemporaries to preach evangelical truth, but he believed firmly that it is quite possible for the evangelical preacher to meet with failure because of careless preparation. He declared that a preacher may proclaim evangelical truth, yet in so trite a manner that people become weary of it. He urged such men to avoid hackneyed expressions, as well as technical terms that the average person may have heard again and again, and which may not be clear to him. Evangelical truth, he believed, must be expressed in clear language and in simple words which the average hearer, not skilled in theological terms, can grasp without effort. He believed that long and painstaking preparation is the remedy, so that the great teachings of the Scriptures may be expressed in simple, precise language.

John Foster was a friend of Robert Hall, and even this great master of the English language declared that he had crept many times into Foster's sacristy, through an outside door, merely to admire the masterful manner in which Foster, in spite of the disadvantage of poor delivery, was able to express his thoughts. Foster's several books of essays are still worth reading, and his biographer⁸⁴ tells of the careful labor that the great essayist bestowed upon his writings.

⁸⁴. J. E. Ryland, *Life and Correspondence of John Foster*; 2 vols., (London, 1846).

Sydney Smith, (1771-1845)

Sydney Smith's fame as founder and chief contributor to the *Edinburgh Review* is so great that the fact is sometimes overlooked that he was an able preacher. He was born in Woodford, London; in 1771, and was the son of Robert Smith, a wealthy landowner. After attending Winchester School he entered New College, Oxford, from which he was graduated in 1792.

In 1794 he was ordained in the Church of England, and became curate of Nether Avon, Wiltshire. From 1797 to 1802 he was pastor of Charlotte Episcopal Church in Edinburgh, where his preaching began to attract attention. In 1802 he founded the *Edinburgh Review*, and his brilliant contributions to that journal, over a period of a quarter of a century, secured for him a permanent place in English literature.

In 1803 he became morning preacher at Berkeley Chapel, Mayfair. As lecturer at the Royal Institution he attracted great audiences and made a reputation for himself as a thinker and an able speaker. In 1809 he was appointed to the parish of Foston-le-Clay, in Yorkshire, which he served for 20 years. In 1828 he was made prebend of Bristol, and given two parishes nearby. In 1831, at the age of 60, he was made canon in residence at St. Paul's. He died in 1845, at the age of 74. Even though he is usually thought of as a man of letters, yet his entire life was spent in close association with his duties at parish church and cathedral. In the literary world he is remembered as a witty essayist, but he was usually serious when preaching to his own congregation. He was inclined to Broad Church views, and his sermons were likely to deal with morality rather than the three R's of the evangelical group, namely: ruin through sin, redemption through Jesus Christ and regeneration through the work of the Holy Ghost. In addition to his collected works,⁸⁵ Mr. Smith published a few volumes of sermons;⁸⁶ but his most famous literary work was a series of letters on the Roman Catholic emancipation project. These were reprinted in 1808 and bore the title *Peter Plymley's Letters*. His daughter published an account of

his life,⁸⁷ and Reid and others have given us biographies of Canon Smith.

Legh Richmond, (1772-1827)

One of the well-known evangelical preachers of the Church of England was Legh Richmond. He was born in Liverpool in 1772, and was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he received his M.A. degree in 1799. In 1797 he became curate of Brading, in the Isle of Wight, and together with Brading he served Yaverland nearby. His experiences there led him to write his famous *Annals of the Poor*, which was published in 1814, enjoyed an enormous circulation and was translated into twenty languages. In 1805 he became rector of Turvey, near John Newton's Olney.

While yet in the Isle of Wight, Mr. Richmond's fervid evangelical preaching attracted attention; and after he went to Turvey he became nationally famous. He had the evangelical clergyman's love of itinerating, and his periodic preaching tours took him into almost every part of the British Isles. He was deeply interested in the work of the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Religious Tract Society, the Church Missionary Society and the Society for the Evangelizing of the Jews. His preaching tours assisted considerably in gaining moral and financial support for these organizations.

Mr. Richmond's sermons were thoroughly Scriptural, and almost every sermon had salvation for its theme. He preached without notes, his language was colorful and his illustrations remind one of Thomas Guthrie at his best. He drew many of his illustrations from the natural beauty of the English countryside, describing in animated language his beloved Isle of Wight and the English lake district. Some of his descriptions approach closely to what is called purple patches, yet Mr. Richmond was too devout a man to

⁸⁵. *Works of the Rev. Sydney Smith*, 3 vols., (London, 1839).

⁸⁶. *Six Sermons Preached in the Charlotte Street Chapel, Edinburgh*, (London, 1800); *Sermons of Sydney Smith*, 2 vols., (London, 1809); *Sermons Preached in St. Paul's Cathedral*, (London, 1846).

⁸⁷. Lady Holland, *A Memoir of the Rev. Sydney Smith*, 2 vols., (London, 1855); Stuart J. Reid, *Life and Times of Sydney Smith*, (London, 1884), and others.

employ fine rhetoric for its own sake. One easily excuses his grandiloquence because of the skill with which he employs illustrative material to drive home spiritual ideas. He was a man of sincere piety, conservative in his doctrinal position, and urgent in his appeals to his hearers to consider the matter of their personal salvation, and the atoning work of the Lord Jesus, in Whom alone is eternal life.

Legh Richmond studied his sermons conscientiously, but his remarkable fertility of thought and fluency of language led him to preach extemporaneously. Many of his finest sermons were never committed to writing; but he preached them again and again, as he travelled throughout the British Isles. His method was unfortunate as far as posterity is concerned, for one must depend today upon the statements of his contemporaries, all of whom are warm in their praise of his greatness as a preacher. A few of his sermons survive, and some of them convey a hint of his remarkable powers. In his day, when spiritual life was at a low ebb in so many places, his picturesque, evangelical appeals kept aglow in many a congregation a love for the Scriptures, and an awareness of man's natural sinful condition and the healing that is received by those who find their way to the foot of the Cross. When novelists speak of the worldly, drinking, fox-hunting parsons of that period, it is well to remember that there were yet men, here and there, whose urgent, evangelical appeals kept alive the faith of thousands. Several good biographies of Mr. Richmond exist,⁸⁸ and he himself edited a well-known work⁸⁹ on the leading men of his denomination, with copious extracts from their doctrinal writings. The circumstances under which this important work of eight volumes appeared are remarkable. Mr. Richmond made a small purchase at a grocer's shop in Newport. The grocer wrapped it in a piece of paper which proved to be a page from Jewel's *Apology*. Legh Richmond read it with great interest, and then returned in great haste to the grocer, asking whether he had the

⁸⁸. T. S. Grimshawe, *Memoir of the Rev. Legh Richmond*, (London, 1828); G. T. Bedell, *Life of Legh Richmond*, (Philadelphia, 1829) and others.

⁸⁹. L. Richmond, *Fathers of the English Church*, 8 vols., (London, 1807-12).

remaining pages. The grocer led him to a large barrel filled with sheets of paper, which proved to be the writings of Tyndale, Ridley, Latimer, Cranmer, Hooper, Bradford, Jewel and other eminent divines. Legh Richmond bought the barrel and all that was in it for twopence a pound. This gave him valuable source material for his great work of eight volumes, in which are to be found the theological writings of the early English leaders.

As an example of the manner in which Mr. Richmond used the scenes of everyday life to illustrate important truths in his sermons and devotional writings, the following may prove of interest: Having seen several tourists visiting certain great estates nearby, Mr. Richmond went home and wrote, "Travellers, as they pass through the country, usually stop to inquire whose are the splendid mansions which they discover among the woods and plains around them. The families, titles, fortune or character of the respective owners engage much attention. Perhaps their houses are exhibited to the admiring stranger. The elegant rooms, costly furniture, valuable paintings, beautiful gardens and shrubberies, are universally approved; while the rank, fashion, taste and riches of the possessor afford ample materials for entertaining discussion. In the mean time the lowly cottage of the poor husbandman is passed by as scarcely deserving of notice. Yet, perchance, such a cottage may often contain a treasure of infinitely more value than the sumptuous palace of the rich man — even the 'pearl of great price.' If this be set in the heart of the poor cottager, it proves a gem of unspeakable worth, and will shine among the brightest ornaments of the Redeemer's crown in the day when He makes up His jewels."⁹⁰

Mr. Richmond often declared, says his biographer, "that two great subjects pervaded the Bible: Sin and Salvation from sin; and that these ought to form the basis of the Christian ministry. . . . In his addresses from the pulpit he never failed to point out, distinctly and forcibly, man's ruin by the fall; his condemnation under the Law, and his moral inability to deliver himself by any power or

⁹⁰. *Beauties of the Rev. Legh Richmond*, (New York, 1837), pp. 34-35.

strength of his own; the divinity and incarnation of the Son of God; free and full justification through faith in the atoning blood and righteousness of the Redeemer; the nature of justifying faith, its fruits and evidences; the agency of the Holy Spirit in the regeneration and sanctification of believers; and the necessity of a renewed heart and of holiness of life, not as the title to Heaven but as meetness for its enjoyment. These are fundamental doctrines in which all true Christians, without distinction of sect or party, cordially unite. They have been the food of the church of God in all ages, the manna which has sustained her children in the many and diversified scenes of human trial and infirmity; they have been the song of their pilgrimage, their joy in tribulation, their light in darkness, and their guide to life and immortality."⁹¹ Richmond's biographer describes his preaching as Scriptural, experimental, practical, comprehensive, impressive in its appeals to the heart and conscience, and with Christ as the center of all his preaching.⁹²

Daniel Wilson, (1778-1858)

Daniel Wilson was born in London in 1778. He was educated at St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, receiving his degree in 1802. After his ordination he became curate to Richard Cecil, in Chobham, Surrey. His theological views had not been pronounced, but under the influence of Cecil he became a decided evangelical, and developed into a good preacher of the Gospel of redemption. He acted as tutor for a time at St. Edmund Hall, Oxford. From 1807 to 1812 he served Worton, Oxfordshire, and from 1808 to 1812 he was assistant curate of St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row, London. In 1812 he was given full charge of St. John's.

Daniel Wilson's preaching was attracting increasing attention, yet it was while he was vicar of St. Mary's, Islington, 1824-1832, that he achieved wide recognition. While there he preached a series of sermons based upon Paley, and published in two volumes.⁹³ In 1832 he was made

⁹¹. T. S. Grimshawe, *Memoir of the Rev. Legh Richmond*, (London, 1828), pp. 79-80.

⁹². *Ibid.*, p. 82.

⁹³. *The Evidences of Christianity*, 2 vols., (London, 1828-30).

bishop of Calcutta and metropolitan of India. In 1855 he founded the English Church in Rangoon, and established the Cathedral of St. Paul in Calcutta soon afterward. A number of his sermons have been published. There were other London preachers of his time who exceeded him in popular appeal, yet he deserves full credit because of his faithful and able testimony in behalf of evangelical doctrine. Accounts of his life have been published.⁹⁴

Jabez Bunting, (1779-1858)

One of the most remarkable men whom the Methodist Church has produced, and one of her most illustrious preachers, was Jabez Bunting. In the year 1769, Richard Boardman, just before leaving for America, preached a sermon on I Chron. 4, 9-10. Among those who heard that sermon was a young girl. So lasting was the impression of the words of the departing missionary that, ten years later, when she and her husband brought their first-born son to the chapel for baptism, she insisted that he be called Jabez, recalling the request made by Jabez of old to the God of Israel. When John Wesley visited Manchester, Mrs. Bunting carried her infant son to Oldham Street Chapel to receive the blessing of the 76-year-old founder of Methodism. Wesley lifted his hands and pronounced a benediction over the child, expressing the hope that he might become a man of eminent usefulness.

The parents of Jabez Bunting took him to chapel and to the class meetings. Their pastor was Alexander Mather, who was strict in regard to the tickets issued to those who attended the class meeting. When the boy was 15 years of age, his mother reminded him of Wesley's words, declaring it to be a pity that he had not yet qualified himself for a ticket. These words went to the boy's heart, and he made his profession of faith and became a devoted member of the chapel. Years later, when preaching a centennial sermon in City Road Chapel, Mr. Bunting related this incident, declaring

⁹⁴. Daniel Wilson, Jr., ed., *Bishop Wilson's Journal Letters*, (1863); J. Bateman, *Life of Daniel Wilson*, 2 vols., (London, 1860); E. Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society*, (1899).

that he "thanked the Lord for Methodist discipline as well as for Methodist doctrine."

At the age of 20 Jabez Bunting preached his first sermon, in a farm house. His text was, "Ye believe in God, believe also in Me." About the same time he entered the Conference, together with a young man of his own age, Robert Newton, who was later to achieve distinction in the Methodist Church. Bunting's first appointment was at Oldham. This was followed by pastorates at Macclesfield, Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield, Halifax, Leeds and London. He became the most distinguished leader of his day, and has been called the "second founder of Methodism." He was one of the founders of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and was its secretary for 18 years. He was the first president of the Wesleyan Missionary Institute, and from 1833 to 1858 he resided in London at the Methodist headquarters.

Jabez Bunting's world-wide reputation as a preacher rested neither upon eloquence nor brilliancy. He possessed both, but his real power lay in his ability to stir the heart of the believer and to arouse the sleepy soul of the indifferent man. In this respect he was the equal of Jonathan Edwards. His vivid descriptions of the wrath of God, while not as frightening as Edwards' famous Enfield sermon, nevertheless recall the great Northampton preacher. One of Mr. Bunting's most famous sermons was "Remember Lot's Wife." Old men spoke of it, fifty or sixty years later, and told of the powerful impression that it made upon all who heard it. After a description of the terrible nature of sin, and God's displeasure with those who took delight in evil ways, there was always an urgent call for repentance and an eloquent description of the suffering, the death and the resurrection of the Saviour, and His promise of life and salvation to all who believe in Him. Thousands were brought to repentance as a result of Mr. Bunting's preaching, and long after his death in the year 1858, there were old people in England, devout members of the Chapel, who were accustomed to tell of Jabez Bunting, and of his exceptional ability to call the careless to repentance. During the quarter of a century that he lived in London, there was no man, it is said, who

was more widely quoted, yet none more reluctant to see his sermons in print. Reporters visited him continually, asking for advance copies of his sermon, and in spite of the fact that he always refused such requests, they persisted.

Of his preaching Dr. Dargan says: "He had a reverential and impressive manner in the pulpit, and was heard with great attention. His sermons show profound and well convinced spiritual experience, intense practical aim, without speculation and with little of formal argument, taking Christian truth for granted. There is a large acquaintance with Scripture, but apparently not much with literature, or even theology in a scholarly way; but there is a marked ability in handling the truths in the preacher's range with good, robust language without affectation or straining. The treatment is mostly textual, the analysis clear, even if at times too formal and elaborate. Above all, the sermons exhibit great spiritual power with occasional flashes of a true eloquence born of noble qualities."⁹⁵

Dr. Bunting confined himself to a comparatively small number of sermons, which he revised again and again. Some of his best sermons had been preached ten, twelve or more times; and if the occasion seemed to justify it, he went so far as to preach sermons that had already appeared in print. The presence of a shorthand reporter in the church gallery always annoyed him, and on at least two occasions he paused in his sermon, once to inform the reporter that the same sermon had already appeared in a homiletical magazine, and on another occasion to tell the scribe that his presence was disturbing to the congregation.

As an example of the quality known as "urgency," the following quotation from one of Dr. Bunting's sermons might be regarded as typical of his method: "I speak to those also who, though not loving sin, but truly convinced of their sinfulness and consequent danger, hating sin and desirous of being freed from it; yet go on for weeks, and months, and even years, without finding the mercy which God has promised — without obtaining the blessings of pardon, of

⁹⁵. E. C. Dargan, *A History of Preaching*, (New York, 1905-12), vol. II, p. 527.

adoption, of holiness, of consolation, of the Holy Spirit's influence. . . . Now let me expostulate with you: look at your case. O that I may be assisted to say something which shall lead you this night to lay hold on Christ! Something that shall make you ashamed of your unbelief in my Saviour and yours! Something that shall convince you that, when He opens His arms to receive you, you have no right to run away from Him; that you have no right to close your ears to His inviting voice; that it is your duty, as well as your interest, to lay hold on His mercy, and to receive the blessings which He has pressed on your acceptance in the exuberance of His kindness! Now, what does He say? 'Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. I, even I, am He that blotteth out thy transgressions for Mine own sake, and will not remember thy sins. Come now, let us reason together, saith the Lord. Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool.' But I need not repeat these promises; what you want is not the *knowledge* of them — you have heard them read a hundred times; no, what you want is to *believe*, to *embrace* them. These promises point out *you* — you yourselves as the very persons who want these good things. And O, consider that these promises are confirmed — confirmed by a solemn oath: 'that by two immutable things, in which it was impossible for God to lie, they might have a strong consolation, who have fled for refuge to lay hold on the hope set before them.' You have heard God's *promise* — now hear God's *oath*. O, infinite condescension! You doubt His Word — shame on you! But He does not desert you for your sin. Now, hear it, penitent; hear the oath of thy God! We have it on record in His own Book; it is written for your comfort. Listen: 'As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked; but that the wicked turn from his way and live: turn ye, turn ye, from your evil ways; for why will ye die?' God tells you, by His life, that He is ready to save you — to save you now. And this promise, and this oath, have been sealed by the blood of Christ; 'and He that spared not His own Son, but delivered Him for us all, how shall He not with Him also freely forgive us all

things?' And this promise, and this oath, have been confirmed by the resurrection of Christ. By this we are taught that the sacrifice He presented was accepted — that God is satisfied; and that there is nothing even in His justice to hinder Him from pardoning you. Hence the language of the apostle to the Hebrews: 'Now the God of peace, that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect.' And so on. O, what comfort is contained in these words! God is 'the God of peace.' Why, we might have been charged to tell you that God is 'a man of war.' But no; we have to proclaim Him to you as 'the God of peace.' He has a peaceful disposition toward you; and He has proved this by raising up Jesus Christ from the dead."⁹⁶

Mr. Bunting's sermons were published in two volumes after his death,⁹⁷ and his biography, much of which was written by his son, was completed by G. S. Rowe.

Richard Watson, (1781-1833)

Richard Watson, the English Methodist, whose preaching at great missionary gatherings did much toward arousing interest in the spread of the Gospel in foreign lands, was a Yorkshireman, and was born at Barton-on-Humber in 1781. After attending Lincoln grammar school he was apprenticed in 1795 to a joiner.

In 1796, when but 15 years of age, he preached his first sermon. He was more than six feet tall, mature in appearance and thought, and his first sermon made a decided impression upon the congregation at Boothby. Watson was received on trial by the Wesleyan conference, and in 1801 he was received into full membership and made a traveling preacher. In 1803 he became a member of the Methodist New Connection and preached at Stockport and Liverpool; but in 1812 he returned to the Wesleyan Methodist denomination and served a congregation in Wakefield and then one in Hull.

⁹⁶. *The Sermons of Jabez Bunting*, 2 vols., (London, 1861-62).

⁹⁷. T. P. Bunting and G. S. Rowe, *Life of Jabez Bunting*, 2 vols., (London, 1859-87); G. S. Rowe, *Memorials of W. M. Bunting*, (1870).

About the year 1813 there was a great awakening of interest among the Methodists in foreign missions, and Watson's stirring sermons did much to further this movement. So great was his ability as a preacher and a platform orator that Mr. Watson was appointed, in 1816, as one of two secretaries of Methodist missions, with headquarters in London. With the exception of the years 1827-29, which he spent in Manchester, he lived for 17 years in London, appearing at great gatherings and speaking in the interest of mission work. His commanding appearance, his intense interest in his subject and his exceptional gifts as a speaker made a deep impression upon his generation. His *Theological Institutes*, a three-volume work published 1823-29, was recognized for years as a standard work on Methodist doctrine and practice. Mr. Watson's *Biblical and Theological Dictionary*, (1831), was once a standard reference book. Other writings of Richard Watson include a life of Wesley,⁹⁸ a commentary on the first two Gospels⁹⁹ and three volumes of sermons.¹⁰⁰ His collected writings, in 13 volumes, appeared in print soon after his death;¹⁰¹ and biographies were written by Jackson¹⁰² and Bunting.¹⁰³

The editors of the fifth edition of Williams's *Christian Preacher* give Richard Watson a place among the great preachers of the early nineteenth century. "His sermons," they say, "are rich in evangelical sentiment and beautifully varied in their subjects; and his *Exposition of St. Matthew's Gospel* is an admirable specimen of sacred interpretation. It is replete with sound divinity and well adapted to promote the piety of the reader. The early death of such a man was a loss to the church at large, but he has left durable monuments of his sanctified intellect and pious zeal."¹⁰⁴

⁹⁸. Richard Watson, *Life of the Rev. John Wesley*, (London, 1831).

⁹⁹. *An Exposition of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark*, (London, 1833).

¹⁰⁰. *Sermons and Sketches of Sermons*, 3 vols., (London, 1834).

¹⁰¹. *Works of the Rev. Richard Watson*, 13 vols., (London, 1834-37).

¹⁰². Thos. Jackson, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Richard Watson*, (London, 1834).

¹⁰³. Jabez Bunting, *Memoirs of the late Richard Watson*, (London, 1833).

¹⁰⁴. Edward Williams, *The Christian Preacher*, 5th ed., (London, 1843), p. 367.

Francis A. Cox, (1783-1853)

Francis A. Cox was born in 1783 at Leighton Buzzard, Bucks., not far from London. Leighton Buzzard attracts many visitors because of its beautiful Early English church, and the nearby church at Wing, with its Saxon crypt, and the remarkable Norman church at Stewkeley. These visitors pass by a plain little Baptist chapel, not aware that it gave London one of its famous preachers, Francis A. Cox. He took his degree at Edinburgh about the year 1804, and then attended the Baptist College at Bristol. In 1805 he became pastor of the Baptist church at Clipstone, Northants., and then served for a year as assistant to the famous Robert Hall.

In 1811 he was called to the Baptist Church in Hackney, London, which he served with distinction for 42 years. In 1828 he became librarian of London University, and in 1838 he visited America as a representative of the Baptist Union. In America his preaching added to the fame that he had won in his native country. He was a scholarly man, a leader of his denomination, one of the founders of the *Baptist Magazine*, and above all things, a preacher of undisputed gifts. He is said to have been a wealthy man, but his one interest was his church and her activities. Among his published writings are a history of Baptist missionary activity¹⁰⁵ and an account of the British pulpit as it was in his day, and as might have been.¹⁰⁶

John Angell James, (1785-1859)

John Angell James, the first of three famous preachers who caused the name of Carr's Lane Chapel to be known throughout the world, was born in 1785 at Blandford Forum, in Dorset. The son of a merchant, he was apprenticed at the age of 13 to a linen draper, for whom he worked for four years. He became interested in Sunday-school work, and before he was 17 years of age he attracted attention because of his exceptional ability as a teacher. In 1802 he entered the theological seminary at Gosport, with which Dr. Bogue was associated.

¹⁰⁵. F. A. Cox, *History of the Baptist Missionary Society*, 2 vols., (London, 1842).

¹⁰⁶. F. A. Cox, *The British Pulpit*, (London, 1853).

In 1805 he began to preach at Carr's Lane, at that time a comparatively small chapel in Birmingham. He was ordained in 1806, and for 54 years he served Carr's Lane as their pastor. His congregation grew steadily as his power in the pulpit increased, and in 1820 a new chapel was built, with a seating capacity of 1750 to 1800. It is a great rectangular building with slender columns running from floor to ceiling to support the wide span of the roof and to make possible the tier of galleries running around the interior.

Dr. R. W. Dale, who became his associate in 1853 and then his successor, tells us that Angell James studied his sermons with greatest care, and looked upon the time spent in sermon preparation as a duty that must not be set aside for the sake of general reading, literary work, congregational business or social gatherings.¹⁰⁷ He began his studies on Tuesday or Wednesday and planned his work methodically so as to finish at 2 p. m. Saturday. On Saturday evening, as a part of his preparation for the pulpit, he read a selection from Baxter's *Reformed Pastor*, or from the biographies of Edward Payson or David Brainerd, or Howe's *Blessedness of the Righteous*, Owen's *Spiritual Mindedness* or Leighton's *Commentary upon St. Peter*.

Mr. James wrote his sermons fully, but never preached from the manuscript unless under unusual circumstances. He was a remarkably fluent speaker, and excelled at extemporaneous preaching, but he never allowed that to interfere with the thoroughness of his studies. It was only upon rare occasions, when called upon unexpectedly to take the place of some other preacher, that his ability to preach excellently at a moment's notice was revealed. He began his weekly preparation by studying his text with great care, then he worked out its exposition and applications, and finally he spent considerable time in its outward arrangement.

His powers, according to Dr. Dale, lay in the substance of what he said rather than in his manner of saying it. He was aware that vivid descriptions, dramatic stories and appeals to the emotions do not necessarily result in good

¹⁰⁷. R. W. Dale, *The Life of John Angell James*, (New York, 1862), pp. 606-619.

preaching. The truth that such things should drive home may be entirely lacking. A description of a severe storm, or a touching word-picture of the death of some eminent man may stir the feelings of a congregation, but this is not necessarily Law and Gospel.

Angell James, like all men, had his weaknesses. One flaw sometimes detected in his sermons is his tendency to mention his own personal ailments, or to make reference in the pulpit to some family affliction, or to dwell upon his affection for his congregation, overlooking the fact that such things are not looked upon as good taste. He did not hesitate to startle and terrify men by pointing to the wrath of God against sin, for he knew that the faithful preacher will not lull his hearers into a condition of false security by preaching all Gospel and no Law. He lacked Dr. Walther's spiritual skill in drawing sharp distinctions between Law and Gospel. He often expounded an entire book of the Old or the New Testament in regular order, and he had the gift of making such exegetical studies useful by applying them practically to the daily duties of his congregation.

In preaching a sermon on some historical incident from the Old Testament or the New, he was not content merely to tell the story, and expand it by explaining the geography of Bible lands, or the peculiar customs of the Orient; but throughout the sermon, from the introduction onward, he endeavored to weave in evangelical truths and to make practical applications suited to his hearers. As a rule he did this so well that it is not often that it became necessary for him to "deduce a few lessons" at the end of the sermon.

J. A. James was an Independent in his denominational affiliation and a Calvinist in theology, although he did not make it a rule to preach the Calvinistic system of doctrine, as many of his forefathers had done, neither did he attach undue importance to his Calvinism. A story is often told of a young pastor who said to Mr. James, "I am more orthodox than you are, because I am a more rigid Calvinist." "I am a Calvinist," replied Angell James. "Then why do you not preach Calvinistic doctrines more often than you do?" "Because," replied Mr. James, "I do not seem to find much about Calvinism in the Bible."

The published sermons and devotional writings of Angell James had a wide circulation and were esteemed highly during the middle decades of the nineteenth century. They were translated into several other languages, including the Gaelic and Welsh. Some editions of his collected writings fill 17 volumes.

He preached a notable sermon before the Congregational Union, entitled *The Union of Truth and Love*. It is an appeal to clergymen to bear faithful witness in regard to the inspiration of the Bible, the Atonement, the Gospel of Redemption and other evangelical truths. In it is a sentence that might be considered a summary of the entire sermon, and perhaps the keynote of all of the preaching of Mr. James. He says:

“One gush of evangelical truth from a heart constrained by the love of Christ, and uttered in words of light and pathos, has more power over an audience, and moves the deepest feelings of the human heart with a more irresistible force, than could the splendors of Tully or the thunders of Demosthenes.”

Joseph Parker paid a sincere tribute to John Angell James when he said: “Probably few men have by the grace of God converted more souls than the Rev. Angell James. Account for it as we may, his preaching was always attended with profound spiritual effects. Without personal attractions of a formal kind, with a face of the most ordinary type, he yet possessed a voice of singular compass and almost unique impressiveness. It was indeed a noble voice, so rich, so solemn, so far-reaching. A kind of Pentecostal effect for many years attended the ministry of Mr. James. He reaped a harvest second to none since apostolic days. He had no learning, no science, no genius, but he had the Gospel in his memory, the love of God in his heart, and the conversion of souls as his supreme ambition; and verily the blessing of the Lord followed him, and his reward is infinitely great.”¹⁰⁸ These words of Dr. Parker were spoken forty years after the

¹⁰⁸. Joseph Parker in *The Homiletic Review*, (New York), July, 1900, p. 14.

death of Angell James, and cannot be looked upon as a eulogy to one who has just died.

Few books enjoyed a wider circulation a century ago than *The Anxious Inquirer after Salvation*, which Mr. James published in 1834. He was also the author of a number of devotional books. His collected works were published soon after his death,¹⁰⁹ and biographies were written by Campbell¹¹⁰ and by Dale.¹¹¹

Alexander Fletcher, (1787-1860)

It is difficult to know whether to name Alexander Fletcher among the Scottish preachers or those of England. He was born in Bridge of Teith, Scotland, where his father was a clergyman. He was educated in the grammar school at Doune, Stirling. In 1798, when but 11 years of age, he entered Glasgow College, and in 1802, when but 15, he entered the theological hall. In 1806 he united with the Associate Synod, and because of his youth he acted for four or five years as assistant to his father at Bridge of Teith.

In 1811 he was called to Miles Lane Chapel, a well-known Nonconformist congregation in London. The group was small and the salary meagre, but Fletcher's preaching soon drew a congregation that overflowed the little chapel. A large chapel was built in the street known as London Wall. This Albion Chapel, as it was called, soon became crowded. It was built in 1816, but in less than ten years it was found quite inadequate, and a large church was built in Finsbury Circus.¹¹² In London Alexander Fletcher quickly gained fame as a preacher of extraordinary appeal. He had trained himself to express weighty truths in simple, clear language, which even the uneducated could understand without effort. He was one of the most successful children's preachers of his generation. His special sermons for chil-

¹⁰⁹. *Works of John Angell James*, 17 vols., (London, 1860-64).

¹¹⁰. John Campbell, *John Angell James, his History and Character*, (London, 1859).

¹¹¹. R. W. Dale, *Life and Letters of J. A. James*, (London, 1861). American ed., 1862.

¹¹². In London a rectangular traffic intersection is a "square," while if it is circular, it is called a "circus," — hence Piccadilly Circus, Cambridge Circus, Ludgate Circus, etc.

dren became extremely popular, and often drew as many as 3,000.

During the second quarter of the nineteenth century, Finsbury Chapel was called the Nonconformist Cathedral of London. To a large proportion of the children of London it was known as Fletcher's Chapel, and they looked upon him as the children's pastor.

The interior of the chapel was unusual, for it was in the form of an elongated octagon, with radiating aisles, a sloping floor and two galleries running around the building. Dr. Fletcher anticipated the old-fashioned American "theatre-plan" church by more than 40 years. Writers of that period describe the Sunday mornings in Finsbury Circus in picturesque language: whole regiments of children converging from every direction, some of them in charge of Sunday-school teachers, and even entire Sunday-schools headed by their superintendents. As the hour of 11 approaches the circular area is packed with children, and all are trying to crowd into the short street just off the Circus, where stands Finsbury Chapel. Inside the large church every seat on the main floor is filled, and the two horseshoe galleries are filled. Dr. Fletcher comes in. He is a tall, stout man, with grey hair and beard, and his accent betrays his North Country origin.

Even in his early days in the little Miles Lane Chapel, Dr. Fletcher had declared that children cannot be drawn to a church or chapel if the sermons are expressed in weighty, theological language. He studied the art of expressing evangelical truth in the simplest of language. He visited the playgrounds of the children, made friends with them, and studied their expressions and their mental processes. With a few children gathered around him in a side street or on a playground, he would tell them Bible stories, striving to use words and illustrations that they could grasp without difficulty. In this way he learned to preach the celebrated sermons that drew children by the thousands from all over the Greater London area.

Augustus W. Hare, (1793-1834)

Augustus W. Hare, one of the early Broad Church clergymen, was born in Rome in 1793. His father and his brother were English clergymen. During his early years he lived with his aunt at Basingstoke; and he received his education at Winchester College and at New College, Oxford. After spending some time in Italy he became a tutor at New College in 1818. He was ordained in 1825, and four years later he became rector of Alton-Barnes. Ill health caused him to resign in 1833, and he went to Italy, where he died a year later at the age of 41.

Augustus Hare was considered an able preacher, but his fame came after his death when two volumes entitled *Sermons to a Country Congregation* were published in 1836. Together with his brother, Julius C. Hare, he wrote *Guesses at Truth*, a series of more or less random essays which appeared in 1827. These essays are not remarkable, but they proved popular at the time. They are expressed in polished, yet forceful English, nevertheless it is difficult today to account for their popularity. His Alton sermons are well written, but rather devoid of specific evangelical spirit. Biographical material is to be found in A. J. C. Hare's *Memorials of a Quiet Life*, published in 1872.

John Campbell, (1794-1867)

John Campbell was born in 1794 in Forfar, Scotland. After his preliminary education in the parochial school, he became a blacksmith. In 1818, at the age of 24, he decided to become a clergyman. He attended St. Andrews University, and then Glasgow. His theological training was received at the Congregational divinity hall. He preached for a time with increasing success, chiefly in Ayrshire. However, Scotland was not to be the scene of his principal labors, for he was called to Whitefield's tabernacle, Moorfields, London, where he preached to large congregations for 20 years.

As a preacher, Dr. Campbell's fame is due neither to his personality nor to his oratory. He was a large, stout gentleman, severe of countenance and dogmatic in manner.

His preaching is said to have been dictatorial in tone, and controversial. His outspoken attacks on Romanism, ritualism and rationalism drew people from all parts of London. Dr. Campbell did not confine himself to polemics, for he was able to preach solid, doctrinal sermons, thoroughly conservative from his Trinitarian Congregational viewpoint. He edited several popular religious magazines. His *Christian Witness* was founded in 1844, his *Christian Penny Magazine* made its appearance in 1846, the *British Banner* in 1849, and later the *British Standard* and the *British Ensign*, all of them popular in their day. During the years of his popularity, the tabernacle in Finsbury was called "Dr. Campbell's Tabernacle" as often as it was called "George Whitefield's Church," while a later building, erected in 1756 in Tottenham Court Road was Whitefield's last tabernacle.

Julius C. Hare, (1795-1855)

Archdeacon Hare, younger brother of Augustus Hare, was born in 1795 in Valdarno, Italy. His father was an English clergyman. He entered Charterhouse School in 1806, and Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1812. In 1818 he was appointed fellow and tutor in his alma mater.

Hare was ordained in 1826, and in 1832 he became rector of Hurstmonceaux, Sussex, where he remained as incumbent for 23 years. In 1840 he was appointed to the archdeaconry of Lewes.

Archdeacon Hare was a friend of Thomas Arnold, of Rugby, whose liberal Broad Church views appealed to him. Hare was acquainted with a number of the German theologians of his day, and sought to bring about cordial relations between the German State Church leaders and those of the Church of England. He read and spoke German, and was a great admirer of Luther, Schleiermacher, Tholuck and other Germans. Although somewhat rationalistic himself, yet he wrote an able defense of Luther's theology as a polemic against the Oxford Tractarians. Together with his brother Augustus, he was looked upon as one of the able preachers of his day. He was a better theologian than many of the Broad Church group, and his *Mission of the Comforter*, published in 1846, is an able, but not entirely satisfactory,

series of studies in the office and work of the Holy Ghost. His *Victory of Faith*, (1840), and *The Contest with Rome*, (1851), were well received at the time. Together with his brother, Augustus W. Hare, he wrote *Guesses at Truth*, a series of unrelated speculations in vigorous English.

Archdeacon Hare was a preacher of considerable force, and an able defender of Luther and his teachings against the attacks of both German and British critics of the Reformation. He was a good German scholar and well acquainted with the older and later dogmaticians, yet his own preaching lacks definition. With all his knowledge of the history of doctrine, he inclined toward liberalism himself, and prepared the way in some respects for the downfall of the self-styled "liberal evangelicals" under the influence of German negative criticism. Memorials of his life are prefixed to his various works, and are to be found in A. J. Hare's *Memorials of a Quiet Life*, (London, 1872).

Hugh MacNeile, (1795-1879)

Hugh MacNeile, dean of Ripon, was born in Ballycastle, County Antrim, Ireland. He was graduated from Trinity College, Dublin, and began the study of law, which was interrupted by a long and grave illness. After his recovery he turned his attention to the ministry, and in 1820 he was ordained and became curate of the Protestant church in Stranorlar, Donegal. His stay there was brief, for soon thereafter he was preaching in Percy Chapel, Charlotte street, off Fitzroy Square, in London. His preaching attracted the attention of Henry Drummond (the layman), who sought to convert him to the Irvingite teachings. For a brief time he wavered, but finally gave up all thought of such teachings, but testified against them. During his early acquaintance with Drummond, the latter appointed him to the parish of Albury, Surrey, as rector.

He began to attract attention in London, where he was a frequent preacher in St. Clement Danes, in the Strand. The announcement of his coming always drew large congregations. His greatest fame came in Liverpool, where he was perpetual curate of St. Jude's from 1834 onward, and where he built, in 1848, St. Paul's Church, Prince Park. He was

appointed canon of Chester in 1845, and in 1860 this position became canon-in-residence. He was dean of Ripon cathedral from 1868 until his retirement in 1875, after which he spent the last four years of his life in Bournemouth.

Dean MacNeile was a singularly gifted preacher, with all the fire and fervor of the Gaelic race. It has been said of the Irish people that their native eloquence, more often than not, finds expression in the political world. MacNeile was one of a number of exceptions. He was an ardent evangelical, highly gifted in extemporaneous preaching, of a friendly nature, and a man with a winning personality. His pronounced Protestantism became the occasion for a number of controversies, and when attacked, MacNeile never hesitated to express his definite convictions both from the pulpit and in the columns of the newspapers. His preaching is said to have been fruitful to a degree. Without employing the usual methods of the revivalist, yet numbers of people gave up their worldliness and indifferentism, and were made active Christians. Whether his understanding of the plan of salvation was thorough we cannot say, but he knew enough of the Scriptures to be the means of turning many from sin to faith in the Saviour. There were times when he expressed chiliastic views.

Dean MacNeile preached without manuscript or notes, holding a small pocket Bible in one hand, reading his numerous proof passages from it. He was a man of fine appearance, his pulpit style was impetuous, his imagination lively, and he was possessed of all the fire and fluency of language for which the Irish people are noted. Among his many published sermons and other writings mention should be made of his *Seventeen Sermons*, (1825), *Lectures on Passion Week*, (1843), *Lectures on the Prophecies Respecting the Jews*, *The Victory of Faith*, (1874), and *The Mission of the Comforter*, (1846).

Hugh J. Rose, (1795-1838)

Hugh J. Rose, often called "the restorer of the old paths," was born in Little Horsted, near Brighton, in 1795. His father, a clergyman, was of Scottish background, and a brother was also a clergyman. After attending Wickfield

School and having taken his degree at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1817, Hugh J. Rose was ordained in the Church of England. From 1822 to 1830 he was vicar of Horsham, after which he studied for a short time in Germany. He was a prebend of Chichester from 1827 to 1833, and in 1829 he became Christian Advocate at Cambridge, at which place he was select preacher from time to time between 1825 and 1834. He was rector of Hadley, Suffolk, from 1830 to 1833, and incumbent of Fairstead, Essex, from 1834 to 1837. In 1832 he founded *The British Magazine and Monthly Register*, and in 1833 he was lecturer in theology at Durham University. He was made perpetual curate of St. Thomas's, Southwark, in 1835, and principal of King's College, London. While on a continental tour he died in Florence in 1838, at the age of 43.

In theology Mr. Rose held many views that were conservative. He created somewhat of a sensation in 1825 by a series of sermons on "The State of Protestant Religion in Germany," in which he pointed out in strong language the evils of Rationalism and of a Prussian-dominated State Church. He warned in terms that could not be misunderstood that the English Church was moving in the same orbit, and must decline and perish unless liberalism could be checked. These sermons established his reputation as a forceful doctrinal preacher. Dr. Pusey issued a reply to him. Mr. Rose's remedy appears to have been a return to the ways of the primitive Christian Church and to early British Protestantism. It was said of him that he "exercised a stirring influence as a preacher."

At the outset of the Tractarian Movement he hailed it with joy, but soon stood aloof. In 1833 the famous Hadleigh Conference was held in his home, and William Palmer, A. P. Perceval and Hurrell Froude took active part. Next to Keble's famous Assize Sermon, this conference was one of the most significant incidents leading up to the Tractarian Movement.

Hugh Rose was of the old-fashioned, or as Brilioth terms it, the "static" High Church party. He recognized only too well the evils that existed in the Established Church, but

his suggested remedies were entirely different from those of Keble, Froude, Newman and Pusey. Certainly Rose would have found little in common, had he lived, with the later stages of the Tractarian Movement, which appeared at the outset to be concerned with doctrinal reform, but soon gave way to such external matters as ceremonial and vestments. Perhaps Rose sensed this coming externalism and stood aloof. Nevertheless Newman said of him: "He was the man, who above all others was suited by his talent and literary ability to take a stand, if it ever could be taken, against the evils of the age. He was gifted with a high-minded conception and breadth of view, and a real responsibility for all that was great and beautiful."¹¹³

Had H. J. Rose not died shortly after the beginning of the Tractarian Movement, the course of that revolt in the English Church might have been somewhat modified. With his latent theological ability, and with his *British Magazine* as his platform, he might have become a man of great influence, for he had the gift of presenting doctrine in popular language. Some idea of his force in the pulpit may be gained from his *Eight Sermons before the University of Cambridge*, (1830-31). Dean Burgon has given us a sketch of his life,¹¹⁴ and other material appears from time to time in Newman's *Apologia*, and in other works on the Tractarian Movement.

Baptist W. Noel, (1798-1873)

Baptist W. Noel was born in 1798 at Leightmount, in Scotland. He came of an illustrious family. After attending Westminster School, he entered Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was graduated M.A. in 1821. He began to study law, but decided later to become a clergyman. He was ordained in 1826 and became the pastor of St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row, London, a congregation that had been served by Henry Sacheverell, Thomas Scott and Richard Cecil. It was a large, drab, brick building standing in Bedford Row, near Gray's Inn, but in the days of Baptist

¹¹³. J. H. Newman, *Apologia pro Vita Sua*, (London, 1864), p. 104.

¹¹⁴. J. W. Burgon, *Lives of Twelve Good Men*, (London, 1888).

W. Noel, it became the place of worship of a large and select congregation.

At the height of his fame, it became known that Mr. Noel was about to withdraw from the Church of England. There was much excitement at the time, and when Mr. Noel preached his final sermon at St. John's Chapel, the streets were crowded with people hours before the time of worship. When the doors were thrown open, the crowds surged into the large church, men and women climbing over the backs of the pews in the scramble to find a seat. After an hour of utmost confusion order was restored, and the service was begun. The people were disappointed, for Baptist Noel preached a simple Gospel sermon, with but the slightest reference to the step that he was about to make, and with no clue as to his future intentions. It was not until he was baptized in the John Street Baptist Chapel, not far away, that the excitement in London's religious circles abated.

Many of Mr. Noel's admirers followed him when he became pastor of John Street Chapel, and he enjoyed the same popularity as a Baptist as had been the case in his days in the Established Church. He spent 22 years at St. John's Chapel and 19 years at John Street Baptist Chapel, resigning at the age of 70.

Baptist W. Noel was a thorough evangelical, and his theological views are found in all his sermons. His preaching, while not exceptionally brilliant, was always of a very high order. Many a famous preacher has been unable to maintain a uniform degree of excellence, but this was not the case with Baptist Noel. It is said that he was never disappointing. He was a man of aristocratic appearance, possessed of unusual culture, with an excellent command of clear, well-chosen language. He was quite capable of superb eloquence, but he nearly always subordinated rhetoric and oratory in the interest of evangelical truth. He believed that it is the first duty of the preacher to make clear to his hearers the doctrines of God's Word, and that the ornaments of fine rhetoric and stirring oratory can create admiration rather than spiritual conviction. It was

only upon rare occasions that he indulged in ringing eloquence, and then he confined it to a sentence or two. He preached without notes, and he was master of a simple, clear, animated style.

Baptist W. Noel was at his best when presenting the missionary cause. Contemporary writers have described his sermons: his large church filled to capacity, and the famous preacher describing in vivid words the Hindu, under a waving palm tree, casting away his hideous idols and accepting the Bible; then the people of Ceylon forsaking their pagan temples and crowding round the Christian missionary; or Gutzlaff, on the bank of a river, making known the Saviour to the Chinese people; Sierra Leone, the white man's grave, rising picturesquely above the sea, and there in the presence of the graves of his predecessors, the valiant missionary, his days on earth numbered, working feverishly to gain a few immortal souls before the pestilence claims him. Baptist Noel was able to hold the close attention of his congregation for an hour to an hour and a quarter. Then, in a forceful conclusion, he would present the cause of the Missionary Society, and urge his hearers to do their utmost to make it possible for men of every race and color to hear the Word of God and to be brought within the Christian fold.

Mr. Noel published a number of books, some of which became so popular that it is said that clergymen of all denominations gathered their people after the usual evening service, and read these books, chapter by chapter. Baptist Noel's sermons are to be found in some of the collections of the world's greatest religious discourses. His sermon *The Faith that Saves the Soul*¹¹⁵ is a careful exposition of the doctrine of justification by grace through faith. It is admirable in many respects, yet it has the one flaw so common to many sermons on the same subject, for the famous preacher does not see clearly the New Testament teaching of objective justification. The perfect righteousness of our Saviour and His perfect obedience to the Law, as well as the imputation

¹¹⁵ H. C. Fish, *Pulpit Eloquence in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1857), pp. 542ff.

of that righteousness to the believer, are dismissed with but a passing reference. Many of the great evangelical preachers of those days seemed reluctant to stress these truths, fearing that such preaching might create a sense of false security in the hearts of their congregations.

Spurgeon said: "Mr. Noel's preaching is eminently evangelical. The distinctive doctrines of the Gospel are the topics on which he almost invariably dwells. . . . He is a most pleasing as well as instructive and impressive preacher. He is one of the few ministers whom one could hear for hours in succession without wishing they were done."¹¹⁶ Dr. Tyng, of New York, said: "He is certainly a most interesting and delightful preacher; altogether extemporaneous; mild and persuasive in his manner, yet sufficiently impressive, and sometimes powerful, having a very clear and consistent flow of thought; decidedly evangelical in doctrine, though less deep and instructive in doctrine than I had expected."¹¹⁷ Mr. Noel published a number of works on doctrinal and practical subjects, as well as two hymnals.

Thomas Binney, (1798-1874)

Thomas Binney was one of London's most noted Non-conformist preachers for forty years. He was born in 1798 at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in England's north country. At an early age he worked in a book-seller's shop, where he developed an unusual love for reading. While yet a boy he studied Greek and Latin with a dissenting clergyman, and by diligent reading he became proficient in other subjects. He attended the Congregational theological school at Wymondley, Hertfordshire, for three years, and upon concluding his studies there he served a congregation in Bedford. In 1824 he was called to Newport, in the Isle of Wight.

In 1829 he received a call from King's Weigh-House Chapel, at that time in Eastcheap, London. It was here that he preached with great success for 40 years, attracting to his chapel many of the learned people of the city. In 1833 it was necessary to build a new church because of the increasing number of people who were attracted by Thomas

¹¹⁶. C. H. Spurgeon, *The Metropolitan Pulpit*, 3:38, 50.

¹¹⁷. S. H. Tyng, *Recollections of England*, (New York, 1847), p. 31.

Binney's forceful sermons. At its cornerstone laying, Mr. Binney expressed himself rather pointedly in regard to the disadvantages of a state-controlled religion, as exhibited in the Established Church. This sermon caused considerable comment, and Binney was drawn into controversies regarding Church and Chapel which at times were the occasion for considerable heated discussion. In 1857 he made a preaching tour through Australia, attracting great attention everywhere. He also visited the United States and Canada.

Although an unusually strong preacher himself, yet he came to feel that too much importance is attached to the sermon in the "chapels," or Non-conformist places of worship. Merely listening to a sermon is not enough, he declared. It is an appeal to man's intellect, and the element of worship is neglected. He prepared a simple liturgical service for his congregation, and began to write on the subject. Among other things he edited Baird's *Chapters on Liturgics*.

Dr. Binney was a man of commanding appearance and voice. As one of his friends expressed it, "a voice at the King's-Weigh House which went straight into the heart of the people, and a hand of power which could write divine sentences on the wall for all who, when weighed in the balances of truth and justice, were 'found wanting'."¹¹⁸

Binney preached with impressive vigor. His sermons have been described as Scriptural, forceful and always marked by a tone of reverence. Dr. Henry Allon, of Union Chapel, Islington, wrote of him: "Mr. Binney's eminence as a minister of Christ rested upon bases which could scarcely be demonstrated. His name is not connected with any monumental achievement, either in philanthropy, oratory, or literature. For reasons which may appear in the course of these remarks, he has left behind him no work which can be regarded as an adequate expression of his indisputable power. His reputation, like that of many great men, was won by the impression made by great faculties and noble character in their normal exercise, in his case in the common

¹¹⁸ T. H. Pattison, *The History of Christian Preaching*, (Phila., 1909), p. 329.

fellowship and counsel of ministers, and in such preachings and writings as the ordinary course of a minister's work gives occasion for. Able as are some of his sermons and pamphlets, to those otherwise unacquainted with him or his work they will not seem to justify the reputation and reverence which were accorded to him. These were evoked by the stable qualities of the man — a great intellectual, social, and religious presence — rather than by any specific achievement."¹¹⁹

Theologically Dr. Binney not only held firmly to the teachings of the Congregational denomination, but through his influence many other clergymen of his time were held firm. However, he came to question the doctrine of eternal punishment.

Binney was greatly admired by the matchless Manchester preacher, Alexander Maclaren, who declares that it was Binney more than any other man who taught him to preach. R. W. Dale calls him "magnificent." However, Dale, Allon and Brastow all agree that Dr. Binney was not always at his best. The people of London would crowd his great chapel only to discover that his magnificence of last Sunday and the preceding Sundays had given way to a day of mediocrity.

Brastow says of him: "He was a strong thinker, at home in theological questions, a man of no ordinary literary culture, of high liturgical ideas, and of oratorical power. . . . One recognizes an English solidity of thought and a stateliness of movement that indicate the careful thinker and the serious-minded teacher."¹²⁰ Brastow declares that Dr. Binney's sermons are lengthy and overelaborate, the sentences long and involved. They are textual sermons, clear in outline, and they grapple with large and important subjects.

Binney prepared his sermons with great care, but usually he preached extemporaneously and without notes. He has been called a master of accent. Without the slightest

¹¹⁹. Quoted by E. C. Dargan, *A History of Preaching*, vol. 2, (New York, 1912), p. 526.

¹²⁰. L. O. Brastow, *The Modern Pulpit*, (New York, 1906), p. 262.

effort at dramatic effect he was able to make incidents from the Bible seem to live before his hearers. In a striking sentence or two he would picture the Sea of Galilee lying mirror-like among its surrounding hills; and a sower on one of the distant hillsides seemed a living reality.

Binney came to London in 1829 to a pulpit that had long been occupied by clergymen of the genteel type, and he soon became a man who brought an end to the popularity of the elegant, stilted style of preaching that had been so typical of the London churches. He detested artificiality and falsetto rhetoric as much as he disliked the ethical preaching of his day. While by no means blunt in his preaching, yet he avoided the kid-gloved gentility that had been so common in the preaching in London. "To him the Scripture was a living and authoritative Word of God, declaring not speculations but divine facts, and revealing divine forces which, like the leaves of the Tree of Life, were for the healing of the nations."¹²¹ So closely was he able to hold the interest of a congregation that in 1839, when he preached the Annual Missionary Sermon before a great rally of London people, he held their closest attention for two solid hours by the urgency of his appeals.

Thomas Binney published a number of works. *Sermons Preached at Weigh-House Chapel*, (1829-69), *St. Paul: His Life and Ministry*, (1866) and *Service of Song in the House of the Lord*, (1848), are perhaps the best known of them all. Accounts of his life have been published several times.¹²²

James Parsons, (1799-1877)

James Parsons, the noted Congregationalist, was born in 1799 at Leeds, Yorkshire. He is called "Parsons of York" to distinguish him from his famous father, "Parsons of Leeds." James Parsons was educated at Little Woodhouse School, Leeds. In 1814 he entered the office of a

¹²¹. John Brown, *Puritan Preaching in England*, (New York, 1900), p. 213.

¹²². J. Stoughton, *Memorial of Thomas Binney*, (London, 1874); Henry Allon, *Memoir of Thomas Binney*, (London, 1869); E. P. Hood, *Thomas Binney, his Mind, Life and Opinions*, (London, 1874); Anon., *Memoir in Great Modern Preachers*, (London, 1879).

firm of barristers, intending to study for the bar. In 1818 he went to London for further legal studies, and for the study of oratory. Two years later he decided to study theology, and he entered Idle, later called Airdale College.

He was ordained in 1822 and called to Lendal Chapel. Here the experience of his famous father was repeated, for the chapel was soon overflowing, and was enlarged two or three times until the plot of ground made further enlargement impossible. Then, in 1839, the spacious Salem Chapel was built on a different site, where James Parsons preached to congregations that filled the large church. In 1870, when 71 years of age, his eyesight failed, and he retired, spending the last seven years of his life in Harrogate, Yorkshire.

"Parsons of York" has been called the barrister of the pulpit. His training in a school in London where men are prepared for legal oratory was never forgotten. He made it his practice to plead with a great congregation as though he were an attorney and they the jury. Possessed of rare gifts of persuasive oratory, he has been called the most remarkable pulpit orator of his time. However, he did not permit excellency of voice and manner to obscure his message. His sermons were prepared with a thoroughness that has been excelled by few, and they reveal a detailed acquaintance with Bible teachings, incidents and characters that makes their reading most stimulating. Few men have had such a power over an audience. A century ago, a visitor to the ancient city of York was told to do three things: see the Five Sisters windows in the north transept of the great minster church, make a circuit of the city on the top of the old city walls, and then go to Salem Chapel and hear a sermon by "Parsons of York." Dargan says that Parsons had a peculiar voice, yet "he was a man of rare powers in the pulpit, who had the art of compelling attention by the clearness of his thought and the intensity of his convictions."¹²³

In 1850 there was hardly a large city in the British Isles where James Parsons was not known, and his talents

¹²³. E. C. Dargan, *A History of Preaching*, vol. 2, p. 525.

held in high esteem. Before he was 30 years old, he was in great request as a speaker at gatherings where some worthy cause was to be presented, and the appearance of the pale, frail young man on the platform was said to have caused prolonged and excited applause, even among people so noted for their reserve as the English. In his early days he suffered from a nervous disorder which caused a rapid blinking of his eyes, and a twitching of the facial muscles. His voice was weak at the beginning of the sermon, and the sentences were jerked out nervously. In but a matter of moments all signs of weakness disappeared, and the congregation sat almost breathlessly throughout the flood of oratory that often lasted for two full hours.

A quarter of a century later it is a different James Parsons who appears in the pulpit. He is still pale, and there is still the nervous twitching of his facial muscles, but the preacher himself is stout and broad-shouldered. His opening words are still faint, and uttered in a sharp, staccato manner. As in his younger days, his preliminary weakness of voice disappears, and the congregation is amazed once more at his powers. A man who heard him preach says: "So onward he goes, brilliantly and effectively, and at length terminates his discourse by a powerful appeal, whose effects are at times overwhelming. No man can produce more startling results by appeals to the passions than James Parsons; his style in this respect sometimes approaches to the terrible; and frequently shrieking females, and terror-stricken men, bear witness to his powerful eloquence."¹²⁴ His *Sermons Critical and Explanatory*, (London, 1835), and his *Nineteen Sermons*, (London, 1830), are perhaps the best known of his published works.

¹²⁴. John Dix, *Pen Portraits of Popular English Preachers*, (London, 1852), p. 57.

CHAPTER X

THE TRACTARIAN MOVEMENT

DURING the first half of the eighteenth century many English people looked upon the Established Church as a distinctive British institution that had originated at the time of the Reformation. To the average Anglican it was something solid, substantial, conservative, and as much a part of their national life as the Government, the Bank and the national anthem. Not all English people shared this view, however, for as early as the days of the Non-Jurors of the seventeenth century there were men who declared that the Holy Catholic Church and the Roman Church are by no means one and the same. They believed that the Holy Catholic Church includes all Christians, and that the Church of England is a living branch of this ancient Church, with a valid apostolic succession that can be traced back to Pentecost.

Even though many of the people looked upon the Established Church as a stronghold of Protestantism and a product of the Reformation, while others preferred to think of it as a part of the Church Catholic, yet the great majority of churchmen were satisfied, and would have been offended had they been told that all was not well within her ranks. They loved their ancient cathedrals and accepted their bishops as a part of their religious life. On Sunday those who felt inclined to do so went to the parish church, which was, more often than not, an ancient building set within its own spacious churchyard beneath whose lichen-covered headstones slept unnumbered generations of people who had worshiped within those same walls of the parish church. In the early decades of the nineteenth century one might often come upon a churchyard where the grass was allowed to grow knee-deep, where the great oaks and elms were untrimmed, and where the church building itself showed indications of neglect.

Charles Dickens and other writers give us some strange descriptions of the church life of those days. They tell us of old churches with stove-pipes thrust through holes cut

in the stained glass windows, with no altar other than a common deal table covered with a soiled spread of green baize, and used both as a Communion table and by the church officers as a writing table. They describe a small, lifeless congregation gathered in a large church, and a languid curate in the pulpit droning out a meaningless sermon on some secular topic. No doubt such descriptions pertain to exceptional cases rather than to the average church of those days, yet there is sufficient evidence that religious life was at a low ebb, both in the Established Church and among the Nonconformists.

The Evangelical Awakening in the days of Wesley and Whitefield had done much to reform the religious life of Britain, but after the death of its great leaders, its influence began to decline slowly. Such has been the unfortunate history of many reformations. Man's human nature leads him to forget, and a period of great religious awakening is often followed by a down-grade movement. It is not necessary to recall in detail the melancholy story of the first decades of the nineteenth century. R. W. Church has spoken of them,¹ and so have Abbey and Overton.² Many others have painted the picture in even more somber tones. Conditions were bad, and there has been a tendency to lay stress upon their worst features and to assert that it was the Tractarians who brought about the reform.

Pluralism was one of the notorious evils of that period. The same man might be bishop of one diocese, dean of another and rector of two or three parish churches at one and the same time. In 1816 the Bishop of Llandaff held no less than sixteen benefices.³ Another bishop, his son and his grandson held benefices that yielded the three men a combined income of \$150,000 a year; and this at a time when many a less fortunate clergyman was compelled to live on as little as \$250 a year.⁴ Families of from twelve to sixteen children were common in those days, and a salary

¹. R. W. Church, *The Oxford Movement*, (London, 1891).

². C. J. Abbey and J. H. Overton, *The English Church in the Eighteenth Century*, 2 vols., (London, 1878), vol. I, p. 10ff.

³. Watson, *Life of Richard Watson*, (1817), vol. I, p. 307.

⁴. Abbey and Overton, *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 16.

of \$250 per year meant but 68 cents a day for the poorer clergy.

Non-residence was the rule rather than the exception. In 1813 it was found that 6,300 parishes out of a total of 10,800 were without a resident pastor.⁵ In some cases the care of the parish was delegated to a wretchedly paid curate: in other cases the people had to be content with an occasional visit from a non-resident vicar or curate. Cases are cited, and names mentioned, where an unordained curate made the rounds of several such parishes. Some of the saddest cases are those of aged clergymen, remainders from the days of the Evangelical Awakening, who rode their tired horses from village to village, preaching here and there as opportunity permitted, giving catechetical instruction to young and old, baptizing children and burying the dead. These aged men did this work without a thought of remuneration, rather than see the people utterly neglected. In some congregations the people had to be satisfied with but one or two celebrations of Holy Communion a year. In some of the worst instances the people had no spiritual care whatever, their children grew up unbaptized and uninstructed, and the church service was read by a layman, a few hymns were sung and the people were sent home without a sermon. All the while the income from these parishes was enjoyed by some bishop, dean or rector who might live many miles away and rarely, if ever, visit the parish. Such men often lived in fine homes, ate the best of food, drank the finest of wines, rode to the hounds and considered themselves great gentlemen.

Nepotism was another abuse of the day. Patronage existed, and the "presentation" was in the hands of a bishop, a university, a magistrate or a wealthy land-owner. Such men had the right to select the candidate where a vacancy occurred, and there are many cases where the son of the patron, the grandson or the nephew were appointed regardless of their fitness. A course of classical study at Oxford or Cambridge was looked upon as a useful qualification, but was by no means essential. Men were ordained without any previous theological study, and there are certain well-known

⁵. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-14.

and oft-quoted cases where a bishop was content to ask a candidate half a dozen simple questions over his morning tea and toast, or even on the cricket grounds.

Erastianism was one of the evils that the people accepted as a matter of course. The Church was not much more than a department of the civil government, and hence it was regulated by the crown and by Parliament. Its internal affairs were at the mercy of the political party that happened to be in power. Its bishops were virtually officers of the State, and it was taken for granted that any religious body that was willing to draw State support must be willing to be governed by the State. Not all clergymen accepted this without protest. In Scotland there was a decided sentiment in favor of disestablishment of their State Church, which was Presbyterian; while in England there were clergymen and lay people who believed that the Church is a spiritual institution, and must not be subject to the rulers of the State.

The poor preaching of those days is too well known to need extended comment.⁶ In many cases evangelical preaching was looked upon as Methodistic, if not revivalistic, and the people who withdrew from the Church and united with the Dissenting chapels were considered enthusiasts. Some parsons were too busy with their fox-hunting, their grouse-shooting and their beer-drinking to give serious study to their sermons. The more serious clergymen often wrote harmless little sermons, paying more attention to elegant, polished rhetoric than to spiritual instruction; and they read these essays in a quiet monotone to a few drowsy listeners. The clergy of the Evangelical party were the exceptions, and it was these men, both in Church and in Chapel, who kept burning the light of evangelical truth even in the darkest days. Their party was a minority group, but it is a significant fact that at all times the Lord has preserved His faithful remnant, and they have proved to be faithful witnesses.

The fault did not lie wholly with the leaders of the Church. It was an age of industrial expansion, and populations had shifted. Many a thriving village became a ghost town. Cities in the industrial Midlands grew enormously,

⁶. See Abbey and Overton, *Op. cit.*,

and funds were not sufficient to build the hundreds of new churches needed. The Napoleonic wars had made any such construction difficult, and often impossible, for materials were set aside for military use. Many a church building in the smaller towns and in the country fell into disrepair. In suburban areas and in the great cities that grew up as a result of the shifting population, thousands of people were neglected. Even at a time when such excellent organizations as the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Religious Tract Society, the Church Missionary Society and the London Missionary Society were flourishing, yet missionary spirit was at a low ebb in many places, and not much was done to remedy these unfortunate conditions.

The Tractarian Movement was but a part of a much wider reaction against the spiritual deadness, the deism and the worldliness of the early nineteenth century. It was a part of a general awakening of public opinion that brought about things as the Ecclesiastical Commission of 1835, the Church Pluralities Act of 1838 and other reforms. The Tractarians were a group of young men who had become acquainted at Oxford. Richard Whatley, Thomas Arnold and R. D. Hampden realized the sad conditions in the Anglican Church, and would have welcomed a remedy; but it remained for such men as John Keble, J. H. Newman, E. B. Pusey, Hurrell Froude and Charles Marriott to give general shape to the movement.

The average man believes that this group of Tractarians set out with the express motive of leading the Established Church back to Rome. Such is not the case, for at the time of Keble's Assize Sermon, it is a question whether any of these men had any sort of a definite plan in mind. There were no Romanizing tendencies in the year 1833, or for some time thereafter. The original intention was not to restore an elaborate liturgy and colorful ceremonial. That, like the so-called Gothic Revival, came as a later by-product of the movement.

John Keble was a quiet, inconspicuous and unassuming young curate who was assistant to his father in nearby Gloucestershire. By merest chance it fell his lot to preach a

sermon on July 14, 1833, upon the occasion of the quarterly assizes. He was a dreamy young man who spent his leisure time writing hymns and poetry, and was not a man of fiery eloquence by any means. He may have lacked the gifts of an orator, but he was a man without fear. He pointed out in definite language the awful apostasy of the times, and his earnestness made a deep impression upon the group of men who had gathered to hear him that summer day in St. Mary's Church, Oxford.

Keble had a friend named John H. Newman, who had just returned from a journey of six months to southern Europe, and he had reached his mother's home at Iffley, within the sight of the gray towers of Oxford. He did not arrive in time to hear the Assize Sermon, but he was soon aware of the sensation caused by it. Newman always declared that Keble's sermon marked the beginning of the Tractarian Movement. Within days Keble's sermon was in print, and was being read throughout the British Isles.

The Assize Sermon, which may be found among Keble's published writings, does not seem remarkable today, for it sets forth facts that are known to many. In 1833 it was a different matter. Men knew that conditions in England were deplorable, and that they cried to the very heavens for redress; and now a curate from a country village had appeared on a drowsy summer day, and in his quiet, earnest manner, and without flashing rhetoric, had told the leaders the truth.

The things that John Keble told the lawmakers that day were not new. He and his friend Newman had discussed them many times with Hurrell Froude, Charles Marriott and possibly with E. B. Pusey as well. They were men of an evangelical background, there was a time when they admired the great John Wesley, who had died a year before Keble, the oldest of the group, was born. They admitted that Wesley had done much to reform England, but they felt that his preaching, and that of George Whitefield, had been too subjective, and had reached the common people rather than the intellectual classes. They believed that Wesley's Oxford group had fallen into an error that their own Oxford group

must not repeat, namely the absence of authority. In seeking to avoid this pit into which they thought that Wesley had fallen, the Tractarians fell into another pit themselves, for they sought that authority in the voice of the Early Church, rather than in the revealed will of God in the Holy Scriptures. John Keble's Assize Sermon pointed accusingly to the evils of the day, but its weakness lies in the fact that it does not provide a sure remedy for these evils.

Hardly had the excitement created by the Assize Sermon died down than J. H. Newmann startled England with his *Tracts for the Times*. The first three issues, all dated September 9, 1833, were written by Newman himself. Like Keble's sermon, these ninety tracts seem prosaic enough when one reads them today, and the wonder is that they created so great a sensation in 1833 and the following years. It is not necessary to describe the tracts in detail: if the reader is particularly interested, the complete series in bound form may be had of any leading second-hand book shop. Newman wrote a number of the tracts himself, John Keble wrote others, R. H. Froude wrote several, Pusey wrote some of the later ones, while a number are by obscure authors.⁷ Most of the tracts are from four to twelve pages in length, while some of the later ones fill from 32 to as many as 100 pages.

The first tract begins in a challenging tone. "Fellow labourers," cried Newman, "I am but one of yourselves. Yet speak I must; for the times are very evil, yet no one speaks against them." Then, declaring that the ministry is of divine institution, and given by the Lord Jesus to His Apostles and to all their successors down to the present time, Newman urges his fellow clergymen to "speak out now, before you are forced." He declares: "A notion has gone abroad that they can take away your power. They think they have given, and can take it away. They think it lies in the Church property, and they know that they have politically the power to confiscate that property. They have been deluded into a notion that present palpable usefulness,

⁷. See H. P. Liddon, *Life of Edward B. Pusey*, 4 vols., (London, 1893-97), vol. III, pp. 473-480 for a list of the Tracts and their authors.

producible results, acceptableness to your flocks, that these and such like are the tests of your divine commission. Enlighten them in this matter. Exalt our Holy Fathers the Bishops, as the Representatives of the Apostles and the Angels of the Churches. And magnify your office, as being ordained by them to take part in their ministry."

Just how the Tractarians hoped to reform the evils of their day — if such was their intention — by the discussion of such subjects as are to be found in their *Tracts*, is puzzling to the reader of today. Here are a few of the subjects discussed, taken at random: Thoughts on the Ministerial Commission; On Alterations in the Liturgy; The Present Obligation of Primitive Practice; The Gospel a Law of Liberty; On Shortening the Church Service; The Visible Church; The Sunday Lessons; The Apostolic Succession; The Athanasian Creed; The Great Necessity and Advantage of Public Prayer; Christian Liberty; The Reformed Church; Baptism; The Grounds of our Faith.

The *Tracts* pleased the bishops at first, for Newman described the visible Church as an ark of salvation and a channel of all grace, and he implied that there could be no rightful Church without bishops and without an apostolic succession. This was not a new doctrine, but had been used by the prelatie party for years, both in England and Scotland. The bishops were pleased with it, for it set forth their claims in regard to the alleged divine institution of prelacy, and their desire to be free of interference on the part of Parliament. However, the *Christian Observer*, an organ of the Evangelical party, began to declare that the *Tracts* had taken on a tone that suggested Romanism. Newman assailed the claims of Rome in vigorous language, and declared that the Tractarians sought nothing more than a mediating position between Rome on the one hand and an extreme Protestantism on the other. He develops this idea in *Tract 38* and continues it in *Tract 41*. In the former he expresses his thorough dislike for Geneva and Rome alike, and insists that the English Church lies between the two. He mentions some of his "irreconcilable differences with Rome," such as justification by inherent righteousness, merit through good

works, profane and impious transsubstantiation, the denial of the cup to the laity, the blasphemous and dangerous sacrifice of the mass, the honor paid to images, the monstrous invention of indulgences, the doctrine of purgatory, the use of Latin in the services, forced confession of sins, invocation of the saints, seven Sacraments, the doctrine of tradition, the recognition of the pope as universal bishop. These Newman rejects as unscriptural, profane, impious, bold and unwarranted, blasphemous and dangerous, very full of peril, gross and monstrous and a great corruption. These expressions are all his. Nevertheless, as the tracts continued to appear, they caused great excitement, and a gradual Romeward tendency became evident. *Tract 75* defended the Roman breviary, *Tract 80* recommended reservation, while in *Tract 90* Newman declared that a man might hold Roman Catholic convictions and yet subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles. The protest against this last tract was so general that Bishop Bagot of Oxford ordered the series discontinued. This was in the year 1841. Newman, realizing that his efforts had failed, retired to Littlemore, near Oxford, and lived in retirement, and in 1845 he made his submission to Rome.

After Newman's retirement in 1841, E. B. Pusey became one of the most influential leaders of the Tractarians. The controversy over externals was a later development, and was but a by-product of Tractarianism. To the average man the Tractarian movement suggests an altar ablaze with many candles, an altar crucifix, vestments and genuflection. The early Tractarians knew but little of such things. Even Pusey himself arose in a meeting and exclaimed, "Do tell me what you mean by a chasuble. I have never seen one."

Augustus C. Pugin, a French architect and archaeologist, came to London in 1798, established a school for young architects and became famous as a teacher. His son, Augustus W. N. Pugin was an eminent architect, archaeologist, ecclesiologist and writer. From 1836 to 1843 he was associated with Sir Charles Barry designing the Gothic detail for the Houses of Parliament. He published several quarto volumes on Gothic churches and their furnishings, but in 1851 he became deranged from overwork and was confined

in Bedlam. His son, Edward W. Pugin, succeeded him and built a number of Gothic churches between 1851 and 1875. The Pugins sent their pupils throughout England making careful measured drawings of the old churches, publishing these drawings in the form of a series of large volumes. In 1846 Pugin's *Glossary* appeared. It was a large quarto volume, with many colored plates, showing church ornaments, symbols and vestments. M. H. Bloxham's *Principles of Gothic* first appeared in 1829, and was reprinted several times. Thomas Rickman published a good sized book, well illustrated, in which he attempted to classify the ancient churches according to several periods, and showing an evolution of styles, from Saxon through several periods of Norman and Gothic. J. H. Parker, Pusey's publisher, issued three small handbooks of architecture and ornament for the clergy and a large, copiously illustrated three-volume work for advanced students. A tremendous interest in traditional church building was the result. England had thirty or more old cathedrals, scores of ruined abbeys and thousands of ancient churches. Many of these had been treated rudely due to neglect or else clumsy alterations.

The wave of popular interest which came about as a by-product of the Tractarian Movement, did not stop with a study of the ancient church buildings. It became the fashion to restore these churches to their original condition. Altars had, in a great many cases, become mere baize-covered Communion tables; but now there was a demand that at least a high altar of traditional type, and in some cases side altars in adjoining chapels, be restored to the churches. Ancient stone fonts, which had often been relegated to the churchyard or the vicarage garden to serve as bird baths and flower urns, were brought back into the churches. Ancient stained glass, which had often been removed and tossed into some dark corner of the crypt, was carefully repaired and replaced in the window openings.

With the restoration of the altar, there was a demand for candles and altar crosses. There was vehement objection when crosses and candles began to appear on the altar, and when altar and pulpit hangings made their appearance.

It is difficult to realize today that the Anglican church buildings of the early nineteenth century were often bare and colorless within. A trivial Communion table stood in the chancel, the pulpit was often a plain affair of pine, stained brown, and the nave was cluttered with box-pews with high backs and doors. Among the chapels of the Nonconformists matters were equally bad, for their church interiors were plain, colorless halls, often without so much as a Communion table or a font.

It is not surprising that when clergymen of the Established Church began to appear in white surplices instead of the old Geneva robe and bands, and to read the service from the steps of an altar, adorned with a cross and a pair of candlesticks, that the people protested. When the responsive reading of the liturgy gave way to chanting, the protests became more pronounced. Some of the clergy went even beyond that. There was a great revival of interest in the old rubrics, or printed directions for the conducting of the service. Clergymen of "advanced" views met and read papers to one another on such things, and the people were astonished when some of their pastors began to face the altar during the prayers, to incline their heads when the name "Jesus" was said, and to make the sign of the cross over the congregation at the final blessing. All of these were old customs, but they had been long in disuse in most places, and the people, and some of the clergy, looked upon their revival as an effort to lead the Established Church back to Rome. There were sensational lawsuits, a few clergymen were imprisoned for the violation of the Public Worship Regulation Act, and Edward King, Bishop of Lincoln, was brought to trial for such things as using lighted candles when they were not needed to read his service-book, allowing the *Agnus Dei* to be sung, turning his back to the congregation at certain parts of the service so that his gestures could not be seen, adding water to the wine used at Communion and making the sign of the cross when pronouncing the absolution and the final blessing.⁸ If such things sound strange today, it must not be forgotten that even in the Church of England, and at Lincoln, the sermons of Bishop King were

often punctuated by cries of "Hallelujah!" and "Praise the Lord!" from the congregation.⁹

Violent controversy broke out in many places, and in London's East End, and at St. Barnabas Pimlico and St. Alban's Holborn there were disturbances. Certain London newspapers made matters worse by their violent attacks upon the clergymen who burned candles on their altar and allowed altar crosses or crucifixes. The cry of "No popery!" was raised once more. Had it not been for these controversies, perhaps the last stages of the Tractarian Movement might have been different, but ritual riots, newspaper attacks and heated orations in Parliament only served to cause some to go to extremes. Not content with altar crosses and candles, they began to display six lighted candles on the altar, then eight, and to wear not only a white surplice, but all manner of colored vestments usually associated with the Roman Rite. In 1874 William Haslam, an eloquent clergyman of the evangelical group, preached at a missionary rally in St. Paul's Cathedral. Observing clergymen clad in cassocks, girdles and capes, he made the cathedral ring with an old-fashioned sermon on justification by faith alone. He declared that an unconverted ministry is the curse of the Church; and that salvation is a direct transaction between the believer and his Lord, without the intervention of priest or sacrament. A disturbance followed, some of the clergy leaving the church in protest and casting their robes on the sacristy floor as they departed.¹⁰

Just before the second World War London had thirteen churches in the City proper, and a number of others in the adjoining boroughs where one or more of the once-disputed practices are observed. Of the thirteen in the City, twelve list a weekly celebration of the Eucharist with a sung service, eight have a daily Communion service, eight have opportunities for private confession and absolution, while five practice reservation of the Sacrament.

⁹ G. W. E. Russell, *Edward King, Bishop of Lincoln*, (London, 1912), p. 147.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

¹¹ Wm. Haslam, *Yet not I*, (1882), pp. 261-264.

Whether such returns to early customs have proved beneficial to preaching or have proved detrimental to it is a disputed question. The Anglo-Catholics point to such men as Goulburn, Lightfoot, Church, Liddon, Holland and Stanton. The Low Churchman and the Nonconformist, while admitting that these men were notable preachers for all their lights and ceremonies, yet raise the question as to whether Tractarianism and its modern representative, Anglo-Catholicism, can direct attention to such a group of undying names as those of Wesley, Whitefield, Berridge and Ven, or of Simeon, Hall, Robertson and Dale, or of Spurgeon, Clifford, Meyer, Hughes and Pearse, and in our own day of Gipsy Smith, Jowett, Young, Jones and Morgan, — not to mention a much longer list of illustrious names of Scottish, Welsh and Cornish preachers.

John Keble, (1792-1866)

John Keble, whose sermon *The National Apostasy* marked the beginning of a new epoch in the history of the Anglican Church, was born in 1792 at Fairford, Gloucestershire. His father was vicar of Coln St. Aldwin's nearby. The elder Keble taught his own sons, and so well did he do this that John had no difficulty, in 1806, in entering Corpus Christi College, Oxford. He was given a fellowship at Corpus Christi in 1811, and in 1818 he became tutor at Oriel College.

He received deacon's orders in 1815, and he was ordained the following year. He was given two adjoining parishes, East Leach and Burthorpe, in Gloucestershire; and later he assumed the care of Southrop as well. In 1825 he was given the parish of Hursley, Hants., near the cathedral city of Winchester, and about 50 miles south of Oxford. However, his father's failing health made it necessary for him to return to Fairford, near Oxford, and assist his father, to whom he was deeply attached. In 1831 he was appointed lecturer on poetry at Oxford, and he filled this position for ten years, and without neglecting his parish duties.

In 1836 he was appointed once more to Hursley, Hants., and he established his residence there and served the parish for 30 years.

John Keble's sudden rise to national prominence came because of a sermon that he preached on July 14, 1833, upon the occasion of the quarterly assizes. Little did the group of clergymen, college people and barristers who assembled that day in St. Mary's Church on the High, realize that the words of the quiet young poet from a sleepy Gloucestershire village were to start a commotion such as the English Church had not seen in three centuries.

Taking his text from I Samuel 12, 23, he spoke of Samuel as an example to the Christian in his attitude toward the State. Keble had detested Erastianism, and now he declared the divine origin of the Christian Church, and her right to regulate her own internal affairs without interference from the government. It is doubtful whether Keble himself realized that his rather quiet words would soon echo throughout the English-speaking world. Newman had just returned from abroad at the time, but he declared more than once that Keble's Assize Sermon marked the beginning of the Tractarian, or Oxford Movement.

Upon Newman's return to England the same year, he began the publication of his *Tracts for the Times*. Keble wrote the fourth tract, on the apostolic succession, and the thirteenth, on the Sunday pericopes. A little later he wrote No. 40, in regard to marriage with an unbaptized person, and No. 89, on the mysticism of the early Church Fathers. Three other tracts are sometimes attributed to him.

For a long time Keble had been writing religious poetry. His father was anxious to see its publication, and in 1827 the elder Keble, realizing that his days were numbered, urged his son to publish his poems. The result was *The Christian Year*, a little volume that had reached its 95th edition during its author's lifetime, and which had exhausted 160 editions not many years after his death. Each edition is said to have numbered 5,000 to 10,000 copies. Keble is also famous as a hymn writer. "Sun of my Soul," sung unfortunately to an anemic adaptation of a sturdy German *chorale*, is one of his most familiar hymns.

John Keble heard with bitter sorrow the submission of his friend Newman to the Roman Church. This led him to

publish *Sermons Academical and Occasional* in 1847, his object being to persuade other men not to follow Newman, but to remain in *Ecclesia Anglicana* and seek to help her from within her borders. *Sermons Occasional and Parochial* appeared shortly after his death, followed by a collection of 12 volumes of his collected sermons.¹¹

With the single exception of his famous Assize Sermon, Keble's reputation rests upon his printed sermons rather than those delivered from the pulpit. He had few of the external graces of a preacher. He was timid in appearance, homely, and his voice was not strong. He preached quietly, although at times he was able to express himself in an impressive manner, despite his physical shortcomings. His theology is simple: Man is a lost sinner, and in need of the grace of God in Christ, which Keble believed was conveyed to man solely through the true Body and true Blood of the Saviour in the Eucharist. This, he believed should be celebrated daily. He does not seem to have opposed the idea of a State Church, but he was a lifelong foe of interference on the part of the State with the internal affairs of the Church. He accepted the prelacy, and laid stress upon the apostolic succession. He was a High Churchman in doctrine, and he died just at the time when Tractarianism was entering its second stage, when vestments and ceremonial became matters of major concern.¹²

Walter F. Hook, (1798-1875)

Walter F. Hook, Dean of Chichester, was a man of moderate High Church sympathies, although he never became a member of the Tractarian party. He was born in 1798 in London, where his father was a clergyman. After attending schools in Hereford and Tiverton, he studied at Winchester College and later at Christ Church, Oxford, from which he was graduated in 1821. He was ordained the same year, and became curate to his father at Whippingham,

¹¹. John Keble, *Sermons for the Christian Year*, 12 vols., (1875-80).

¹². For biographical material see J. T. Coleridge, *Memoir of John Keble*, 2 vols., (London, 1869); J. C. Shairp, *John Keble*, (Edinburgh, 1866); Walter Lock, *John Keble, a Biography*, (London, 3d. ed., 1893); Geoffrey Faber, *Oxford Apostles*, (London, 1932) pp. 86-98; E. Wood, *Leaders of the Church*, (London, 1909).

Isle of Wight. In 1825 the perpetual curacy of Moseley was given him, and two years later to this was added the lectureship of St. Philip's, Birmingham.

In 1828 Mr. Hook became vicar of Holy Trinity, Coventry, an important parish, but at that time in a condition of lethargy. His preaching soon put fresh life into the congregation. He started evening services, at which he expounded various books of the Bible. He introduced the custom of observing Lent, and other seasons and festivals of the Christian Year. He introduced more frequent celebration of Holy Communion, at a time when this Sacrament was celebrated infrequently. While in Coventry, Walter Hook gained a reputation as a forceful preacher.

In 1838 he was made vicar of Leeds, Yorkshire. He found the parish church in a run-down condition, with but 50 people presenting themselves at his first celebration of Holy Communion. The 14 other Anglican congregations of Leeds were in a dying condition, with people forsaking them for the Nonconformist chapels. So effective was Hook's ministry in Leeds that the parish church had to be entirely rebuilt, and enlarged so as to seat almost 4,000 people. Through his energetic work, new vitality was given to the 14 other congregations of the city, then numbering about 135,000 inhabitants. No less than 21 new congregations were founded, 30 parochial schools started (where only three had existed before), and the number of residences for the clergy increased from six to 29.

In 1842 Mr. Hook laid the foundation stone of the new St. Saviour's Church, a \$30,000 structure built and paid for by Dr. E. B. Pusey as a memorial to his wife. It was consecrated in 1845. Later some of the clergy of St. Saviour's made their submission to Rome. Hook was blamed for this by the Low Church party, who declared that his extreme views in regard to the office of the Church and the ministry had encouraged them to secede. He was taken to task by the Tractarians because he had condemned some of the more extreme matters of doctrine and ritual at St. Saviour's.

In 1859 he was made dean of Chichester Cathedral. It was during his incumbency that the lofty central tower and

spire of the cathedral were found to be in a dangerous condition, threatening not only the ancient cathedral, but the houses that crowded it on all sides. The dramatic efforts of the workmen who toiled day and night to save the tower, the evacuation of the people of the neighborhood, and the final collapse of the tower furnished the newspapers of the world with front-page reading for weeks.

Walter Hook's most notable sermon was preached in 1838 before the young Queen Victoria. Taking the text "Hear the church," he declared that the Anglican Church was not a new sect, founded in the sixteenth century, but a part of the old Christian Church that was founded at Pentecost. The Church of England, he insisted, did not secede from the Latin Church. Rather did the Roman Catholics quit the historic Church. Anglican orders may be traced back unbrokenly, he asserted, to the days of the Apostles, and the Established Church has every right to claim a valid apostolic succession.

Such a sermon today would not cause the slightest surprise, but in 1838 it was generally believed that Protestantism had broken away from the ancient Church at the time of the Reformation. To be told that it was not a severed branch, but a part of the living tree itself, caused a great sensation at the time. More than 100,000 copies of Hook's sermon were sold within a short time, and it was discussed everywhere. The Tractarians, as well as the old High Church party, hailed it with joy. Low Church clergymen, the Broad Church party and the Evangelical group denounced it as dangerously near heresy, and declared Hook to be unsound on the doctrine of the Church and the ministry.

Dean Hook was not a man of pleasing appearance in the pulpit. He was homely, and ponderous of body, but he was possessed of great magnetism, a fine voice and an energetic manner of delivery. His spoken words were described as plain, direct in style, thoughtful, and forceful both in their piety and in their direct appeal. He has left several books of sermons. While these are simple and earnest, yet they retain little of the vigor of thought and language that,

according to his contemporaries, marked his spoken discourses.

Dean Hook was a man of prodigious capacity for work. He did much to persuade the English-speaking world that the education of the young is a duty of the State, and not of the Church. This error of judgment on his part contributed much toward the modern system of secularized, State-controlled education. Curiously enough, he is said to be the originator of the idea of released-time religious instruction.

Dean Hook published a collection entitled *Five Sermons Preached before the University of Oxford*, (1837), *Sermons on Various Subjects*, two volumes, (1841-42), a *Church Dictionary*, (1842) and a *Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Biography*, eight volumes, (1845-52).

Edward B. Pusey, (1800-1882)

Edward B. Pusey, a leader of the Tractarian party, was born in Pusey, Berkshire, near Oxford, in 1800. He came of a titled family. His preparatory education was received at Mitcham, Surrey and at Eaton. In 1819 he entered college at Christ Church, Oxford, and in 1823 he was awarded a coveted fellowship in Oriel College. He was acquainted at Oriel with Keble and Newman. At the urgent suggestion of Dr. Chas. Lloyd, he went to Germany in 1825 and spent two years in the study of Oriental languages and theology. It was Dr. Lloyd's fear that German Biblical criticism might invade England and undermine British theological thought. It was young Pusey's task to prepare himself to combat Biblical criticism.

Pusey returned to England and in 1828 published a book on German Rationalism. The book was a reply to H. J. Rose, who had delivered a series of lectures in which he insisted that England need not fear that Rationalism would gain a foothold in Anglican circles. Pusey, in his reply, declared that orthodoxy in Germany had become dead formalism. He feared that the same conditions existed in England, and predicted that Rationalism would cause havoc in the British Isles as it had done on the Continent. Although his book was an attack on Rationalism, yet it caused Pusey to be suspected by some of rationalistic leanings himself.

Pusey took deacon's orders in 1828, and the following year he became regius professor of Hebrew at Oxford, and canon of Christ Church. He was ordained in 1829.

While closely associated with Newman and Keble in their High Church movement, yet Pusey did not unite with them actively at first. All shared the opinion that the English Church lacked spiritual life. English preaching was hopelessly dull and without conviction; the parsons led easy, worldly lives; pluralism and absenteeism were too prevalent; instruction of the youth was sadly neglected, and the parish churches were empty on Sunday.

In an attempt to remedy matters, Newman began the publication of his *Tracts for the Times*, in 1833. His intention at the outset was to revive the old doctrines of Christianity and to instruct the people in these truths. In 1835 Pusey was asked to write Tracts 67, 68 and 69, on Holy Baptism. About this time he declared himself in full membership with the Tractarian, or High Church group. Pusey was 33 years of age, but in spite of his youth, he had become recognized as a man of great diligence and learning. His active identification with the Tractarians gave them a prestige that they had not enjoyed before. In his three tracts on Holy Baptism, Pusey defended the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration. In his tract on the Eucharist, written the following year, he proclaimed the doctrine of the Real Presence, but at the same time described the Sacrament in terms that suggested the idea of a sacrifice.

In 1838 he began a work that was to bring him further fame, in his publication of the first of some 48 or 50 volumes of the *Lives of the Fathers*. With him in this laborious undertaking were associated J. H. Newman, John Keble, Hurrell Froude and others.

In 1843 Pusey preached a sermon in Christ Church that was to bring him into international prominence. His subject was *The Holy Eucharist*, and in it he defended the Real Presence, as well as the sacrificial idea. This sermon led to his inhibition for two years. The incident created an international sensation, for Pusey was looked upon as one of the foremost scholars of Oxford. The fact that he was silenced

for two years made him a martyr in the minds of many, and it was declared that he had been inhibited because of his protest against the latitudinarian theology of the Established Church. There is no question that liberalism was rife in those days, but Pusey had gone farther than to preach the Real Presence. He had spoken of the Eucharist as a sacrifice, a thing which escaped the notice of many people who were ready to hail him as a martyr to the cause of conservative theology. His teachings were declared *quaedam doctrinae ecclesiae Anglicanae dissona et contraria*, and Pusey's name was entered in the black-book of more than one bishop.

The *Tracts for the Times* had stirred up a storm of protest, and Pusey, with great skill as a controversial writer, defended the Tractarians and their teachings. In 1845, to Pusey's great sorrow, his friend Newman made his submission to the Roman Church. Pusey remained in the Anglican Church to his dying day. After Newman's secession, Pusey became the recognized leader of the Tractarian party, and so thoroughly was he identified with it that two new words were added to the English language: *Puseyite*, meaning an advanced churchman, and *Puseyism*, meaning advanced doctrines or ritual. However, Pusey himself was interested chiefly in the doctrines of the movement. In later years when Tractarianism laid stress upon liturgy, ceremonial, sacred art and a revival of Mediaeval architecture, Pusey condemned these things as weaknesses. While he finally laid aside his black robe and white bands and somewhat grudgingly accepted a cassock and white surplice, yet he had no sympathy with Mass vestments. Once he arose in a gathering of clergymen and exclaimed: "Do tell me what a chasuble is! You are forever discussing dress rather than doctrine. I am not sure that I have ever seen one of these chasubles that we have been hearing so much about."

In 1845 Pusey founded St. Saviour's, Leeds, and built a \$30,000 church at his own expense, in memory of his wife. It is said in Leeds that the bishop would not tolerate an inscription "Erected by a Poor Sinner," on the ground that proof had not yet been furnished that the sinner in question was still living. Pusey chose to keep his part in the financing

of the enterprise a secret, and the bishop suspected that a work of merit might be involved. In 1845 Pusey, who had come in contact with the female diaconate in Germany, introduced deaconesses into England, in the face of a storm of indignant protest. In 1850 the Gorham Judgment caused many Anglican clergymen to follow Newman to Rome. Pusey stood his ground, urged his friends to remain in the Anglican Church, and devoted his time to leading the attack on latitudinarian theology.

Like John Keble, Pusey's reputation as a preacher rests upon a single sermon. However, the excitement caused by his inhibition caused him to be in great request as a preacher, after the two years of his suspension had ended. He cannot be called a great preacher on any other ground than because of his enormous influence. He was a frail, sickly looking little man, his shoulders bent, his chest narrow, his hands thin and waxy, like those of a tubercular patient. His hair was thin, his forehead high, his nose beak-like, his eyes sunken, and he wore a pair of old-fashioned steel-rimmed spectacles of small size. His lips were thin, his mouth small and his chin pointed and protruding. His skin was the color of old parchment, and stretched tightly over his bony face. All agree that he resembled nothing so much as an Egyptian mummy.

His expression was sad and severe. He spoke in a thin, querulous voice that was hardly audible, and he never lifted his eyes from his manuscript, reading his sermon in a lifeless monotone. He stood motionless, and there was not a gesture throughout the sermon. The subject matter of his sermons, dry as dust, lacked all suspicion of evangelical spirit. From the theological standpoint, few men have ever equalled him in a knowledge of the history of doctrine, but as a practical theologian, able to distinguish between Law and Gospel, or to see the correct relation of faith and works, or to grasp the meaning of objective Justification, his understanding was hardly that of a theological student in his first year.

Strangely enough, this man who lacked all the spiritual, theological and external gifts of a preacher, was in great

demand throughout England, and multitudes flocked to hear his lifeless and dry sermons. Bishops forbade him the use of the pulpits in their territory, but rectors and vicars defied their bishops and welcomed him. The small Evangelical party in the English Church despised him, and looked upon him as the most dangerous man of his time.

Writers on the history of preaching have given many pages to Pusey, not because of his eloquence, his spiritual fervor, his evangelical zeal or his freshness of thought, for he lacked all of these. He deserves more than passing mention because he was the leader of a group within the Anglican Church that was soon to cause a revolt within the English Church, and whose influence was to reach out to many other lands.

Dr. Pusey's published works are numerous. Of these one might mention *The Doctrine of the Real Presence*, (1855); *The Real Presence the Doctrine of the English Church*, (1857); *The Minor Prophets*, (1860), *Daniel the Prophet*, (1864). His sermons have been published under such titles as *Parochial Sermons*, 4 volumes, (1832-50); *Sermons . . . from Advent to Whitsuntide*, 2 volumes, (1848-53); *Lenten Sermons*, (1858); *University Sermons*, 3 volumes, (1864-79); and *Parochial and Cathedral Sermons*, (1883). In addition to Canon Liddon's comprehensive biography of Pusey, various other accounts of his life have appeared from time to time.¹³

J. H. Newman, (1801-1890)

John Henry Newman was born in London in 1801. His father was a banker. He received his preliminary training at Ealing, and while there, Walter Mayers, one of his teachers, gave him the books of William Romaine and other evangelical writers, and the boy of 15 began to take a decided interest in religion. He read Thomas Scott, and declared

¹³. H. P. Liddon, *Life of Edward B. Pusey*, 4 vols., (London, 1893-94); B. W. Savile, *Dr. Pusey, an Historic Sketch*, (1883); A. B. Donaldson, *Five Great Oxford Leaders*, (London, 1902); C. C. Grafton, *Pusey and the Church Revival*, (Milwaukee, 1902); G. W. E. Russell, *Dr. Pusey*, (London, 1907). See also A. L. Graebner, *The Romeward Movement in England*, in the *Theological Quarterly*, (St. Louis, 1900), vol. 3, pp. 278-318).

many years later that Scott "made a deeper impression on my mind than any other, and to whom (humanly speaking) I almost owe my soul."¹⁴

In 1816 Newman entered Trinity College, Oxford, and was graduated in 1821. In 1822 he realized an ambition of long standing, namely the election to a fellowship at Oriel College. At that time Oriel was considered the most important intellectual influence of all the colleges of Oxford. He was ordained in 1824, and became curate of St. Clement's, Oxford. In 1825 he was made vice-principal at St. Alban Hall, later a part of Merton College. Richard Whatley was the principal. Newman was an ardent Evangelical at the time, while Whatley was one of the Noetics, a group of men who considered themselves intellectual, slightly liberal, and critical toward both the Evangelical party and the old High Church party in the Church of England. Richard Whatley took a great interest in his young assistant, and on their long rambles through the countryside, he sought to bring to the surface some of the hidden qualities of mind that he had discovered in Newman. Whatley was a man of one-sided training. He excelled in logic and mathematics, but was deficient in historical background and in a broad understanding of the past history of Christianity. However, he was garrulous, and able to create an impression of a greater breadth of intellectual understanding than he really possessed. He undertook to train Newman in logic.

However, it was Hurrell Froude, a young man who occupied the room directly above that of Newman, who had the greater influence upon him. Froude was a High Churchman of the new school. The older High Churchmen were content to lay stress upon their teaching that the Anglican Church was not an offshoot of the Reformation, but a branch of the ancient Christian Church founded on the Day of Pentecost. They stressed the apostolic succession. Froude, on the other hand, while in his early twenties, came to believe that the Roman Church is to be admired rather than condemned; that the Reformation was a crude, hasty and ill-advised movement; that it might have been better for all,

¹⁴. Newman, *Apologia pro Vita Sua*, (London, 1864), p. 60.

had the reformers remained within the Latin Church and reformed her from within. He laid stress upon the Real Presence of the Saviour's Body and Blood in the Sacrament; and he had a very high regard for the Virgin Mary. He argued these things with Newman the Evangelical, and finally won him over to his own views.

All this happened about the year 1826, when Newman became tutor in Oriel. He associated with Hurrell Froude, and with John Keble (nine years his senior), with Charles Marriott and others. In 1827 Newman, at the age of 26, was made vicar of St. Mary the Virgin, the university church whose tall stone spire is the commanding feature on the High, or main street of Oxford. A passageway leads from Oriel College to the High, and directly opposite stands St. Mary's. It is but a few steps from the one to the other. Newman's preaching began to attract the attention of both undergraduates and teachers; and as he glided in his noiseless way across the High to the church, his left hand grasping the wrist of his right, his academic robe billowing, and his head thrust forward, seeing nobody and greeting nobody, the undergraduates used to whisper to newcomers in an awed tone, "That's Newman." He was not an eloquent man, but there was a peculiar intensity of voice and thought that fascinated them. His sermons, evangelical at the outset, but soon to become the utterances which one finds in his published volumes, drew admiring congregations.

In 1832 Newman spent six months in southern Europe. He returned to England, and had not yet reached Oxford when John Keble preached his Assize Sermon. Exactly two months later the first three *Tracts for the Times* appeared, all written by Newman, but issued anonymously. These first tracts were brief: the first one fills but four octavo pages of print. John Keble wrote the fourth tract, J. W. Bowden wrote the fifth, Thomas Keble (a brother of John) made his contributions to the series, as did Hurrell Froude and others.

The tracts appeared in rapid succession, and hardly had England recovered from the shock of one, then did another follow. It is surprising to note the anti-Roman tone of some

of the earlier issues. In Tract 20, written by Newman, he speaks of "the very enmity I feel against the Papistical corruptions of the Blessed Gospel," and he declares that any reunion with Rome is impossible. "Their communion is infected with heresy;" he declares, "we are bound to flee it, as a pestilence. They have established a lie in the place of God's truth; and, by their claim of immutability in doctrine, cannot undo the sin they have committed. They cannot repent. Popery must be destroyed; it cannot be reformed."¹⁵ It is a far cry from Tract 20, which appeared at the end of 1833, to Tract 90, of the year 1841.

Among Newman's close friends of this period, in addition to Keble, Froude and Marriott, were A. P. Perceval, J. W. Bowden, Thomas Mozley (Newman's brother-in-law), James Mozley, Robert Wilberforce, Fred Rogers, Isaac Williams and a few others. Presently E. B. Pusey, a man of much learning and of high social standing, joined the group.

Newman preached on Sunday afternoon in St. Mary's, and he began a series of lectures in the De Brom Chapel of St. Mary's Church. In these lectures Newman's sharp invective against the Roman Church exceeds that even of his Tracts 20 and 71.

When E. B. Pusey joined the group in 1835, it gave the Tractarians an intellectual prestige that had been absent before. Meanwhile Newman had been studying the Monophysite troubles of the fifth and sixth centuries, and his attitude toward the Roman Church began to change. His many arguments with Hurrell Froude, and an article by Wiseman in the Dublin Review shook Newman's theory of the *Via Media*.

Other things contributed to the step that Newman was to take. Just prior to the year 1841, England was stirred by the question of the Jerusalem bishopric. King Frederick William IV, of Prussia, with the same unionistic spirit as that of his immediate ancestors, proposed a united front between the Prussian State Church and the Anglican Church in the establishment of a bishopric for Jerusalem. Dr. Alexander, of Prussian Jewish ancestry, was to sign the Augsburg Con-

¹⁵. *Tracts for the Times*, p. 136.

fession, pledge his loyalty to the Prussian Church and was to receive ordination from the Anglican Church. Newman drew up a violent protest, for he had come to hate both Lutheranism and Calvinism, and he recognized in the Prussian Union Church a mongrel offspring of the two. That the Anglican Church should consider a joint bishopric, and supply the Germans with the valid holy orders which, in Newman's opinion they had lacked in the past, was little short of an international scandal.

When Tract 90, written by Newman, appeared in 1841, there was a general protest. It was believed by many that Newman and his friends were seeking to lead the Church of England into the Roman fold. The bishop of Oxford suppressed all further tracts, and Tract 90 was the last of the series. In 1843 Pusey preached his sermon on the Eucharist, for which he was inhibited for two years.

In 1842 Newman took up his residence in Littlemore, three miles south of Oxford, where he lived with a few kindred spirits in a few cottages that he had secured for their purpose. Their manner of life and their chapel with its red velvet hangings, caused reports to be spread that Newman had established a monastery. Here Newman lived for over three years, devoting most of his time to his writings. His *Sermons on Subjects of the Day* belong to this period.

In 1843 he published a retraction of all that he had ever said or written against Rome. In September, 1845, he resigned his office as vicar of St. Mary's. On October 9, 1845, he was received into the Roman Catholic Church, and early the following year he went to Rome, where he was ordained. He returned to England in 1847, and lived in Maryville, Cheadle, Birmingham and Edgbaston. From 1854 to 1858 he served as rector of a Roman Catholic university in Dublin. In 1864 his famous *Apologia pro Vita sua* appeared, and its more moderate tone did much to quiet the sharp criticism that had been caused among his friends by his submission to Rome.

Newman remained away from Oxford for 32 years, and it was not until 1878, when his old college awarded him an

honor, that he could be induced to return to the university city, and then only for a brief visit. In 1879 he was made a cardinal in the Roman Catholic Church.

Newman is generally admitted to be one of the great preachers of his day. The secret of his peculiar power over a congregation has long been a matter of discussion, for he had few of the external gifts of the preacher. He read closely, bending over his manuscript, rarely looking up, and with almost no change in his inflection, and no action whatever. Gladstone, who often heard him preach, declares that in spite of his absence of eloquence and action, there was an elusive quality of tone and manner "which made his delivery singularly attractive." Newman relied upon subtilty of thought, rather than upon rhetoric. He was a master of simple, forceful English, and he had an incisive understanding of men and their intentions. However, he never learned to depend upon the power of God's Word to transform the lives of men, nor upon the promises of the Scriptures to deliver the Christian Church from the dangers that threaten her. In place of the promises of God's Word he substituted the authority of the Church. He had no understanding of the Gospel as a means of grace, for in speaking of the anxious sinner who withdraws from the Anglican Church and unites with a Nonconformist chapel, he says, "Had he been taught as a child that the Sacraments, not preaching, are the sources of Divine Grace . . . we could not have had so many wanderers from our fold, nor so many cold hearts within it."¹⁶

Newman's published works number over fifty titles. His sermons are to be found in *Parochial Sermons*, 6 volumes, (1837-42); *Sermons Preached before the University of Oxford*, (1843); *Sermons Preached on Various Occasions*, (1857) and the fifth volume of a collection entitled *Plain Sermons*, 10 volumes, (1940-48). His collected writings fill 36 volumes.¹⁷ The usual source of biographical material is *Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman*, 2 volumes, edited by Anne Mozley, (1891). The *Correspondence of J. H. Newman* was published in 1917. A number of

¹⁶. *Tracts for the Times*, (Introduction), p. 6.

¹⁷. *The Works of John Henry Newman*, 36 vols., (1868-81).

biographies, old and new, have been published,¹⁸ and extended accounts of his life may be found in the biographies of the other leaders of the Tractarian Movement.

Hurrell Froude, (1803-1836)

One of the most baffling figures in the early days of the Tractarian movement was Hurrell Froude, a young man whose peculiar religious views had a profound effect upon Newman. Richard Hurrell Froude was a son of Robert Froude, rector of Dartington, Devon, and archdeacon of Totnes. A younger brother of Hurrell Froude, as he is generally called, was J. A. Froude the noted historian. After attending the free school at Ottery St. Mary, near Exeter, Hurrell Froude went to Eaton in 1816, and from there to Oriel College, Oxford. At Oriel he came under the influence of John Keble, who was his tutor for two years. Froude was a tall, slender, dark-haired, intensely energetic youth of about 18, and Keble was ten years his senior. Froude took his degree in 1824, he was elected to a fellowship in 1826 and became a tutor in 1827.

Between 1826 and 1828 Froude experienced the inward struggle so common in the lives of young men of those days, and which he mentions in detail in his journal. In 1826 he became acquainted with J. H. Newman, who had occupied a room just below that of Froude. Newman was 25 years of age at the time of their meeting and Froude was 23. Newman had come from an evangelical background, but had come under the influence of a group of liberal thinkers among the Oriel men. Years later Newman declared in his *Apologia* that it was Froude who first taught him to admire the Roman Church, to harbor a dislike for the Reformation,

¹⁸. In addition to the titles listed see E. A. Abbott, *The Anglican Career of Cardinal Newman*, 2 vols., (London, 1892); C. H. Colette, *Dr. Newman and his Religious Opinions*, (London, 1866); R. H. Hutton, *Cardinal Newman*, (London, 1891); G. C. Faber, *Oxford Apostles*, (London, 1932); J. M. Flood, *Cardinal Newman and Oxford*, (London, 1933); D. L. Morse-Boycott, *Lead Kindly Light*, (New York, 1933); A. L. Graebner, *The Romeward Movement in England*, in the *Theological Quarterly*, (St. Louis, 1900), vol. 3, pp. 278-318; Wilfrid Ward, *The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman*, 2 vols., (London, 1912); Maisie Ward, *Young Mr. Newman*, (New York, 1948).

to accept the idea of devotions to the Virgin Mary, and finally to accept the Real Presence.¹⁹ Froude had come to detest the Reformation. In 1835 he wrote: "Really I hate the Reformation, and the Reformers, more and more, and have almost made up my mind that the Rationalist spirit they set afloat is the *Ψευδοπροφήτης* of the Revelation."²⁰ However, after a trip to Rome he declared, "I could never become a Romanist; I should never be able to believe that everything in Pope Pius's confession of faith is necessary for salvation."²¹

Hurrell Froude died at the age of 33. He was taken ill during an epidemic of influenza and developed tuberculosis. Shortly after his death his literary remains were edited and published by his friends. Dabblers in abnormal psychology have made much of his spiritual struggle, which he records in painful detail; but it is little more than the self-revelation of a lively young man of 23, and his futile efforts to subdue his pride by means of fasting and self-discipline. That Froude lacked a definite religious foundation is evident, for in his lengthy account of his spiritual struggle one finds no mention of the Lord Jesus Christ. Even the prayers which he records in his journal are Christless. He believed that faith is merely a matter of the will, and that the way to salvation is through self-discipline. There is little in his sermons that would lead one to defend him against the charge of Pelagianism. In addition to the memoir prefixed to Froude's *Remains*, a biography of Hurrell Froude was written by Miss Louise I. Guiney.²² Other material is to be found in the books of Clarke²³ and Faber,²⁴ and in the biographies of Newman, Pusey and Keble.

James B. Mozley, (1813-1878)

J. B. Mozley, one of the Tractarians, was born in 1813 in Gainsborough, Lincolnshire. After his earlier education at Grantham, he entered Oriel College, Oxford, just in time

¹⁹ J. H. Newman, *Apologia pro Vita Sua*, (London, 1864), p. 87.

²⁰ *Remains of R. H. Froude*, (London, 1837-39), vol. 1, p. 87.

²¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. xiii.

²² Louise I. Guiney, *Hurrell Froude, Memoranda and Comments*, (London, 1904).

²³ C. P. S. Clarke, *The Oxford Movement and After*, (London, 1932).

²⁴ Geoffrey Faber, *Oxford Apostles*, (London, 1932).

to make the acquaintance of Keble, Pusey, Newman and the other Tractarians. Mozley was but 17 years old when he entered Oriel in 1830, while Keble was a man of 38, Pusey was 30, Newman 29 and Hurrell Froude 27 years of age. However, these older men admitted Mozley to their discussions. It was in the early stages of the movement, before Pusey had really cast his lot with them, and while Keble was still their leader. The problems at that time were the continuity of the Anglican Church, the apostolic succession, the testimony of tradition, Baptismal Regeneration and the Real Presence. Mozley was a good listener, and the discussions of these older men fascinated him.

He was graduated from Oriel in 1834. Oxford, at that time, had no provisions for a formal theological training in any of her colleges. Pusey and Newman sought to remedy this defect by starting a theological seminary, in which Pusey did much of the teaching. It was a poor time to found such a school, for in the turmoil that followed Keble's Assize Sermon and the publication of the first tracts, the school was discontinued after two years. However, Dr. Pusey continued to teach Mozley and some of the other boys, using his home for the purpose.

James Mozley took deacon's orders in 1838. In 1840 he was elected fellow in Magdalen College, and in 1844 he was ordained to the Anglican priesthood. When Newman made his submission to Rome in 1845, the *British Critic* had already ceased to exist, due to the radical tone of the writings of W. G. Ward. A less extreme journal, *The Christian Remembrancer* took its place, and Mozley was one of its chief contributors for ten years.

In 1856 he was called to Old Shoreham, Sussex, where he preached in a little Norman building dating from the year 1076. In this little cruciform church, whose nave is less than 18 feet wide by 45 feet long, Mozley's *Sermons, Parochial and Occasional* had their origin. In 1869 Gladstone secured Mozley's appointment as a canon of Worcester Cathedral. In 1871 he was made regius professor of divinity at Oxford, in 1865 he was Bampton lecturer and it was then that his famous studies pertaining to the Miracles

originated, and in 1869 he was appointed select university preacher.

J. B. Mozley's fame rests chiefly upon his reputation as a learned theologian, but his two collections of sermons have given him a place in the history of preaching. His reputation as a preacher was gained because of his printed sermons,²⁵ and in this respect he recalls F. W. Robertson. He does not seem to have won undue recognition while at Old Shoreham, nor even because of his preaching at Oxford. However, his printed sermons have caused him to be admired greatly by those who like ethical sermons.

Even so careful an authority as Dr. Brastow, of Yale, says: "Canon Mozley is on the whole one of the most forcible ethical pulpit teachers the modern church has furnished. His power lies largely in his singularly subtle but clear analysis of the workings of moral forces and principles. There is something remorselessly searching and, although not repellant, most formidable in his tranquil handling of the moral forces and processes of the human soul. There are many methods of handling the ethical sermon. The analysis of motives, the tracing of moral processes, the delineation of the effects of truth upon moral character, and the un-escapableness of moral consequences are among the most obvious elements in Mozley's ethical preaching."²⁶

Great as is Mozley's fame as an ethical preacher, yet therein lies his weakness. He devotes too much attention to man's motives and principles of action. In one of his sermons he speaks entirely of the difficulty encountered when men attempt to treat their equals as they should. Men know how to deal with their inferiors, and it is not hard to show kindness toward such people; but the same men find it hard to show the same kindness to their equals. It is an interesting analysis of human nature, but such a sermon would hardly convince a "secure" sinner of his sin, nor would it point the penitent sinner to the Cross of Calvary.

²⁵. *Sermons Preached before the University of Oxford*, (Oxford and Cambridge, 1876), and *Sermons Parochial and Occasional*, (1879).

²⁶. L. O. Brastow, *Representative Modern Preachers*, (New York, 1904), pp. 332-333.

Mozley's "Reversal of Human Judgment" is written with a certain brilliancy of thought, and does not suffer from the slowly-moving character of some of his other sermons. This sermon has been called the greatest of modern times. It is on the Last Judgment, but Mozley gets no farther than the fact that the Last Judgment will correct our faulty estimates of other people. Canon Mozley succeeds in throwing doubt upon the reliability of man's opinion of his fellow men; but he does not state clearly the tests by which the true believer may be distinguished from the nominal Christian who may be active enough in performing the external duties of his calling. As a thorough analyst of men and their motives, Mozley is admirable; but it is doubtful whether his preaching really brought comfort and hope to anxious sinners.

Canon Mozley's brother Thomas published an account of the Tractarian movement which is interesting, but not always accurate.²⁷ Its chief value lies in the fact that it was written by a man who took an active part in the movement, and the work supplements the writings of Pusey, Newman and others. Canon J. B. Mozley's letters, together with a memoir by R. W. Church, were published by Mozley's sister.²⁸

Charles Marriott, (1811-1858)

Charles Marriott, one of the lesser preachers of the Tractarian group, was born in 1811 at Church Lawford, near Rugby, where his father was rector of the parish. During his early years much of his time was spent at Broad Clyst, Devon, where his father held the curacy. He was educated in the elementary schools of his native village, and in 1829 he entered Exeter College, Oxford. After having won an open scholarship in Balliol College, on the Broad, he was elected in 1833 to a coveted fellowship in Oriel, then the most noted of all Oxford's colleges. Later he became a tutor in Oriel. There he met Newman and his associates and became one of their group.

²⁷. Thos. Mozley, *Reminiscences Chiefly of Oriel and the Oxford Movement*, 2 vols., (London, 1882).

²⁸. Anne Mozley, ed., *The Letters of J. B. Mozley*, (London, 1884).

Marriott was ordained in 1833, and in 1839 he was made principal of the Diocesan Theological College at Chichester. In 1841 he became sub-dean of Oriel College, Oxford, and in 1850 he became vicar of St. Mary-the-Virgin, the university church on the High, of which Newman had been pastor until 1845. His preaching attracted attention, and while it was effective, yet he was never the equal of Newman. Marriott did much of the actual work on Pusey's *The Library of the Fathers*. The drudgery of translating and preparing the material for the printers is said to have impaired his health, and he died at the age of 47.²⁹ Besides other writings, he left two books of sermons.

N. P. S. Wiseman, (1802-1865)

Nicholas P. S. Wiseman was one of the foremost Roman Catholic preachers in England during the middle of the nineteenth century. He was born in Seville in 1802, where his father, an Irishman, was living at the time. After attending St. Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, Durham, from 1810 to 1818, he received his final education in the English College at Rome. In 1825 he was ordained to the Roman Catholic priesthood. In 1827 he was made vice-rector and a year later rector of the English College. In 1828 he became professor supernumerary of Hebrew and Syro-Chaldaic in the Roman archigymnasium of the Sapienza.

Hurrell Froude and J. H. Newman visited him in 1833. Froude seems to have been naive enough to hope that some sort of cordial relations might be established with Rome by means of the usual procedure of the church unionist, whereby each side is willing to make concessions where doctrinal differences exist. Froude learned to his surprise that no reunion is possible without accepting the entire Council of Trent.³⁰

In 1840 Wiseman, who had been a careful observer of the Tractarian movement in England, was sent to that

²⁹. For biographical material see J. W. Burgon, *Lives of Twelve Good Men*, (London, 1888), pp. 153-193; R. W. Church, *The Oxford Movement*, (London, 1891), pp. 77-81; J. H. Rigg, *Oxford High Anglicanism and its Chief Leaders*, (London, 1899); T. Mozley, *Reminiscences Chiefly of Oriel College*, 2 vols., (London, 1882).

³⁰. R. H. Froude, *Remains*, (1837), vol. I, p. 306.

country as coadjutor to the vicar apostolic of England. In 1849 he was made vicar apostolic. In 1850 Pope Pius IX resolved to restore Roman Catholicism in England by reviving the old hierarchy of pre-Reformation times. Wiseman was made archbishop of Westminster, and then cardinal. A site was chosen for a great cathedral, to be known as Westminster Cathedral, and this was to be built within a gunshot of the Protestant Westminster Abbey. This caused not only consternation in Protestant England, but great opposition as well. The plan was denounced from pulpits everywhere, and through the columns of religious periodicals and the daily press. Anglicans and Nonconformists laid aside their old feuds for the time being, and united their voices in protest against what they termed the Italian mission. Public feeling ran high, bills were introduced in Parliament, and among other restrictions, no Roman Catholic was permitted to call himself bishop, and all attempts at setting up a hierarchy were declared illegal.

Wiseman had won much distinction in Rome because of his eloquence. In England he met with considerable opposition, but gradually his eloquent preaching, which was much less polemical than that of his opponents, began to break down the general feeling of indignation.³¹ Wiseman was a trained diplomat and a tireless worker. His Irish eloquence, his shrewdness, his touch of humor and his gifts of leadership began to win friends among the English people. The restrictions which had been laid upon the hierarchy, after a few initial attempts, came in time to be treated as a dead letter, and as laws that could not easily be enforced.

Wiseman did not live to see Westminster Cathedral completed, and in fact, it is not entirely completed to this day. Its vast bulk, and the tower with its horizontal bands of color, are a familiar feature of the skyline of the West End, when viewed from the Thames; and it was the eloquence of

³¹. For specimens of his preaching see *Sermons and Lectures Delivered in Ireland*, (Dublin, 1859); *Sermons on Our Lord Jesus Christ*, (Dublin, 1864); *Lectures on the Real Presence*, (London, 1836). Biographies include W. P. Ward, *Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman*, 2 vols., (London, 1897); Geo. White, *His Eminence Cardinal Wiseman*, (London, 1867); D. R. Gwinn, *Cardinal Wiseman*, (London, 1929).

Wiseman, and his shrewd diplomacy, that contributed much not only in directing the Tractarian movement in a definite direction, but in making the Roman Catholic Church a power of steady growth close to the very spot where the National League and Covenant had sought to outlaw it forever; as well as a power throughout Britain.

Henry E. Manning, (1808-1892)

Henry E. Manning was born in 1807 in Totteridge, Herefordshire. He came of a noted family, and his father had been a member of Parliament, and active in the Anglican Church. After his education in the exclusive school at Harrow, near London, Henry Manning entered Balliol College, Oxford, from which he was graduated in 1830. In 1832 he returned to Oxford, where he was elected to a fellowship in Merton College, which is but a few steps from Oriel College, headquarters at that time of the men who were soon to become known as the Tractarians. He was ordained in 1832, and became curate at Woolavington, Sussex, and in 1833 rector of the same parish. Thus he was removed from immediate contact with the Oxford Tractarians.

Manning, like several others, was an ardent Evangelical at first, but in time became a Tractarian. He was made arch-deacon of Chichester in 1840, and in 1842 he was made select preacher at Oxford. As early as 1838 he had visited Rome, and in 1847 and 1848 he paid another visit to the Continent, including Rome in his itinerary.

In 1836 the appointment of R. D. Hampden as regius professor of divinity had brought forth a vigorous protest from the Tractarians, and when the same man was made bishop of Hereford in 1848, over the protest of 13 bishops and many others, it caused Manning and other High Churchmen to lose confidence in the Established Church. The Gorham case followed in 1850. Shortly after this, Manning went to London, studied for a time with the Jesuits at their church on Farm Street, and in 1851 he made his submission to the Latin Church.

In 1854 he began work with great vigor in England, preaching, organizing, establishing parochial schools, work-

ing among the poorer classes, and attempting in every way to promote the interests of the Roman Catholic Church, and meeting with considerable success. In 1857 he was made provost of the chapter of Westminster. He served the congregation of the Oblates of St. Charles, at the motherhouse of St. Mary of the Angels, in Bayswater, from 1857 to 1865.

In 1865, upon the death of Cardinal Wiseman, Manning was named as his successor as archbishop of Westminster. In 1874 he started a Roman Catholic university in Kensington, London, but the project was given up four years later. In 1877 he was appointed cardinal.

Manning was one of the leading Roman Catholic preachers of England. He lacked the Irish fluency and fire of his predecessor, Cardinal Wiseman, and his preaching was that of a cultured Englishman. During his earliest years his preaching was decidedly evangelical. Throughout most of his 19 years as an Anglican clergyman, his preaching took on the characteristics of the High Church party; and after his secession to the Roman Catholic Church, his sermons were, of course, those of a Roman Catholic priest. Newman had desired to establish a form of Roman Catholicism in England that should be distinctly British. Manning, by his preaching and his writings, defended the infallibility of the Vatican, and became so ardent a champion of Ultramontaniam that the re-establishment of Roman Catholicism in England became based upon the Vatican Council rather than an attempt to create an indigenous British Catholic Church.

Manning's published sermons may be found in his *Sermons*, 4 volumes; *Sermons Preached Before the University of Oxford*, (1844); and *Sermons on Ecclesiastical Subjects*, 3 volumes, (1863-73). Purcell's biography,³² although not accurate in all respects, is a standard work. Other biographies exist.³³

³² E. S. Purcell, *Life of Henry E. Manning*, 2 vols., (London, 1896).

³³ J. R. Shane Leslie, *Henry Edward Cardinal Manning*, (1921); A. W. Hutton, *English Leaders in Religion*, (London, 1892); R. C. Jenkes, *A Few Recollections of Cardinal Manning*, (1892).

CHAPTER XI

OTHER NINETEENTH CENTURY EVENTS

THERE were other religious movements in the nineteenth century, in addition to the Tractarian controversy, that had a direct influence upon the preaching of the time. While the force of the evangelical movement of Whitefield and Wesley extended into the nineteenth century, yet its influence began to wane, following the death of several of its leaders. John Thornton had died in 1790, John Wesley in 1791, John Berridge in 1793, William Romaine in 1795, Henry Venn in 1797, Joseph Milner in 1797 and William Cowper in 1800. John Newton, Richard Cecil, Thomas Scott and Thomas Robinson were still alive at the turn of the century. Although the full strength of the evangelical movement had begun to decline, yet it was still a strong spiritual force during the first three decades of the nineteenth century, and "spiritual earnestness was in itself a presumption that a man was an Evangelical."¹

Many of the old evils either continued to exist, or else made their appearance again. Absenteeism was still common. Pluralism was practiced not only by the parochial clergy of the Established Church, but by some of its bishops. The qualifications for the pastoral office were not rigid, for writers tell of a bishop who examined a candidate on the cricket field; of another bishop who sent a message by his butler, telling a candidate to write an essay; and of a third prelate who examined a candidate while shaving, and was satisfied after the latter had construed two words. J. A. Froude, in a magazine article, declares that many a clergyman was a country gentleman, hardly to be distinguished from his neighbors. He farmed his glebe, kept horses, rode to the hounds, mixed in general society, usually held the office of a magistrate and took part in public meetings of all kinds.² Charles Jerram says that the clergy of his early days attended balls, races and gay gatherings of all kinds.³

¹. J. H. Overton, *The English Church in the Nineteenth Century*, (London, 1894), p. 51.

². J. A. Froude in *Good Words*, (1881).

³. Chas. Jerram, *Memoirs*,

In such an atmosphere of worldliness, one may hardly look for a high quality of preaching. The Anglicans often read a thoroughly inoffensive essay to the few people who took the trouble to attend church.

With the Evangelical party in the Anglican Church, all was different. Although they had lost seven of their strongest leaders within a decade, yet the movement had enough vitality to carry it onward, although evidences of slow decline were apparent. The Evangelical clergy still preached sin and grace, but their sermons began to fall into set phrases. In the hands of an alert preacher, the old truths of evangelical Christianity may be presented indefinitely without resorting to tireless repetition, or to hackneyed expressions. John Newton, Richard Cecil, Thomas Robinson and Thomas Scott were still able to declare the familiar truths of Scripture in a telling manner, but too often their contemporaries and successors fell short in this respect.

Among the Nonconformists, matters were slightly better, but even in their circles a decline could be detected. Nonconformity had been stirred powerfully by the Great Awakening, and had welcomed Wesley, Whitefield and their associates. After these men and their immediate followers died, the zeal that once was found among what came later to be known as the Free Churches, began to give way to commonplace preaching. There were a few eminent preachers of whom we shall speak presently, but generally speaking, the quality of the Nonconformist pulpit was not equal to that of the late eighteenth century. Nonconformity was not involved in the Tractarian controversy except from the standpoint of onlookers.

There was another movement in the Anglican Church which was to find a counterpart among Dissenters. This was the growth of the Broad Church party. There were liberals, such as William Paley, Samuel Parr, Sydney Smith, Henry Bathurst, Edward Stanley and Edward Copelston, but the men who exerted the greatest influence in the direction of Broad Churchmanship were S. T. Coleridge, Richard Whatley and Thomas Arnold.

We are so accustomed to think of Coleridge as a poet, lecturer and literary critic that the fact is overlooked that he became a leader of philosophical and theological thought from about 1816 until his death in 1834. Principal John Tulloch declares in a book that has become somewhat of a classic, "it is a fact that the later streams of religious thought in England are all more or less coloured by his influence. They flow in deeper and different channels since he lived. Not only are some of these streams directly traceable to him, and said to derive all their vitality from his principles, but those which are most opposed to him have been moulded more or less by the impress of his religious genius."⁴ Coleridge published three works that attracted much attention at the time.⁵ When one studies the religious views of Coleridge, one is surprised at the interest aroused by these theories. It was a revolt against evangelical theology which was willing to accept Christian truth because it was revealed in God's Word. Coleridge sought to establish his doctrinal views upon the basis of human reason. This was gratifying to the pride of intellect of some men, especially those whose theological training had been somewhat superficial. We are not told what became of the candidates who were examined on the cricket field or while the bishop was busy with his shaving, but it is quite possible that such men as these fell easy victims to liberal theology. Coleridge uses some of the language of evangelical Christianity, but in the next breath he assures us that God reveals Himself not only through His Word, but through history, philosophy and poetry. He places Socrates and Plato on an equal basis with St. John and St. Paul. Coleridge's *Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit*, published six years after his death, indicates the growth of Biblical criticism in England. Coleridge was not the pioneer in this field, but not many men, prior to his time, declared that the Scriptures were to be read and judged by human reason, just as any other book.

⁴. John Tulloch, *Movements of Religious Thought in Britain during the Nineteenth Century*, (New York, 1893).

⁵. S. T. Coleridge, *Aids to Reflection*, (1825); *On the Constitution of Church and State*, (1830); *Confessions of an Enquiring Spirit*, (1840).

Richard Whatley was another man who advanced the influence of the Broad Church group. He was not a constructive thinker. He limited his reading to a few authors, yet he was able to think clearly and to relate the thoughts of other men to the religious opinions of his day, and to restate the teachings of other men in language that the ordinary reader could grasp readily. Whatley believed that the New Testament contained many valuable truths, but he distrusted the average Christian. He overlooked the fact that the Word of God is sufficiently clear to make its teachings known. He believed that there is a difference between New Testament theology, as understood by most people, and New Testament theology as taught by our Lord and His Apostles. The fault of Whatley's method is that he makes human reason, rather than the inspired Word, the court of final appeal.

Thomas Arnold was another man whose influence was in the direction of Broad Churchmanship. He was a great friend of Whatley, and had been influenced by him. Both of them belonged to the Early Oriel School of liberal thinkers. Arnold was an amiable man, and an excellent headmaster, but his religious views cannot be called orthodox. He was quite correct in saying that Christianity is more than a system of abstract principles to be taught in the class room as one would teach the principles of rhetoric or philosophy, or a thing that exists only in the sacrosanct atmosphere of the cathedral close. He was correct in declaring that Christian truth is a vital thing, that must form a working principle for men and women in the homely pursuits of their daily lives. Other devout men had said these same things. Arnold's liberalism does not lie in the fact that he sought to make Christianity a practical thing, but rather is it because he was inclined to a rationalistic form of practical Christianity.

Other leaders might be mentioned, men such as R. D. Hampden, Bishop Thirwall, Dean Milman and other Broad Church leaders. Like Coleridge, Whatley and Arnold, they substituted an infallible intellect for an infallible Book. They prepared the way for that type of theologian who speaks

frequently of the necessity of an open mind, but rarely concerning the need of an Open Bible.

A number of controversies indicated the progress of liberalism in England. We shall mention a few of them. One was the Gorham Judgment. George C. Gorham, (1787-1857), was given the living of Brampford Speke, near Exeter, by the Lord Chancellor. Upon examining him, the bishop of Exeter found that his views concerning Baptismal Regeneration were not those of the English Church, and he refused to institute him. The case was appealed to the Court of Arches, which upheld the bishop; then to the judicial committee of the Privy Council, who sustained Mr. Gorham. The case was carried to other courts, and when the bishop still refused to institute Mr. Gorham, he was intruded to the Brampford Speke congregation by the Court of Arches. The reason given at the time was that many bishops and clergymen held views practically the same as those of Mr. Gorham, and no steps had been taken to declare them unsound in doctrine. This case was an important one, for it established the right of a clergyman to believe and preach doctrines not in harmony with those of the Established Church, and without fear of doctrinal discipline. Some men hailed the Gorham Judgment as a victory for the principle of the right of private judgment: others looked upon it as an encouragement to men holding heretical views.

The publication of *Essays and Reviews*, in 1860, indicates the further progress of liberalistic thinking. Those who contributed to this collection of essays were Frederick Temple, Rowland Williams, Baden Powell, H. B. Wilson, Charles W. Goodwin, Mark Pattison and Benjamin Jowett. A writer in the *Westminster Review*, October, 1860, hailed the essays as a triumph for liberal thought. Samuel Wilberforce, bishop of Oxford, called attention to the rationalistic and skeptical tone of certain essays; and 10,000 clergymen filed a protest with the archbishop of Canterbury. Rowland Williams was found guilty by the Court of Arches of denying verbal inspiration, and of heretical views in regard to Propitiation and Justification. H. B. Wilson was found guilty of denying Inspiration and Eternal Punishment. Both men were sus-

pended for a year, but they appealed to the Crown and to the Judicial Committee, who reversed the decision of the Court of Arches, declaring that a clergyman is not obliged to accept every part of the Bible as inspired, nor to believe that Christ's merit can be imputed to the believer, nor to doubt that the wicked are eventually pardoned.

In 1863 Bishop Colenso, of Natal, attacked the historicity of certain parts of the Old Testament. He was deposed by Bishop Gray, of Cape Town, but the Judicial Committee declared this deposition invalid and ruled that Gray had no jurisdiction in the matter.

The theory of evolution gave rise to a violent controversy soon after the middle of the nineteenth century. Scores of books were written, both for and against the theory. Other claims of science caused wide discussion. Evangelicals, both in the Established Church and among the Nonconformists, denounced the new trends in science as contradictory to the clear teachings of Scripture; while liberal theologians were inclined to defend the "open mind" attitude toward science.

All of these things were reflected in the preaching of the nineteenth century. Men who lacked a thorough foundation of conservative doctrine began to question the authority of God's Word. The way was thus prepared for the inroads of destructive Biblical criticism, which was a further phase of the doctrinal decline of this period. The results were not apparent at once, for many clergymen continued to preach much as they had done before. In this respect they recall a certain liberal professor in a German university, who had taught his students throughout their course of study that the Bible is not an infallible book. Man's reason, the conclusions of scientific thought and the results of Biblical criticism have, he declared, greatly modified our attitude toward many of the things taught in the Bible. When a student, in dismay, asked how he was to preach such things to the congregation to which he had just been called, the professor thundered: "You blockhead! I did not tell you to preach these things to your congregation. Go and preach to them the things you find in the Catechism."

Thus it is that one is sometimes puzzled when he reads sermons by men of recognized unorthodoxy, which seem to set forth evangelical truth. Some liberal thinkers did not dare to declare to their congregations the things that they discussed with one another in private. Other liberal clergymen endeavored to preach Christ crucified, even though they questioned many of the things recorded in the Bible. They were ready to reject the inspiration of the Bible, but would not go so far as to deny the Atonement.

It has been said that the preaching during the latter half of the nineteenth century was often lacking in clarity, and that men of prominence might be named who seemed to try to conceal religious thought rather than to make it clear. This was to be expected, for muddled thinking cannot produce clear testimony. Sermons often lacked logical continuity, and the language, while beyond reproach in a technical sense, was so artificial that the average congregation could hardly profit by it. Two men did much to bring about a change. One was Charles H. Spurgeon, who discarded fine rhetoric and expressed conservative evangelical doctrines in clear, forceful, Anglo-Saxon. The other man was Canon Liddon, a man of exceptional clarity of thought and language. The example of these men bore fruit. Many clergymen were among the great congregations that assembled at Metropolitan Tabernacle on the Surrey Side of the Thames, and at St. Paul's. Spurgeon's printed sermons enjoyed an enormous circulation. It is possible that the influence of these two eminent preachers caused others to strive for greater clearness of thought and language. Mr. Spurgeon's Pastors' College must not be overlooked. There many men were trained for Nonconformist pulpits, and Mr. Spurgeon himself supervised their homiletical training. Liberalistic theories were not permitted, evangelical truth as Mr. Spurgeon understood it was impressed upon the young men, and the students were taught to think clearly and to express their thoughts in simple, forceful language.

In the Anglican Church there was a gradual departure from the doctrinal preaching of Puritan days, and from the exposition of the great principles of the plan of salvation

such as we find in the days of the great evangelical group. There were times when it almost seemed that men looked upon sin and grace as a thing to be avoided, lest they be called Methodists. One cannot, in most instances, find definite examples of false doctrine preached from the pulpit. They did not declare to their congregations that the Bible is but a human document, nor did they deny the incarnation and the atoning death of the Saviour. As in the days of the Moderates in Scotland, it was an absence of definite doctrinal testimony, rather than outspoken false doctrine, that was the fault of Anglican preaching in many places. The ritualistic party tried to inject warmth into their services by means of vestments, ceremonial and music, and their preaching laid a disproportionate emphasis upon the Sacraments, at the expense of the Word. Dr. Brastow, of Yale, calls attention to the fact that the great universities gave a chief place to classical learning, while the theological schools made much of traditional theology, liturgics and parochial interests, rather than evangelical truth.⁶

In their literary aspect, the sermons of the Established Church tended to become essays. They were topical rather than textual and expository. Where the main divisions were indicated there was often no further attempt at structural unity and progression of thought. Where the older preachers had built up their theme step by step, often by a tedious process and a minuteness of analysis, but reaching a climax and then a conclusion, the later school of preachers seemed to employ a method in which continuity of logical form was absent.

In their method of delivery, the Anglican pulpit fell short of Parliament and the law courts. It was a reaction in the nineteenth century against the days of showy rhetoric and oratory. Fervor was considered almost a mark of the religious fanatic, and was avoided. Vigor of expression was lacking, and sermons were delivered in a languid monotone. Persuasiveness, and appeals to the conscience, were too often looked upon as relics of another age.

⁶. L. O. Brastow, *The Modern Pulpit*, (New York, 1906), p. 177.

There were notable exceptions, but as a general rule the talents of the clergy lay in directions other than pulpit work. The Church of England had Robertson, Magee, Liddon and men of lesser distinction, just as the Free Churches had Hall, Spurgeon, Maclaren, Parker and Dale. It was such men as these who maintained the high standards of the pulpit.

There was a tendency in some quarters to look upon the Church, rather than the inspired Word, as a court of last resort; and in some extreme cases men came to regard the Church almost as the ark of salvation, outside of which it was doubtful whether men could be rescued from sin. William Haslam calls attention to this in two notable books, both of which are autobiographical.⁷

Among the Nonconformist denominations, the clergy did not always enjoy the same degree of education as was the case in the Church of England. This was especially true during the earlier part of the nineteenth century. The great universities were closed to Nonconformists until comparatively recent times. However, it was easier in the nineteenth century for a self-educated man to rise to fame than is the case today. Charles H. Spurgeon and Joseph Parker, two of the most illustrious clergymen of the nineteenth century, were not university men. Their very lack of a complete education made hard workers of the better class of men, such as Spurgeon and Parker in the middle years of the nineteenth century and Campbell Morgan and Gipsy Smith at the close of the century. The Bible was the chief textbook of these men, just as it had been for the wonderful Welsh preacher, Christmas Evans, and for William Bray, the Cornish lay preacher whose peculiarities have been exaggerate and whose homely excellencies have been overlooked.

This does not mean that the Free Church clergymen, as a class, were poorly educated men. The great majority of them were college men, although in early days there may have been some colleges in which Mathematics, Latin, Hebrew and Homiletics were all taught by the same professor. Notwithstanding these things, the quality of their

⁷. Wm. Haslam, *From Death into Life*, (New York, 1880); *And Yet Not I*, (1882).

graduates was excellent as a rule. Some of the most gifted Free Churchmen have been products of just such schools.

Among the preachers of the Free Churches we find somewhat of the same departure from doctrinal preaching, as the influence of Puritanism declined. More attention was given to evangelical truth than in the Church of England, because the Great Awakening of the previous century, although directed by Wesley and Whitefield, both clergymen of the Church of England, found a hearty welcome among the Nonconformists, and there its influence lingered longest. Its momentum decreased gradually, yet it did not disappear. R. W. Dale was a notable doctrinal preacher, and there were a number of other men of less prominence.

The expository method of preaching was not as marked in England as was the case in Scotland, yet the Free Churches furnished two of the greatest expository preachers of the century, Alexander Maclaren and G. Campbell Morgan. However, preaching tended to be topical, and for years what was termed experimental preaching was extremely popular. It is entirely possible to produce a sermon that is both expository and experimental, but for some reason sermons that were experimental in respect to their content, tended to become topical rather than expository in their method.

The manner of delivery of the sermon, as we find it among the clergymen of the Free Churches, differed somewhat from that of the Church of England. Generally speaking, there was more animation, more appeal to the conscience, more of a tendency to make use of illustrations, and more attention to persuasiveness. During the earlier and the middle years of the century under consideration, there were still men who might be called orators, but this became more and more a thing of the past, and the animated conversational type of delivery took its place. Most of the Free Churches had an evangelistic minority, and among these men one often finds highly subjective sermons, preached with considerable vehemence. The evangelists, always eager to keep the Cross in as prominent a place as possible, represent a distinctive type of preaching both in its subject matter and in its manner of delivery.

The Free Churches employed preaching much more frequently than is the case among the American Protestants. Outdoor services were not confined only to the evangelistic groups, but many of the more conventional churches attempted it, and with good results. The mission hall idea was a distinctive thing in England, although almost unknown in America. We do not refer to the small, store-room type of mission, but rather to the great mission halls such as one finds throughout London, in Liverpool, Manchester and a number of other cities. Perhaps Mr. Spurgeon's Metropolitan Tabernacle suggested the idea, but in any case we find such developments as the West End Mission in London, Central Hall in Manchester, Free Trade Hall, Manchester, Central Hall in Liverpool, George Jackson's Central Hall in Edinburgh, Central Mission Hall in Birmingham and many others. These were imposing buildings four or five stories high and covering as much as one-half of a city block. Inside were various offices and a great auditorium-type church with galleries around three sides of the huge rectangle. These were not revival halls in the American sense of the term, for the church services were conducted in a dignified manner, and yet with considerably less formality than one would find in an average parish church of the Establishment, or in one of the Scottish churches. Various devices were employed to give widest publicity to the work, and to attract a class of people not normally reached by the traditional methods of church work. Of somewhat more of the traditional type were such famous places of worship as City Temple in London, Westminster Chapel at Buckingham Palace Gate and Carr's Lane Chapel in Birmingham. These were city churches seating two or three thousand people, and nearly always in charge of some preacher of international fame.

We have reserved the subject of destructive Biblical criticism for another chapter. It had its rise during the nineteenth century, but it carried over to the twentieth, and it is so closely identified with other movements such as the so-called New Theology and Modernism that it seems best to discuss these developments as phases of the same movement.

Richard Whatley, (1787-1863)

One of the influential Broad Church leaders during the first half of the nineteenth century was Richard Whatley. He was born in London in 1787, and after attending a school in Bristol, he entered Oriel College, Oxford, and took his degree in 1808. From 1811 to 1821 he was a fellow of Oriel. He became one of a brilliant group which included Thomas Arnold, R. D. Hampden, Blanco White and others. To this group of liberal thinkers came a strange young man in the year 1822, and his name was J. H. Newman. He was a shy young man and an ardent evangelical. To Whatley was given the task of curing Newman of his shyness and his evangelical inclinations. Seldom had Oxford seen such a strange sight: the tall, bashful, spectacled youth walking silently beside the huge, blustering, garrulous Whatley. They strode through nearby country lanes, Whatley with his swinging gait, and Newman gliding along like a shadow; Whatley talking incessantly with his booming voice, stopping from time to time to pick up a stone and hurl it with skill at a stump, and Newman listening dutifully to the older man. It was the big, bluff, wittily sarcastic Whatley who succeeded, partly by a show of logic and partly by merciless ridicule, in causing Newman to abandon his evangelical opinions. Had Newman not met Hurrell Froude, the world might have heard of him as a liberal leader.

In 1823 Whatley left Oxford for two years and served a congregation at Halesworth, Suffolk. In 1825 he returned to Oxford as principal of St. Alban Hall, one of the weakest of the Oxford schools. Whatley persuaded Newman to become his assistant, and at once delegated to him much of the burden of teaching and administration. St. Alban Hall, in 1825, was suffering from a low standard of scholarship, and had become the last resort of men who had failed in the other colleges. Whatley and Newman "sent down" a number of the poorest men, and within a short time succeeded in raising the standards of the school until it was no longer the jest of the other colleges. St. Alban Hall became a part of Merton in 1882.

In 1829 Whatley was made Drummond professor of political economy, but this appointment was of short duration, for in 1831 all were astonished to hear that he had been made archbishop of Dublin. He filled this position with credit. The Irish people disliked him because he was an Englishman, a Protestant and a representative of a nation that had oppressed them. However, he showed himself a friend of the Irish people by his efforts in the House of Lords to remedy conditions in Ireland. During the distressing famine of 1846-47, no man worked harder to relieve the starving people than did Whatley. Gradually he won their confidence, even though he may not have won their affection.

Whatley preached brilliantly and with force, but he was not a profound thinker. In theology he was somewhat of a Broad Churchman. While he accepted divine revelation, yet he believed that every man has a right to interpret it by means of human reason. He believed in the deity of the Lord Jesus, and accepted the fact that His suffering and death brought salvation to mankind, yet he reserved the right to say that God might have found some other way to save the sinner. His rejection of the Anglican doctrine of apostolic succession, and his attitude toward the Irish Church Temporalities controversy awakened the enmity of the Tractarians.

Whatley was never a popular man even with his associates. He was brusque, he delighted in argument, and he did not hesitate to silence an opponent with ridicule. He published his *Elements of Logic* in 1826, and his *Rhetoric* in 1828, and these books were standard texts for years. His *Christian Evidences* appeared in 1837, and other theological works followed. He published several sermon books: *Five Sermons Preached Before the University of Oxford*, (1823); *Sermons on Various Subjects*, (1835); *Four Sermons*, (1849) and *Lectures on the Characters of Our Lord's Apostles*, (1851). The story of his life was written by his daughter,⁸ and a biography by Fitzpatrick appeared a year after his death.⁹

⁸ E. J. Whatley, *Life and Correspondence of Richard Whatley*, 2 vols., (London, 1866).

⁹ W. J. Fitzpatrick, *Memoirs of Richard Whatley*, 2 vols., (London, 1864). See also Geoffrey Faber, *Oxford Apostles*, (London, 1932).

John H. Hinton, (1791-1873)

John H. Hinton, the eloquent missionary and anti-slavery preacher of the English Baptist church, was born at Oxford in 1791, where his father, James Hinton, was a Congregational pastor. He attended a school which his father had established in 1787, and then spent some time studying in the office of an Oxford surgeon. Having met Andrew Fuller and John Sutcliffe, he decided to give up surgery and study for the ministry. He entered Bristol College in 1811, and two years later he went to Edinburgh University where he received his degree in 1816.

In 1816 he was ordained and became pastor of a chapel at Haverfordwest, and in 1820 he was called to Hosier Street Chapel in Reading. Because of his missionary activity and his excellent preaching the congregation grew, and a large church was built in King's Road. From 1837 to 1863 he was pastor of Devonshire Square Chapel, Bishopsgate, London. During those years he became one of London's prominent preachers, and his sermons in the interest of missionary work and against slavery attracted great congregations. He became pastor of a new congregation in Reading in 1863, and from 1868 until his death he was in Bristol. He was secretary and an active leader of the Baptist Union. He published 34 works, large and small, including a work on theology and a two-volume history of the United States of America. His collected works, in seven volumes, appeared in 1864.

Thomas Arnold, (1795-1842)

Thomas Arnold, of Rugby, won distinction as a preacher and even greater distinction as a headmaster of a famous school. He was born in 1795 at West Cowes, Isle of Wight, near the south coast of England. He entered Warminster school in 1803 and Winchester school in 1807. In 1811 he entered Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where he was associated with such men as John Keble and John Taylor Coleridge. In 1815 he was made fellow of Oriel College.

Arnold was ordained deacon in the Church of England in 1818, and priest in 1828. In 1819 he taught in a preparatory school at Laleham, near Staines.

In 1828 he became headmaster at Rugby, one of England's most famous schools for boys, and it was there that he became eminent both as an educator and as a preacher. His work at Rugby is too well known to require extended description, and for more than a century the expression "a man second only to Arnold of Rugby" has been considered the highest praise than may be given to a teacher or a college president. Not only did he do much to increase the fame of his school and further its scholastic standing, but his personal interest in his boys was a thing that not one of them ever forgot. Although somewhat strict as a disciplinarian, and exacting in regard to solid scholarship, yet he was a warm friend of every boy that attended Rugby during the thirteen years of his term of office. He was with them in their work and play. He might have been seen looking on when they were on the playing field, or accompanying them on their long rambles through the country. He knew each boy, and made himself acquainted with the capability and the weaknesses of each. It was his daily delight to help the boys in any way that he could, and to encourage not only their intellectual development, but their spiritual life as well. He stressed religious training in the school, he taught the boys to read and love their Bibles, and he prayed with them publicly and privately. Once a week he gathered them in the school chapel, in a day when few such schools had chapels, and preached to them. The boys who formed those congregations never forgot the stirring sermons of Dr. Arnold.

Arnold was, in one respect, a strange man, for in his association with the boys at Rugby he was an evangelical Christian, but in his relation to the work of the church at large he was somewhat of a Broad Churchman. He was, to a certain extent, indifferent toward doctrinal purity, and has been described as a man who sought to bring about a more cordial relation between Church and Chapel by means of stressing only those truths that the various denominations hold in common. It is believed by some that he modified these views as time went on, and came to see that "general Protestantism" can be attained only by keeping silent on certain truths that are essential.

Dr. Arnold loved Oxford, and in 1841 when the appointment came as regius professor, he looked forward with joy to a return to the scenes of his youth. He was not to serve long in that capacity, for six months later he died suddenly, at the age of but 47 years. While his doctrinal pacifism, when off the campus of Rugby, is to be deplored, yet as the head of a boys' school he has known no equals, and as an effective, convincing preacher to boys and young men he has had few who have ever excelled him.

Dr. Arnold realized as fully as did Pusey, Keble and Newman the evils that had crept into the church life of his time. The Tractarians sought to remedy these ills by restoring certain doctrines and practices that the English Church had given up, while Thomas Arnold thought that abuses could be corrected by treating doctrine and practice as matters of lesser importance, and by giving greater attention to practical problems. Had he lived a century or so later, he might have felt quite at home with those who imagine that a united front is the best solution for the problems that confront the various religious bodies. Dr. Arnold was a brilliant man, yet he did not seem to realize that differences of opinion can never be corrected by treating them as though they do not exist. His famous son, Matthew Arnold, (1822-1888), the English poet and literary critic, shared his father's liberal views.

Thomas Arnold published several volumes of sermons, among which are *Sermons*, 3 volumes, (1829-34); and after his death his *Sermons Chiefly on the Interpretation of Scripture* appeared, (1845). He was also the author of several important works on ancient and modern history. An account of his life was published by Dean Stanley,¹⁰ who also edited his works.¹¹

J. F. D. Maurice, (1805-1872)

J. F. D. Maurice, the well-known Broad Churchman, was born in 1805 in Normanston, near Lowestoft, Suffolk. His

¹⁰. A. P. Stanley, *Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold*, 2 vols., (London, 1844).

¹¹. *Miscellaneous Works of Thomas Arnold*, (London, 1845).
See also J. Fitch, *Thomas and Matthew Arnold*, (London, 1897).

father was a Unitarian clergyman, his mother was a Calvinist and his sisters belonged to various denominations. Intending at first to study law, Maurice entered Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1823. In 1830 he entered Exeter College, Oxford. While in London engaged in literary work, he became influenced by the views of Coleridge, and decided to become a clergyman. He was ordained in 1834 and became curate at Bubbenhall, Warwickshire. In 1836 he was made chaplain of Guy's Hospital in London. In 1840 he became professor of English literature, history, and later of theology in King's College, London. In 1846 he was appointed chaplain of Lincoln's Inn. In 1853 difficulties arose, due to his liberal views, and led to his resignation. In 1860 he was appointed to St. Peter's, Vere street, which he served for nine years. In 1866 he became professor of moral philosophy, casuistry and theology at Cambridge, and four years later he was given St. Edward's, Cambridge. In 1871 and 1872 he was Cambridge preacher at Whitehall.

Opinions differ in regard to his greatness as a preacher. Pattison describes him with appreciation,¹² preaching one of his Sunday afternoon sermons in Lincoln's Inn, with a great gathering of young barristers before him, the sun slanting in through the painted glass windows and lighting upon the face of a man who seemed to understand all the past and to foresee all the future. Dargan believes that he cannot be ranked among the greatest of preachers.¹³

At Lincoln's Inn, Maurice conducted Morning Prayer every day, and a full service every Sunday afternoon. Despite the vagueness of his theology and the haziness of his thought, he succeeded in creating an impression not only of great holiness, but of profound learning as well. Young men crowded his services, and went away feeling that they had heard one of the greatest men of the age. His sermons on the Lord's Prayer, delivered at Lincoln's Inn, show Maurice at his best. However, he was too metaphysical and too speculative to be followed readily by the average congrega-

¹². T. H. Pattison, *The History of Christian Preaching*, (Phila., 1909), pp. 308-309.

¹³. E. C. Dargan, *A History of Preaching*, (New York, 1905-12), vol. 2, p. 519.

tion. There are some who have said that his abstruseness of thought is but a result of an uncertainty of conviction.

Maurice is hard to classify. He was an Anglican of the Broad Church, or liberal group, yet he did not agree with them in all respects. He had, for example, no love for negative Biblical criticism. At the same time, he denied verbal inspiration. He declared: "We must forego the demand which we make on the conscience of young men, when we compel them to declare that they regard the inspiration of the Bible as generically unlike that which God bestows on his children in this day."¹⁴ Here we find but an echo of Coleridge, who believed that the Bible is inspired only as all Christians are inspired, except the Law and the prophets, where a distinction must be made.

Maurice was interested in the working classes. In 1854 he was one of the founders of Queen's College, and he also helped found the College for Working Men, and became its first principal. He laid great stress upon applied religion. The personality of F. D. Maurice, as he is generally called, and his many writings, had a great influence upon many of his contemporaries, regardless of the fact that his theology was often unsound and his thinking unclear.

He published ten or more books of sermons under various titles. A series of nine sermons on the Lord's Prayer perhaps show Maurice at his best. A collection of sermons in six volumes appeared between 1857 and 1859. At least two accounts of his life have been written.¹⁵

Samuel Wilberforce, (1805-1873)

Samuel Wilberforce, a son of William Wilberforce the great philanthropist, was born at Clapham in 1805. He received his education from private tutors, and then at Oriel College, Oxford, where he took his degree in 1826. After serving for sixteen months as curate at Checkendon, Oxford, he was ordained in 1829 and presented to the rectory of Brighstone (Brixton), in the Isle of Wight. His eloquence

¹⁴. F. D. Maurice, *Theological Essays*, (London, 1853), p. 339.

¹⁵. J. F. Maurice, *Life of Frederick Denison Maurice*, 2 vols., (1884); C. F. G. Masterman, *F. D. Maurice*, (1907); R. H. Hutton, *Essays on Some of the Modern Guides of English Thought*, (1887).

attracted attention, and calls began to come from influential congregations. In 1841 he was appointed to Alverstoke, Hants., and during the same year he was made one of the chaplains to the prince consort.

In 1845 he was made dean of Westminster, and a few months later he was appointed bishop of Oxford. Conditions were in a turbulent state when he assumed that office. Newman had just been received into the Roman Catholic Church, and Pusey had taken his place as leader of the Tractarians. Two years later the case of R. D. Hampden caused great controversy, followed by the Gorham case in 1852, the *Essays and Reviews* controversy in 1860, and the case of the heretical bishop, John Colenso. Dr. Wilberforce's family life was equally disturbed, for between the years 1846 and 1863, his daughter, his three brothers, his son-in-law and four of his brothers and sisters-in-law left the Church of England and became Roman Catholics.

Wilberforce introduced new ideas in regard to methods of confirmation and ordination, he established church building societies, sisterhoods, and colleges for the training of clergy and teachers. All the while he performed his duties as a member of the House of Lords, where his oratorical gifts and his ability as a debater won for him the admiration of his friends and the scorn of his opponents, who accused him of insincerity. In 1869 he was appointed by Gladstone to the Winchester see. He was not long at Winchester, for while riding on the Surrey downs, he was thrown from his horse and killed.

After coming to Oxford, Wilberforce enjoyed great popularity as a preacher. It is said that he preached without notes, and that he left but few sermons by which to judge his characteristics as a preacher. His contemporaries describe him as a fluent, forceful speaker. In his theological position he was inclined toward the High Church party, although when that group began to concern themselves with ceremonial and vestments, Wilberforce showed but little sympathy, and protested against the drift toward Rome.

Together with Robert Wilberforce he wrote a five-volume life of his father. An idea of his manner of preaching may be gained from his *Sermons Preached before the University of Oxford*, 3 volumes, (1839-71) and *Sermons Preached on Various Occasions*, (1877). Several biographies and shorter accounts of his life have been written.¹⁶

James Martineau, (1805-1900)

While Nicholas Wiseman was preaching to large congregations in the Borough of Westminster the sermons that were destined to turn a national antagonism against the Roman Church into good will; there was another man, preaching in a little chapel not far to the north, the sermons that were to turn many to Unitarianism. This man was James Martineau. He was born in 1805 in Norwich. After attending the grammar schools of his native city, he went to a private school in Bristol, and then to Manchester College, York, for his theological work. He was graduated in 1827, and after teaching for a year in Bristol, he was called in 1828 to become assistant pastor at the Eustace Street Chapel in Dublin. In 1832 he became co-pastor and in 1835 sole pastor of Paradise Street Chapel in Liverpool. There he spent 25 years, barring a year of study in Germany. In 1859 he was called to Little Portland Street Chapel, London, where he spent 13 years.

Even at 23 years of age, Martineau was a follower of the Rev. Joseph Priestly, the Unitarian scientist. Martineau became a Unitarian, and while he accepted Jesus Christ as Mediator between God and man, yet he rejected the doctrine of the Trinity and of the Atonement. He accepted the inspiration of the Gospels at first, but in 1845 he abandoned his belief in the inspiration of the Gospel of St. John.

Martineau's preaching was peculiar, for while it has been described as vivid and dramatic, yet it is also said to have been wholly lacking in action. His congregations seldom

¹⁶ A. R. Ashwell and R. G. Wilberforce, *Life of Samuel Wilberforce*, 3 vols., (London, 1879-82); R. G. Wilberforce in *Leaders of the Church*, (London, 1907); J. W. Burgon, *Lives of Twelve Good Men*, 2 vols., (London, 1888).
Thos. Mozley, *Reminiscences Chiefly of Oriel College*, 2 vols., (London, 1882), contains incidents relating to Wilberforce.

numbered more than 50 people. His printed sermons made him famous, and were responsible for breaking down the evangelical beliefs of many clergymen, most of whom remained in their respective denominations, yet held Unitarian views. Among other things Mr. Martineau published three collections of hymns and four volumes of sermons. Accounts of his life have been published from time to time.¹⁷ His *Endeavours after the Christian Life*, 2 volumes, (1843-47) and *Hours of Thought*, 2 volumes, (1876-79), will furnish examples of his homiletical style.

John Cumming, (1807-1881)

John Cumming, who was one of London's most popular preachers for half a century, was a Scotsman, having first seen the light of day in Fintray parish, Aberdeenshire. He received a good education in the grammar schools of Aberdeen, and then at Aberdeen University, where he received his diploma in 1827. After attending the divinity hall he was licensed to preach in 1832. After a brief experience as a tutor in Kensington, he was appointed in 1832 to the National Scottish Church in Crown Court, Covent Garden, London. Here he remained for almost half a century. Almost from the first he proved popular with the people of London, numbering among his admiring hearers many of the city's elite. After fifteen years his congregation had grown to such an extent that the church had to be rebuilt so as to seat 1000 people. He established parish schools as well as so-called ragged schools. His church had an income of £1500 per year, but he refused offers of a salary increase, and accepted but £900, with the understanding that the remainder be devoted to missionary and charitable purposes.

Dr. Cumming was inclined toward sensationalism, taking part in several public controversies that attracted much attention. It was said in London at one time, "If you follow the crowds to Dr. Cumming's Scottish Church, you can rest

¹⁷ J. Drummond and C. B. Upton, *Life and Letters of James Martineau*, 2 vols., (1901); J. E. Carpenter, *James Martineau, Theologian and Teacher*, (London, 1905); A. W. Jackson, *James Martineau, a Biography and Study*, (London, 1900); A. Hall, *James Martineau*, (London, 1906).

assured that you will hear either a vigorous denunciation of popery or else a sermon on prophecy." This was not entirely an overstatement, for Cumming preached frequently against the Roman Catholic Church, and he delivered a series of lectures in Hanover Square Hall on Cardinal Wiseman and his teachings. He delivered popular series of sermons on the Book of Daniel and on the Apocalypse, and in these he expressed views that were not always conservative. In 1845 he took an active part in the Maynooth Controversy. His published works on the Apocalypse caused somewhat of a sensation when they appeared.

Dr. Cumming was unusually popular during the middle decades of the nineteenth century, but his reputation did not rest upon the characteristics usually associated with the popular preacher. He was not an orator in the accepted sense of the term. He had a clear, musical voice, which he used with moderation. His language was restrained and his gestures very moderate. He had an excellent mind, but he cannot be called especially brilliant. Had it not been for certain extravagancies and faulty interpretations of prophecy, he might have been classed as one of the representative Non-conformists of the nineteenth century. His printed sermons are expressed in simple, clear and direct language, and they are eminently practical as a rule. Generally speaking he is evangelical, taking that word in its Reformed sense. He was a prolific author, having written about one hundred works.

William Brock, (1807-1875)

William Brock was born at Honiton, near Exeter, Devonshire, in 1807. He was educated at Culmstock and at the grammar school in Honiton. His early life is interesting, for among other things we find him reading Caesar and Virgil at the age of eight years. He studied privately with the Rev. Charles Sharp, of Bradninch. In 1820 he was apprenticed to a watchmaker. He united with the Baptist Church, attended Stepney College and in 1833 he moved to Norwich. The question of slavery in the West Indies was at its height, and Mr. Brock went throughout the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk urging the abolition of slavery.

In 1848 he became pastor of Bloomsbury Chapel, in London, where he remained for 24 years. He was greatly concerned over the plight of London's poor, and his work among the neglected was most noteworthy. In 1859 there was an effort in London to throw open the theatres on Sunday for the purpose of religious worship. Mr. Brock was one of those who took an active part in this endeavor, preaching with great acceptance to large congregations. He visited America in 1866, preaching in a number of places, and creating a favorable impression everywhere. He helped form the London Association of Baptist Churches and in 1869 he was elected president of the Baptist Union. His many books include a life of Sir Henry Havelock, which enjoyed a wide popularity. Dr. Brock was not one of the greatest preachers of his day, but he was a man of wide influence, whose earnest preaching proved attractive to many and won many to regular church attendance.

In 1872 Dr. Brock published *Midsummer Morning Sermons Preached at Bloomsbury Chapel*, perhaps the best known of his works. Two accounts of his life have been published.¹⁸

Arthur P. Stanley, (1815-1881)

Arthur P. Stanley, of the Church of England, was born in 1815 at Aderley, Cheshire. His father was bishop of Norwich, his grandfather a baron, and his wife the daughter of an earl. He was a brilliant student at Rugby, 1829-1834, and came under the influence of Dr. Arnold, whose theology he admired. He went up to Oxford, entering Balliol in 1834. In 1838 he was elected fellow of University College, Oxford. He was ordained in 1839, and from 1843 to 1851 he was a tutor at Oxford.

In 1846-1847 he was select preacher at Oxford. His sermons attracted not only wide attention, but controversy as well, for they sounded the coming of the new, liberal school of thought, and revealed the influence of Arnold of Rugby and the German liberal theologians. Despite his

¹⁸. Chas. M. Birrell, *Life of William Brock*, (London, 1877); G. W. Mac Cree, *William Brock, First Pastor of Bloomsbury Chapel*, (London, 1876).

Broad Church views, he was made dean of Canterbury in 1851. He toured the Holy Land in 1852, and from 1856 to 1864 he was professor of Church history at Oxford. In 1858 he was made canon of Christ Church, Oxford, and in 1864 dean of Westminster. He visited America in 1878.

While at Westminster he was noted for his unionistic practices. He was an ardent believer in Erastianism, and he looked upon the State Church as an institution about which might be grouped every shade of religious thought. He practiced pulpit and altar fellowship with men of all denominations, and any preacher of ability, conservative, Broad Church, and even Unitarian, could be assured of a cordial welcome and an invitation to preach. Dean Stanley was an able, but not an exceptional preacher, clear and forceful, but hardly to be classed with Canon Liddon of St. Paul's, or with Spurgeon and Parker.

Dean Stanley's works on the Eastern and the Jewish Churches are well known, as is his *Sinai and Palestine*, (1856). His absurd *Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland*, (1872), caused great displeasure in Scotland, and brought forth a spirited reply from Principal Rainy.¹⁹ Stanley published a two volume work on *The Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians*, (1855), but his greatest and most careful work was his *Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold*, 2 volumes, (1844), which is frankly laudatory, and an expression of his honest admiration for his old teacher. It occupies a high place in biographical writing.

However, it is with Dean Stanley's sermons that we are concerned. His *Sermons on the Apostolic Age*, (1874), reveal the influence of the German liberals and of Thomas Arnold. His *Sermons in the East*, (1864), were preached before the Prince of Wales. *Addresses and Sermons Delivered at St. Andrews*, (1877), and *Addresses and Sermons Delivered in the United States and Canada*, (1879), although reflecting at times his liberal views, are sufficient evidence that Dean Stanley was master of an excellent literary style. His printed sermons are by no means dull. Too often is it

¹⁹. Robt. Rainy, *Three Lectures on the Church of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1872).

true that admirable preachers are poor writers. Dean Stanley and Canon Liddon were men who could convey a certain amount of warmth by means of the printed page. In addition to a good biography by Prothero,²⁰ two other biographies²¹ and several short memoirs have appeared in print.

F. W. Robertson, (1816-1853)

Frederick W. Robertson, one of the most famous preachers of the Church of England, was born in London in 1816. His father and his grandfather were Army officers, and the boy was brought up amid military surroundings. His great ambition was to be a soldier, but his father urged him to become a clergyman. He yielded reluctantly to his father's wishes. His education was received at Beverley grammar school, at Tours, at an academy in Edinburgh and finally in Edinburgh University. He entered Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1837 and was graduated in 1841. Upon his ordination he went to St. Mary's Kalendar, Winchester, where he remained for two years. Then, after a trip to the Continent, he went to Christ Church, Cheltenham, where he served five unhappy years as curate. He visited Germany and supplied for a short time at Heidelberg, at the English church. He served St. Ebbe's, Oxford, briefly.

It was in 1847 that he was called to Trinity Chapel, Brighton, and in the six years that he spent there, he preached the sermons that were to make him internationally famous after his death. His first seven years in the ministry had not been particularly notable, for he had made four changes in that time, and was looked upon as a restless, unhappy young man.

Brighton is a fashionable seaside resort, and the throngs of holiday-makers who crowd its beaches were not aware that Trinity Chapel and F. W. Robertson existed. The townspeople knew, and they crowded his chapel Sunday after Sunday. Just what drew them one cannot say, for Robertson had few of the characteristics of the popular preacher.

²⁰ R. E. Prothero, *Life and Correspondence of A. P. Stanley*, 2 vols., (London, 1893).

²¹ G. G. Bradley, *Recollections of A. P. Stanley*, (London, 1883); A. V. Baillie and H. Bolitho, *A Victorian Dean*, (1930).

He was a quiet, lonely young man who kept much to himself, and whose chief interest was to preach to workingmen. He was not an orator. He preached quietly, and his manner was somewhat artificial. He was a man of vehement temper, and possessed of almost an institutional type of sensitiveness. He might have been eloquent had he cared to do so, but among his many violent aversions, eloquence and oratory were among the foremost. He saw no good in them, and declared that they serve only to cheapen the preacher, and perhaps even suggest cant, if not insincerity.

His sermons were clear in thought, excellent in style, Scriptural and practical. He had the Englishman's reserve to a degree, yet his preaching seemed to have a quality, impossible to define, that appealed to the people. He usually preached for 45 minutes. Dr. Brastow, of Yale, who has given us a striking account of Robertson,²² declares that Biblical quality is the first characteristic of his preaching. Robertson is said to have known the New Testament by heart, both in English and Greek. His sermons were expository, even where they appear at first reading to be topical. He liked to expound a book of the Bible, giving equal attention to Old and New Testaments. Brastow declares that his catechetical instruction was strongly Biblical, rather than doctrinal. Other qualities of his Biblical preaching, noted by the same author, are his historical sense in Biblical matters, his extraordinary method of "penetrating," his skill at application, and his mastery of textual preaching. Where many preachers begin with a doctrine, and then search for proof-texts, Robertson began with a text, probed it for its meaning, and drew doctrine out of it.

Robertson was a man who defied classification. He had little interest in the High, Low and Broad Church parties, although in his earlier preaching he was an Evangelical of the Calvinistic type, and usually looked upon as Low Church. Again, we find him praising certain principles of the High Church party; while in some of his theological views, there are evidences of Broad Church influence. He was too in-

²². L. O. Brastow, *Representative Modern Preachers*, (New York, 1904), pp. 49-97.

dependent, too restless, to allow himself to become a member of any faction. Had he continued as an Evangelical, this would have involved conforming to certain teachings and principles. Robertson was not a man who could accept traditional teachings merely because they are historic, or because their acceptance is considered the evangelical thing to do. Although his early training was decidedly Evangelical, yet he found certain peculiarities in the preaching and lives of these men that he looked upon as a pious pose. The same was true of the High Church party after ritualism became the principle of many of them. Like Stanton of London, Robertson could never be tied down to any one form of worship. Stanton was a man who could sing an Anglo-Catholic high mass in St. Alban's, and then toss aside his colored vestments and go at once to Grey's Inn Road and engage in street-preaching, with neither liturgy nor ceremonial, much less with vestments. Robertson was equally indifferent to any sort of ritualistic conformity, and to a certain extent, to dogmatic conformity.

His life was not a happy one, and there is an undercurrent of vehement sorrow in much of his preaching. His career was short, for he died at 37, having been in office but 13 years. The books of sermons so familiar to clergymen the world over are not the sermons he actually preached; for it was his custom to write them out after he had preached them, and then in an abridged form. However, sketchy as many of them are, they have been popular for almost a century.

Robertson's sermons have their grave defects. As one reads them, and marvels at his power of analysis, one can but regret that a man of such exceptional genius seems to ignore consistently the fact of redemptive Christianity. His sermons are Biblical, for he selects his text and draws the meaning out of it; yet some of his sermons do not go much farther than natural theology.

One of his well-known sermons on the Parable of the Sower²³ was preached to some 700 children who had just

²³. F. W. Robertson, *Sermons on Bible Subjects*, (London, n.d.), pp. 285-301.

been confirmed, and who had not yet made their first Communion. Those 700 children and their parents must have sat in hushed admiration. Even today there is something stirring in that sermon, with its evidences of careful preparation, and the brilliant analysis of the parable. Its serious defect is that it contains almost no hint of Redemption. He classifies the various types of human hearts into which the seed of the Word falls, and does it magnificently; yet he seems to overlook the power of that Word as a means of grace. He pays high tribute to the perfect humanity of Jesus Christ, but hardly mentions His saving grace. The work of the Holy Ghost is all but overlooked. Little is said in regard to the Sacrament which the 700 children are about to receive. As a psychological study of man, the sermon is the work of a genius: as an evangelical testimony to 700 young Christians on an important day in their lives, it is a failure. The sermon fills 16 pages of print, but there is no evidence that Robertson directed the thoughts of his confirmands to the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world. The historic Christ is there, but one misses the evangelical background. One could not imagine Whitefield, or Christmas Evans, or Chalmers or Summerfield preaching such a sermon. Schleiermacher might have done so, but never Walther or Pieper.

The same serious flaw is found in most of Robertson's sermons. Like the Broad Churchmen, he seems to avoid, or at least to overlook, the facts of sin and grace. Robertson believed in the deity of the Saviour, but in his practical applications, he seemed to think of Him not as man's Substitute in respect to the demands of the Law, and man's Substitute in regard to the Cross. Rather did he think of Him as One Who came to this world in order to set His approval upon such excellent qualities as honesty, industry and self-control; to confer His blessing upon holy matrimony; to sanctify the Christian home and to impress upon men the dignity of honest labor.

It is most unfortunate that a man of so many excellencies should miss so largely the very heart of the Christian religion. Few men have had the same degree of exegetical

acumen. In this he compares well with Alexander Maclaren and Campbell Morgan. However, Robertson used his rare gifts to unfold for his hearers almost all the truths of the Scriptures, but with the exception of the chief truth of all: helpless man's deliverance through the grace of God and the merit of Jesus Christ the Saviour. The sermons of Robertson have a contemporary sound, for in our own day too many famous preachers have fallen into the lamentable habit of preaching everything in the Bible save Christ crucified. Robertson's sermon *The Good Shepherd*²⁴ is one of his best. Although it requires 12 printed pages in which to expatiate upon the pastoral character of our Lord, and less than a single page to mention Him as the world's Redeemer, yet the latter truth is there, although one might desire a more extended treatment.

Mr. Robertson's published sermons belong to the closing five or six years of his life, hence the world knows him only during his liberal days. Of his preaching from the time of his ordination until the year 1847 we know relatively little. Of his preaching while at Cheltenham one of his hearers said: "I had a prejudice against him, through no fault of his, but I was not merely struck but startled by his sermon. The high order of thought, the large and clear conception, the breadth of view, the passion held in leash, the tremulously earnest tone, the utter forgetfulness of self in his subject, and the abundance of the heart out of which the mouth speaks, made me feel indeed that here indeed was one whom it would be well to miss no opportunity of hearing. From the first he largely swayed those minds that had any point of contact with him."²⁵ During his Cheltenham ministry, Robertson began to lose confidence in the Evangelical position. This was caused by the reading of rationalistic works and by the imperfect character of his own theological training. In distress he gave up his work for a time and visited Switzerland and Heidelberg. His theological position, during the closing six or seven years of his life, approaches that of the Broad Church group; and

²⁴. *Op. cit.*, p. 201 ff.

²⁵. John Tulloch, *Movements of Religious Thought in Britain during the Nineteenth Century*, (New York ed., 1893), p. 301.

to this period belong his printed sermons.²⁶ Several good biographies have been written,²⁷ and an interpretation of Robertson's spiritual struggles has been made by Principal Tulloch.²⁸

John C. Ryle, (1816-1900)

John C. Ryle, of the Church of England, was born in 1816 in Macclesfield, Cheshire. He was educated at Eaton and at Christ Church, Oxford, from which he was graduated in 1838. In 1841 he became curate at Exbury, Hants., and in 1843 rector of St. Thomas's in Winchester. A year later he went to Helmingham, Suffolk, and in 1861 he became vicar of Stradbroke, Suffolk. He was made rural dean of Hoxne in 1869, honorary canon of Norwich in 1872 and select preacher at Cambridge in 1873-74. He served as select preacher at Oxford in 1874, 1876, 1879 and 1880. In 1880 he was dean designate of Salisbury, and the same year he was made bishop of Liverpool.

J. C. Ryle was a member of the Evangelical party of the English Church, and is known because of his remarkable preaching in Exeter Hall in London, an evangelical center where many famous preachers were heard. He delivered series of sermons there, many of them addressed to workingmen. He was not as gifted a preacher as his contemporaries Spurgeon, of the Baptist Church, nor Parker of the City Temple. He excelled Haslam and Stanton, of the Anglican Church, in literary style, but hardly equalled them in spiritual fervor.

Ryle wrote over a hundred evangelical tracts, which had an enormous circulation at the time. He published a number of larger writings, the most important of which was a collection of expositions of the Gospels,²⁹ which appeared in

²⁶. *Sermons Preached at Trinity Chapel, Brighton*, 5 vols., (London, 1855-1874); *Expository Lectures on St. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians*, (1859).

²⁷. S. A. Brooke, *Life and Letters of F. W. Robertson*, 2 vols., (London, 1865); W. Sawyer, *Memoir of the Rev. F. W. Robertson*, (Brighton, 1853); F. Arnold, *Robertson of Brighton*, (London, 1886); J. P. Edgar, *Robertson of Brighton*, (Edinburgh, 1887).

²⁸. *Op. cit.*, pp. 295-320.

²⁹. *Expository Thoughts on the Gospels*, 7 vols., (1856-1873).

seven volumes. His best known work is his *The Christian Leaders of the last Century*. Of the many preachers who appeared frequently in Exeter Hall, J. C. Ryle was considered among the best.

Bishop Ryle was a careful student of Church History and of the History of Preaching. His diligent study of these subjects convinced him that the several periods of spiritual darkness that have come upon Christianity from time to time have been caused in every case by the wrong kind of preaching. When clergymen neglect to preach sin and grace, spiritual stagnation is sure to follow and a period of national apostasy and moral breakdown takes place. When the light of evangelical truth seems all but extinguished, then the Lord raises up a great leader, or a group of leaders, and by the preaching of sin and grace, a great religious awakening takes place.

Selecting the earlier decades of the eighteenth century as a typical example of religious and moral darkness, Bishop Ryle quotes the words of a number of prominent men who bore witness to the shocking conditions that prevailed both in the church life and the national life of that period. Then he describes the great religious awakening, which he attributes to the evangelical preaching of George Whitefield, John Wesley, Grimshaw, Romaine, Rowland, Berridge, Venn, Walker, Hervey, Toplady and Fletcher. All of this is to be found in his excellent book, *The Christian Leaders of the Last Century*, the first edition of which appeared in 1869. It is a book of much more than ordinary merit, and should, by all means, be read frequently by every clergyman and theological student. Unfortunately Mr. Ryle limits it to his own denomination, with no mention of such other great evangelical leaders as those of the same period in the churches of Scotland and Wales, and among English Nonconformists. Limited as it is in its scope, nevertheless the book is emphatic proof that enervating and legalistic preaching leads to spiritual stagnation, while a few men, preaching sin and salvation, can set a whole nation ablaze with spiritual light.

Christopher N. Hall, (1816-1902)

Christopher N. Hall, a noted Congregationalist, was born in Maidstone, Kent, in 1816. His father was a newspaper man. After attending the schools at Totteridge and Highbury, Christopher Hall attended the University of London, from which he was graduated in 1841. In 1842 he became pastor of Albion Congregational Church in Hull, Yorkshire, where his evangelical preaching brought him favorable notice.

In 1854 he was called to Surrey Chapel, of which Roland Hill had once been pastor. He came to Surrey Chapel the same year that Spurgeon came to New Park Street, close by, and he closed his pastorate in 1892, the same year that Spurgeon died. Surrey Road Chapel flourished after Mr. Hall's coming, and in 1876 the imposing Christ Church Chapel was built in Westminster Bridge Road. Its fine tower and spire formed a memorial to Abraham Lincoln. In 1892 Mr. Hall gave his time, for the next ten years of his life, to evangelistic work.

Christopher Hall was an Evangelical of the conservative type. His sermons were remarkable for their spiritual fervor and for their strong appeal. During the American Civil War, Mr. Hall was a vigorous advocate of the Northern cause, and at the close of the war he toured the United States and did much to quiet the anger that was caused when England recognized the Confederacy. He served Rowland Hill's chapel for 38 years, and was recognized as one of London's leading preachers, although his nearby neighbor, Mr. Spurgeon, excelled him both in his universal appeal to people of all classes, and in the lasting character of his reputation.

Mr. Hall's tract entitled *Come to Jesus*, (1846), had a circulation running into the millions, and was translated into 40 languages. Another writing, *It is I*, (1848), was read throughout the world. Collections of his sermons are entitled *Homeward Bound, and Other Sermons*, (1868), and *Sermons on the Lord's Prayer*, (1883). An account of his life is to be found in his *Autobiography*, published in 1898.

Samuel Martin, (1817-1878)

It is not unusual for young men to turn from the law to theology, but it is not often that a man gives up architecture in order to preach. Such a man was Samuel Martin, who was born in 1817 at Woolwich, a suburb of London. After receiving his early education from the Rev. Thomas James, of Salem Chapel, Woolwich, he went to London in 1829 and studied architecture. While there he united with the Established Church. Six years later he gave up his architectural work and began the study of the classics and theology. In 1836 he offered himself to the London Missionary Society as a worker in India, but after a period of training at Western College in Exeter it was feared that his health was not sufficiently robust to endure the climate of India.

In 1838 he became pastor of Highbury Chapel in Cheltenham, which enjoyed great growth during the three years of his pastorate. When a new chapel was built in 1841 in Westminster, Mr. Martin was called as its pastor. It was not long until his preaching attracted large congregations. In 1862 he was made chairman of the Congregational Union. In 1863 the work in Westminster had grown to such an extent that work was begun on a great chapel, near the gates of Buckingham Palace. Its exterior was in the Lombardic style, with a soaring campanile, and the vast interior, which resembles somewhat the Spurgeon Tabernacle, has been described as "a cave of the winds" and a "second Charing Cross railway station." It is a huge rectangle, with two tiers of galleries entirely around the interior walls, and the 32-foot pipes of a great organ towering at the far end. This chapel was to become a serious problem to the Congregationalists of London, but in the days of Samuel Martin it was filled with congregations that numbered 2,500 people, and at times as many as 3,000 were crowded into it.

When Samuel Martin came to London there were great areas of neglected territory close by. The casual visitor to London sees only its respectable streets, and one must live there for a time in order to realize that immediately adjoin-

ing the fine streets of Kensington are the slums of Pimlico. Even Westminster had its blighted areas in Samuel Martin's day. He established an important parochial school, as well as a school for those who had broken the laws of the land. The work proved too arduous for him, and in 1876 a co-pastor was called. Samuel Martin died in 1878, at the age of 61. His preaching, although described as "quiet and simple," attracted great congregations, and during the middle decades of the nineteenth century he was recognized as one of the foremost preachers of England's metropolis.

Henry Allon, (1818-1892)

While Thomas Binney was attracting great congregations at King's Weigh House Chapel, another Congregational clergyman was attracting many thoughtful hearers in Islington, another part of downtown London. This man was Henry Allon. He was a Yorkshireman, having been born in Welton, near Hull, in the year 1818. He was educated at Cheshunt College, Hertfordshire. In 1844, when he was but 26 years of age, he was invited by the Rev. Thomas Lewis, of Union Chapel, Islington, to become his assistant, and later his associate. When Mr. Lewis died eight years later, Henry Allon became sole pastor of this important church, and there he remained until his death in 1892; his ministry as associate and as sole pastor covering a span of almost half a century.

Under the leadership of Mr. Allon, Union Chapel grew until it numbered 2,000 members. In 1877 a new church was built in Compton Terrace, Islington. It became an institutional church, and is said to have been one of the first of its kind. Like his friend Thomas Binney, Henry Allon recognized the value of good church music. He did not believe that the worship of the Lord should become a mere performance, with the congregation sitting as listeners while a choir and soloists presented anthems and solos as though it were a concert. He laid stress upon good congregational singing, and believed with Luther that the people have a right to take part in public worship. He edited collections of hymns and chants. In his day Union Chapel became famous throughout London and the home counties

for its exceptional congregational singing, and people of all denominations were attracted. "The fulness and beauty of the congregational singing at Union Chapel, Islington, have excited the admiration of Churchmen and Nonconformists alike," declared Sir J. D. McClure, headmaster of Mill Hill School.³⁰ "As one joins in the service of this church," said Mr. J. S. Curwen, an authority on church music, "the very air seems charged with the breath of worship; the multitudinous song speaks to the heart like the voice of many waters."³¹ Mr. Allon knew the value of congregational rehearsals. He encouraged part singing. In many churches unison singing was the rule, but at Union Chapel the great congregations were taught to sing their hymns and responses in four-part harmony, such as one finds so often in Wales.

Dr. Allon was a forceful preacher, and much admired in his own day, but unfortunately many of his sermons have not been preserved in permanent form. He wrote two or three biographies, including a *Memoir of the Rev. James Sherman*, (1863), and an excellent estimate of the life and preaching of the Rev. Thomas Binney, prefixed to the latter's *Sermons Preached in King's Weigh House Chapel*, second series. The collection of sermons by which Dr. Allon is best known appeared under the title of *The Vision of God, and Other Sermons*, (1876). They are practical and sensible, yet they hardly give the reader of today a clue to Dr. Allon's wide reputation as a preacher. As was the case with too many other eminent men, some of Dr. Allon's best sermons have not been preserved in print. Too often does the high reputation of such distinguished preachers decline gradually as the men and women of their own generation die. Other clergymen, to whom were given more modest homiletical talents, owe their undiminished reputation to the publication of many volumes of sermons, and to an enterprising publisher who reprints their works from time to time.

³⁰. Gardner and Nicholson, *English Church Music*, (London, 1923), p. 128.

³¹. J. S. Curwen, *Studies in Worship Music*, First Series (London, 1885).

Henry Allon was given honorary degrees by Yale College and by St. Andrews University. He edited the *British Quarterly Review* for 22 years, and he was president of the Congregational Union from 1864 to 1881. Of his preaching the *Spectator* said: "wise, eloquent and thoughtful sermons, singularly undogmatic, without being in any sense rationalistic." A biography of Dr. Allon, by Harwood, contains a few sermons by the noted pastor of Union Chapel.³²

Edward M. Goulburn, (1818-1897)

Edward M. Goulburn was born in 1818 in Chelsea, London. His father was a member of Parliament. The boy received an excellent education at Rottingdean and Eaton, and then at Balliol College, Oxford, from which he was graduated in 1839, and where he was given a fellowship two years later. From 1843 to 1845 he was tutor and a dean at Merton College. Ordained in 1843 he was made perpetual curate in the following year of Holywell, Oxfordshire. In 1847 he became chaplain to Bishop Samuel Wilberforce, of Oxford. He was made headmaster of Rugby School in 1849 and during the year that followed he was Bampton lecturer at Oxford. In 1857 he went to Quebec Chapel, St. Marylebone, London, now known as the Church of the Annunciation. In 1859 he became vicar of St. John's, Paddington, and in 1866 he was appointed to the Norwich deanery, where he remained for 23 years.

Originally a member of the evangelical party, Dean Goulburn adopted high church ideas, although he did not become ritualistic. He was a foe of liberalism and rationalism. His printed sermons give evidence of a devotional, rather than a theological turn of mind. He belongs to the devotional group of Anglo-Catholics — men who are inclined to look upon ceremonial as a thing not of major importance, whose theological views are conservative, but who are interested in the cultivation of the spiritual life. His writings have an under-current of deep piety, and yet they are entirely practical. He retired in 1899, and spent his last years quietly at Tunbridge Wells.

³². W. H. Harwood, *Henry Allon, the Story of his Ministry*, (London, 1894).

Dean Goulburn's *Thoughts upon the Liturgical Gospels*, (1883), is a two-volume work that is interesting in its way. He refers to the expositions of Bengel, Trower, Hall, Quesnel, Williams, Wadsworth and other commentators. Four versions are printed, namely the Great Bible, the Sarum translation, the 1549 translation and the version contained in the Sealed Book of 1662. Dean Goulburn's expositions of the old Church Year Gospels are devotional rather than critical, and simple enough for readers without formal theological training. His manner of treatment is often far-fetched. For example, he looks upon the three Parables in St. Luke 15, (the Lost Sheep, the Lost Coin and the Prodigal Son), as representative of the work of the Holy Trinity; the shepherd who lost the sheep a figure of the Lord Jesus seeking the sinner; the woman who lost the coin representing the Holy Ghost and His work; and the father of the prodigal typical of God the Father, Who forgives the penitent sinner.³³

Mr. Goulburn's exposition of these parables carries the allegorical method even farther. The ninety and nine sheep that were left in the fold are made to typify the angels; the pasture in which they fed represents Heaven; the shepherd's search refers to the Incarnation and the Nativity, by which our Lord came to seek sinners; the return of the shepherd with the sheep he believes represents the Saviour's ascension into Heaven; while he pictures the ninety-nine sheep rejoicing with the shepherd of the parable, a type of the joy of the holy angels when the Shepherd returns with the lost sinner. In his meditations upon the Parable of the Lost Coin we find still more allegorizing. The woman is a type of the Christian Church, he believes; the coin reminds one of the image and superscription of God; the loss of the coin signifies the loss of this divine image by reason of the Fall; the dust in which the coin was lost is a type of the sinful defilement of this world; while the house in which the coin was lost represents the Church on earth which contains both true and merely nominal Christians. The candle lighted by the woman he declares to be the preaching of

³³. *Op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 122-131.

God's Word; the light of the candle is man's conscience; the sweeping of the floor signifies the bereavement, poverty and sickness that comes to the human being; and the finding of the coin is the rescue of the sinner by the redemptive work of Jesus Christ. All of this is ingenious, but reminiscent of a certain period in German preaching when allegorizing was carried to extremes. Not as well known as Goulburn's meditations on the Gospels is his *The Collects of the Day*, (1883), a two-volume work in which he bases his devotional studies upon the familiar Collects of the Christian Year. Among a number of other works mention might be made of his *Holy Week at Norwich Cathedral*, (1885), apparently a series of meditations on the Passion of Our Lord. In his expositions Dean Goulburn often misses the main teaching of his text. In his discussion of the Centurion of Capernaum he finds little more than admiration for the centurion's compassion for his servant, his humility and his faith. He seems to miss the main teaching, namely the *grace* of the Lord Jesus Christ, that is, the favor of the Lord shown to one who has neither merited it nor deserves it.

Goulburn's literary style is simple and beautiful, and at once awakens the admiration of the reader. Many of us are familiar with expositions of the standard Gospels of the Christian Year that may be inferior to Goulburn in literary polish, and yet decidedly more satisfactory in their exegetical and doctrinal solidity. In too many cases Goulburn stresses incidental truths at the expense of the great central truth of his text. Certainly it is well to mention the fact that the Good Shepherd knows His sheep, and that they hear His voice and follow Him; but much more important than this is the fact that He lays down His life for the sheep. The reformed type of mind is tempted to spend too much time describing the habits of Oriental shepherds and their sheep, and to expatiate upon the hireling, and to give too little attention to the Shepherd Himself, and the manner in which He died that we might live.

Dean Goulburn's preaching was evangelical in tone, but he was not especially profound in his doctrinal understanding, or at least he does not reveal such depth of theological

thought in his published works. However, he was a determined foe of liberals and rationalists of every kind, and bore witness against them. His biography was published shortly after his death.³⁴

William Arthur, (1819-1901)

William Arthur, a noted Wesleyan Methodist preacher, was born in Glendun, County Antrim, Ireland. His early days were spent in the Episcopal Church, but in his early youth he united with the Wesleyan Methodist denomination. He began to preach at the age of 16. After attending Hoxton Wesleyan Academy he went to India in 1839, as a missionary. Becoming ill because of the climate, he returned to London in 1841. In 1842 he became pastor of John Wesley's Chapel, City Road, London. In 1846 he went to Paris and Boulogne, where he served these and other chapels. In 1849 and 1850 he served congregations in London.

From 1851 to 1868 he was secretary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and from 1888 to 1891 he was honorary secretary of the same organization. From 1868 to 1871 he was principal of the Methodist College in Belfast. In 1888 he went for a time to Cannes.

William Arthur's preaching did much to keep before his own denomination, and before Christians of other denominations as well, the needs of both home and foreign missions. He is one of a number of men, too often overlooked, whose years of earnest appeals for missionary expansion kept this subject before the people, and made mission work one of the important branches of activities of all the leading denominations. Mr. Arthur's *Tongue of Fire*, (1856), describes in vivid language the blessings of a spiritual life. It was reprinted many times, and translated into several languages. He also published several works against Rome. The story of his life was written by T. B. Stephenson.³⁵

³⁴. B. Compton, *Edward M. Goulburn*, (London, 1899).

³⁵. T. B. Stephenson, *William Arthur, A Biography*, (1907).

Charles Kingsley, (1819-1875)

Charles Kingsley was born at Holne, a lonely little village on the Dartmoor, in Devon. His father was a clergyman of the Established Church. The boy was educated at Clifton, at Helston and finally at King's College, London. He attended Magdalene College, Cambridge. He was ordained in 1842, and became curate and then rector of Eversley, in Hampshire. In 1851 he was inhibited for a short time in the diocese of London because of his views on Christian socialism. In 1859 he became one of the Queen's chaplains, and a year later he was made professor of modern history at Cambridge. In 1864 he engaged in a sharp controversy with J. H. Newman, which led Newman to write his most famous book, *Apologia pro Vita Sua*. In 1870 he became canon of Chester and in 1873 canon of Westminster. He toured America in 1874.

Charles Kingsley was a Broad Churchman in theology, and a Christian socialist. He won some reputation as a preacher, although his chief fame is due to his novels, of which he wrote about a dozen. He published about 12 books of sermons.³⁶ He is said to have preached with "vehemence and force." His sermons were short, forceful, rather careless in their homiletical arrangement, not always logical, and not especially remarkable for their freshness of treatment. He won recognition more for his direct, forceful manner of speech than from unusual depth of thought. Nevertheless his printed sermons have a directness and a quickness of movement that is lacking in his somewhat verbose novels.

J. Baldwin Brown, (1820-1884)

James Baldwin Brown was born in 1820 in King's Bench Walk, Temple, London. His father was a prominent barrister-in-law. It was assumed that the son would follow in

³⁶. *Twenty-five Village Sermons*, (London, 1849); *Sermons on National Subjects*, 2 series, (London, 1852-54); *Sermons for the Times*, (London, 1855); *Sermons for Sailors*, (London, 1855); *The Good News of God*, (1859); *Town and Country Sermons*, (London, 1861); etc.

For his biography see *Charles Kingsley, his Letters and Memories of his life*, by his wife, 2 vols., (London, 1877).

the footsteps of his well-known father, and he was sent to the University of London, where he took his degree in 1838. He attributed his religious awakening, strangely enough, to Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*. His theological training was received at Highbury College. In 1843 he was called to London Road Independent Church, Derby, where he served as pastor for three years. He became acquainted with Macleod Campbell, F. D. Maurice and A. J. Scott, and almost from the first his orthodoxy was suspected. In 1846 he was called to Claylands Chapel, Clapham Road, London. His congregation grew, and in 1870 a larger church was built in Brixton Road, where he remained throughout his life. Baldwin Brown, as he is generally known, came into prominence in 1859 when he published *The Divine Life in Man*. A storm of protest arose among those who held the old and strict Calvinistic teachings, and Brown was looked upon as a dangerous liberal.

From his earliest days in Derby, Mr. Brown struck out in a new direction. The old, harsh type of Puritanism had run its course, and Baldwin Brown became one of the men who became heralds of the new era. In his religious position he considered himself an Independent rather than a Congregationalist, for he had misgivings in regard to any effort that would lead to organization, or "schemes of comprehensiveness," believing that such things can lead only to theological weakness.

Baldwin Brown might have been one of London's foremost preachers, for he possessed the qualities that lead to fame. "A fine presence, attractive speech, choice style, fresh treatment of hackneyed pulpit themes, wide sympathies and intense earnestness, made him a preacher sought after from the outset, especially by thoughtful persons."³⁷ However, he was not interested in crowds, and did nothing to encourage them. He looked upon any such effort as mere sensationalism, declaring that the desire to gather great multitudes has within it all the elements of "vain-glory and puffery," a manufactured public excitement, an unworthy resort to catchy newspaper reports, advertisements and glaring placards

³⁷. John Hunter in *The Expositor*, April, 1921, p. 304.

posted on the hoardings. All of which, he declared, "is precisely modelled upon the method which Mr. Barnum has associated with his name all over the world." He dreaded the growing tendency in his day to accept the verdict of the common crowd as a test of a preacher's spiritual power, and of the degree of truth of his preaching. He insisted that the goodness of a man's wares is not to be measured according to the length and strength of his advertizing, neither does a man's power of leadership depend upon the volume of applause at a public meeting. "If there are but crowds, impressive, universal excitement and apparent success, we accept it in a moment, we find Heaven's hall-mark upon it at once, though every conviction of what is spiritual has been wounded to the quick by the methods employed."³⁸

William C. Magee, (1821-1891)

William C. Magee, a Protestant Irishman, said to have been one of the three greatest orators of the nineteenth century, was born in Cork, Ireland, where his father was a clergyman, and librarian of the cathedral. His mother was a daughter of John Ker, noted Scottish preacher, and his grandfather, William Magee, had been Archbishop of Dublin. W. C. Magee was educated at a classical school in Kilkenny. He entered Trinity College, Dublin, in 1835, when but 13 years of age, and was graduated in 1838.

He was ordained in 1845, and served for two years as curate at St. Thomas's, Dublin. After a year or two in Spain, because of a throat ailment, he became curate in 1848 at St. Saviour's, Bath. In 1850 he was called to the Octagon Chapel, Bath, first as co-pastor and then as sole incumbent. It was there that he became famed for his eloquence. About the year 1856 he went to London, to Quebec Chapel, of which he was made perpetual curate in 1860. Then he returned to Ireland, and in 1864 was made dean of Cork, and two years later dean of the Chapel Royal in Dublin. In 1868 he became bishop of Peterborough Cathedral.

³⁸. J. Baldwin Brown, *The Popular Pulpit and its Probable Fruits*, (London, 1858).

For an account of his life see E. B. Brown, *In Memoriam, J. Baldwin Brown*, (London, 1884).

In 1869, the State Church of Ireland, which was Protestant, and numbered about one-tenth of the population of Ireland, was disestablished. Magee, as member of the House of Lords, delivered a speech that was declared to be one of the greatest orations ever heard in the upper house. The cause for which he spoke was lost, but Magee's reputation as an orator was recognized as second only to that of W. E. Gladstone and John Bright.

W. C. Magee was a famous pulpit orator, but the subject matter of his sermons is not particularly remarkable. His work shows evidence of study and careful arrangement, but it was his brilliant eloquence that brought him fame. He prepared his sermons with care, then laid the manuscript aside and spoke extemporaneously, and with a sparkle and a freshness of expression that caused even Canon Liddon to declare him the greatest preacher of his time.

Magee declared that the arrangement of the preacher's material is the thing of greatest importance. In preparing a sermon his advice was: "Never read sermons, but study arrangement and effect." He condemned the essay type of sermon, so popular in the Anglican Church of his day. The better way, he believed, was to prepare one's material and present it to the congregation in the way that a debater would seek to do. Popular as a pulpit orator, admired as a debater in the House of Lords, and in great demand as a platform speaker, William C. Magee's ready Irish wit, his stinging invective and his flights of fiery eloquence captivated all who heard him.

In theology he was evangelical in the main, although after he had become a church dignitary, his teachings tended to become somewhat liberal. He had little taste for extreme types of religion, and while he had no objection to the Evangelicals and the Tractarians as such, yet he did not encourage the "excitement" of the former in the pulpit, nor the ritualistic extremes of the latter.

In 1891 he was made Archbishop of York, but he died a few weeks later, while on a visit in London.³⁹ He pub-

³⁹. For biographical data see J. C. Mac Donnell, *Life and Correspondence of William C. Magee*, 2 vols., (London, 1896).

lished several works, among which were *Sermons Delivered at St. Saviour's Church, Bath*, (1852), and *Sermons Delivered at the Octagon Chapel, Bath*, (1854).

Frederick Temple, (1821-1902)

Frederick Temple was born in 1821 at Santa Maura, in the Ionian Islands, where his father, an Army officer, was stationed at the time. Frederick was the thirteenth of fifteen children. His father died in 1834 at Sierra Leone, and Mrs. Temple, a Cornish woman, went to Culmstock, Devonshire, where she educated her children. Frederick was sent to Blundell's School at Tiverton, immortalized by Blackmore in his famous *Lorna Doone*. In 1839 he entered Balliol College, Oxford, taking his degree in 1842, and then serving as fellow and lecturer at Balliol. He was ordained in 1847, and two years later he was made principal of Kneller Hall, near Twickenham. In 1855 he was made a government school inspector. In 1857 he became headmaster of Rugby, where he strengthened the curriculum as well as adding to the physical equipment of the school.

In 1869 Gladstone appointed Temple to the see of Exeter. This aroused a nation-wide protest, for Temple's liberal views were well known. He had, even in his Oxford days, shown sympathy for such men as W. G. Ward and R. D. Hampden. In 1860 he had contributed an essay, "The Education of the World" to Henry B. Wilson's notorious book.⁴⁰ The heretical tone of this collection of essays had resulted in a protest signed by 10,000 clergymen.⁴¹ Dr. Pusey declared that the appointment of Temple to Exeter was "the most frightful enormity ever perpetrated by a Prime Minister." In spite of the great controversy caused by his appointment, Temple assumed the bishopric. When asked to repudiate his statements in Wilson's book, he refused firmly until after he had been settled at Exeter: then he retracted.

In 1885 William Temple was translated to London, but by this time the opposition to him had died out. In 1897 he was made Archbishop of Canterbury. While there he

⁴⁰. H. B. Wilson, *Essays and Reviews*, (London, 1860).

⁴¹. See Chapter XI, par. 11.

participated in the Queen's jubilee and he crowned Edward VI as King in 1902. On December 2 of the same year he was stricken during a speech in the House of Lords, and died three weeks later.

Dr. Temple's reputation as a preacher was due largely to his sermons while headmaster at Rugby. These were published⁴² and enjoyed a large circulation. He published several other collections of sermons. Dr. Temple had an excellent voice and a good presence, but were his reputation to rest upon his spoken utterances he would hardly be classed as a great preacher. His words had a ring of earnestness, and yet one misses the well-defined evangelical warmth that is to be found in his contemporaries Dr. Parker and Mr. Spurgeon. One of his sons, Dr. William Temple, became Archbishop of Canterbury almost forty years after his father's death. Several accounts of his life have been written.⁴³

Hugh S. Brown, (1823-1886)

In addition to Hall, Spurgeon and Maclaren, the names of other noted preachers are to be found among the Baptists of England. One of these was Hugh S. Brown, of Liverpool. He was a son of the Rev. Robert Brown, a well-known Anglican clergyman, and a nephew of the Rev. Hugh Stowell, of Manchester. Thomas E. Brown, the Manx poet and scholar was his brother. Hugh S. Brown was born at Douglas, in the Isle of Man, and was educated in the grammar school of his native city. At the age of 15 he was sent to England to learn surveying. At 17 he studied engineering at Wolverhampton. He worked for a time with the Ordnance Survey, and at 21 he became a railway man. Having made up his mind to become a clergyman, he attended King William's College at Castletown.

⁴². *Sermons Preached in Rugby School Chapel*, 3 series, (London, 1861-71).

⁴³. E. G. Sandford, ed., *Memoirs of Archbishop Temple*, by Seven Friends, 2 vols., (London, 1906); W. F. Aitken, *Frederick Temple*, (London, 1901); E. G. Sandford, *Frederick Temple, an Appreciation*, (1907); ib., *The Exeter Episcopate of Archbishop Temple*, (London, 1907); F. J. Snell, *Early Associations of Archbishop Temple*, (London, 1904); F. E. Kitchener, *Rugby Memories of Archbishop Temple*, (London, 1907).

Mr. Brown served for a short time as a city missionary in Liverpool, and he was called in 1847 as assistant pastor of the Myrtle Street Baptist Church. A year or so later he became sole pastor and served that congregation for 37 years. The congregation was a small one at the beginning of his ministry, but during his long pastorate it became one of the most important Nonconformist churches in Liverpool. In 1872 Mr. Brown visited the United States and Canada, and in 1878 he was made president of the Baptist Union.

Hugh S. Brown was a preacher of unusual forcefulness. His sermons were strongly evangelical in tone, and his preaching attracted large numbers of working people. He was unusually successful in reaching men, and his Sunday afternoon sermons to workingmen, which he preferred to call lectures, attracted great congregations. Few men were more widely known in Liverpool, and Mr. Brown's influence extended far beyond his own denomination. The proportion of men attending his church caused surprise to every visitor, and their hearty singing, with its organ-like foundation of many bass voices, could be matched only in Wales, or perhaps in Mr. Brown's native Isle of Man. He was a man of large physique, whose face beamed with good nature, and few men in Liverpool could claim a larger circle of friends among people of all classes. He was ready at all times to engage in controversy, not only upon the subject of Baptism, but with any man who questioned what became known in time as Fundamentalism. In these controversies he was always good-natured.

His published sermons and lectures were popular in their day. His *Twelve Lectures to the Men of Liverpool*, published in 1858-60, were looked upon as models of their kind. His *Lectures to the People*, (1860), reached a circulation of over 40,000 copies. Other popular works were *Lectures to Workingmen*, in two volumes, (1866-70), *The Bulwark of Protestantism*, (1868) and *Ancient Maxims for Modern Times*, (1869). The story of his long pastorate in Liverpool is told in *The Autobiography of the Rev. Hugh Stowell Brown*, which was edited by W. S. Caine, and published in 1887. This book contains selected specimens of his sermons.

William Landels, (1823-1899)

London had a number of pulpit stars of the first magnitude during the nineteenth century. There were a number of lesser men, such as William Landels, who would have been called eminent preachers had their neighbors been any other than Spurgeon, Parker, Liddon, Clifford and several others of their exceptional stature.

William Landels was born in Scotland, near Berwick-on-Tweed. His father was a farmer and a loyal member of the Auld Kirk party. Young Landels was brought up under the old and strict type of religion that looked upon "the Sabbath as na dee to be talkin' o' dees." The boy worked hard and his opportunities for schooling were not great. About the year 1841 he was deeply influenced through attending a Primitive Methodist revival. He studied with James Morison at Kilmarnock and began to preach when about 20 years old. He was ordained in 1844 and became pastor of a small congregation at Darvel. Whenever asked to baptize an infant, questions arose within his mind as to whether parents or sponsors really could answer questions addressed to the child. This led him to make a study of the Baptist position, and in 1846 he was baptized by immersion and became a member of that denomination. He became pastor of a church at Kupaar shortly afterward, and in 1850 he was called to a church in Birmingham.

In 1855 the Baptist Church in Regent's Park, London, was seeking a pastor. They had heard of the reputation of the young pastor in Birmingham and Landels was asked to come to London. Here he served with distinction for the next 28 years. The bairn from the "we cot in Berwickshire" found himself preaching to great congregations which included several people of high social standing. Mr. Landels became involved in a controversy with a pastor of his own denomination, and this was none other than Spurgeon. When the "down grade" movement in evangelical theology set in, it is an unfortunate fact that Landels did not take the firm stand against liberalism as did the famous pastor of Metropolitan Tabernacle. In 1883 Mr.

Landels was called to Dublin Street Church, Edinburgh, and spent the last days of his ministry in his native country.

Whether or not William Landels was a liberal in theology has been a debated question. He did, however, favor a lenient attitude toward men who are accused of adapting their theological views to the ever changing scientific theories of the day, and to the early teachings of the Biblical critics. Had there been more men of C. H. Spurgeon's firmness, and more of a willingness among the Nonconformist groups and in the Established Church as well to exercise doctrinal discipline, evangelical teachings would not have suffered so severely at the hands of the liberalists. It was evangelical theology of the Reformed type, with their Zwinglian attitude toward the Sacraments in so many cases, and often with synergism, but at least it was not the modernism that has taken its place to so large a degree. Mr. Landels published about 25 volumes of sermons, among which were *The Gospel in Various Aspects*, (1856); *The Message of Christianity*, (1856); *The Unseen*, (1859); *True Manhood*, (1861); *The Path of Life*, (1862) and *The Cross of Christ*, (1864). His biography has been published.⁴⁴

W. M. Punshon, (1824-1881)

William M. Punshon, a noted Methodist preacher, was born of humble parentage in Doncaster. He attended grammar school in Doncaster and a boarding school in Tadcaster. Left an orphan, he entered his grandfather's office at 13, as office boy and seemed destined for a commercial career. A year later he joined a Methodist congregation in Hull, and in 1841, at the age of 17 we find him preaching his first sermons. He studied theology and languages with the Rev. Benjamin Clough, and then attended a theological school at Richmond.

In 1845 he was enrolled as a probationer and allowed to go "on the plan" as a lay preacher, or "local preacher" as they are called among the English Methodists. He was ordained in 1849. From 1849 to 1858 he preached at various places in and about Newcastle, Sheffield and Leeds.

⁴⁴ T. D. Landels, *Memoir of William Landels*, (London, 1900).

From 1858 to 1864 he was stationed in London, where he cared for different congregations. From 1864 to 1867 he preached in Bristol, and from 1867 to 1873 he served as general superintendent to the Methodist churches of Canada. He returned to London in 1873, served in one or more official capacities, and in 1875 he became General Secretary to the Wesleyan Missionary Society.

Morley Punshon, as he is often called, was an exceptionally eloquent preacher. His fame dated from 1854 when he delivered a series of lectures in Exeter Hall, London, an Evangelical stronghold. His subject was Elijah the Prophet, and his fame was made overnight.

Punshon's sermons were devout and Biblical, without any spectacular display of scholarship, yet weighty and at the same time clear and evangelical. He had no sympathy for the negative criticism that was sweeping the English and Scottish churches from their doctrinal moorings, but was content to hold fast to the old teachings of the Methodist Church, and preach Christ crucified. His homiletical style is of the old-fashioned, somewhat formal type, with numerous divisions, subdivisions, inferences and implications, yet he never strays far afield. He was never allowed to remain long in one place, hence he never enjoyed the following as did Spurgeon, Parker, Liddon and others of his day; but his eloquence and his earnestness brought him wide recognition throughout England. Two or three volumes of his sermons, and one of his lectures have been published. *Select Lectures and Sermons* appeared in 1860, *Life Thoughts* in 1863 and *The Prodigal Son* in 1868. At the close of his life his *Sermons, Lectures and Literary Remains*, (1881), enjoyed wide popularity at the time. Just before his death he exclaimed, "Christ is to me a bright reality," and Dr. Dargan declares that this statement was significant of his preaching, for his sermons were Christ-centered, his confidence in the inspired Word remained unshaken in spite of the wretched popularity of the German negative critics and the claims of speculative science, nor did he set aside the preaching of the Cross for the sake of lectures on social and industrial problems. He was a man of distinguished appearance, he

had a splendid voice, his command of the English language was exceptional, although his homiletical style was that of a bygone generation. Biographies have been written by Macdonald, Dawson and others.⁴⁵

J. Cunningham Geike, (1824-1906)

Dr. Cunningham Geike, (pronounced gee'key), was born in Edinburgh in 1824. He received his education at Queen's College, Toronto, and in 1848 was ordained to the ministry of the Presbyterian Church. He was pastor of the Argyle Street Presbyterian Church in Halifax, (1851-54), Argyle Street Chapel, Sunderland, (1860-67), Islington Chapel, London, (1867-73). In 1876 he was ordered deacon in the Anglican Church, and a year later he was ordained clergyman. He was curate of St. Peter's, Dulwich, (1876-79), he served Christ Church, Neuilly, Paris, (1897-81), he was vicar of St. Mary's, Barnstaple, (1882-85) and vicar of St. Martin-at-Palace, Norwich, (1885-90). In 1890 he retired and devoted his time to his writings.

Dr. Geike belonged to the Evangelical school of the Church of England, and his sermons are evangelical in spirit. Although serious in the pulpit, yet he had a sharp sense of humor. On one of his trips across the Atlantic, a group of young men at his table were telling smutty stories. One of them said, "Parson, why don't you tell a dirty story. You must know one." "I do," he replied, "and what is more, I shall tell it. A certain robin once ate his fill of garbage, then flew to a telephone wire and chirruped loudly. Along came a Scottish laddie wie a goon, and he shot the robin." "We can see nothing funny in that," said the young men. "Can't you? The whole point is that it is one thing to be filled wie filth, and another thing to annoy others by chirruping about it in public."

Dr. Geike's *Hours with the Bible*, 6 volumes, (1880-84) and his *New Testament Hours*, 4 volumes, (1894), stand on the shelves of clergymen the world over. Equally well known are his *Life and Words of Christ*, 2 volumes, (1877),

⁴⁵ F. W. Macdonald, *Life of W. M. Punshon*, (London, 1887); J. Dawson, *W. M. Punshon, the Orator of Methodism*, (London, 1906).

and his *Short Life of Christ*, (1888). Other works are: *The English Reformation*, (1879); *The Holy Land and the Bible*, 2 volumes, (1887); *Landmarks of Old Testament History*, (1896); *The Apostles' Lives and Letters*, 2 volumes, (1895); *Light from Beyond*, (1879); *Old Testament Portraits*, (1878) and *Entering on Life*, (1879).

Alexander Maclaren, (1826-1910)

Alexander Maclaren, one of the most brilliant expository preachers of modern times, was born in Glasgow in 1826. The family is an ancient one, and the old form of the name, *Clann mhic Labhrainn* indicates that they are descendents of Laurentius or Lawrence. David, the father of Alexander Maclaren, spelled the name McLaren, and other branches of the family call themselves MacLaren, Maclaren, M'Laren and MacLauren.

Alexander Maclaren's father had been educated for the Presbyterian ministry, but had become a Baptist before finishing his education. He was a lay preacher on Sunday, and during the week he filled an executive position with a business organization. The family were devout, and Sunday was observed with typical Scottish strictness. The boy was taken to two church services, and at night there was the usual Bible hour for all members of the household. A sermon by the famous Dr. Lindsay Alexander made a deep impression upon him, and his religious life was strengthened by a study of Doddridge's *Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*. During the absence of his father in Australia the boy, at his own request, was baptized into membership of the Hope Street Baptist Chapel, of Glasgow.

Having finished high school, Alexander Maclaren entered Glasgow University at an early age, but his studies were cut short when the family moved to London. He entered the Baptist college at Stepney, where he won distinction as a Hebrew and Greek student. There he formed the habit of reading the Bible in the original languages, laying the foundation for what was to become a daily custom for the next 68 years. From Stepney he went to London University, where once more his exceptional work in Hebrew and Greek aroused general admiration. During

his residence in London he became acquainted with Dr. Thomas Binney, famous pastor of King's Weigh House Chapel, and one of London's eloquent preachers. Spurgeon, of Maclaren's own denomination, had not yet come to London.

While yet a student, Alexander Maclaren was asked to supply Portland Chapel, Southampton, for a period of three months. He found a dying congregation of but 20 communicant members. Various devices had been tried in the past to revive the dwindling little group. Maclaren had sufficient wisdom, even when not yet 20 years of age, to realize that a faithful preaching of Law and Gospel was the one thing needed by the people. Politely refusing all the social invitations that an attractive young candidate will receive, he devoted his full time to study. He rose at day-break and he labored until late at night. While his first efforts were not remarkable, nevertheless the people realized that here was a young man who was in possession of gifts far beyond the ordinary. He was urged to stay, and upon finishing his course at London University, he became pastor of the Southampton congregation in 1846.

Maclaren was compelled at the outset to choose between popularity with his congregation and exceptional ability in the pulpit. It was his ambition to become an expository preacher, and he realized that this required long hours of study of the original texts. It meant reducing social calls to the absolute minimum, and facing the criticism of a congregation who believed that their pastor must devote the greater part of his time to visiting the people in their homes. There was objection at first, and Maclaren was admonished privately and criticized openly in congregational meetings, but gradually the empty seats were filled, and finally the church was crowded to capacity. Maclaren was in Southampton for 12 years, and the little group of 20 discouraged people became a strong congregation. Invitations came from all over Hampshire, Wiltshire and Sussex, and Maclaren was urged to preach special sermons and to deliver lectures, but he realized that his absence would interfere with a thorough preparation for his own pulpit, and he

refused them all. In 1856 he married a young lady of rare intellectual gifts, who shared his interest in Biblical studies. He tells us that they read together, studied together, and "her clear, bright intellect illuminated obscurities and 'rejoiced in the truth'."

In 1858, when 32 years of age, Alexander Maclaren was called to Union Chapel, Oxford Road, in the great city of Manchester, where nearly all of the remaining 52 years of his life were spent. The congregation was composed largely of Baptists, although people of other denominations had helped to establish it in an outlying part of the city. Maclaren made it clear from the start that he did not propose to spend much time making social calls, nor attending meetings nor preaching in other churches on special days. He continued his habit of early rising and devoted each day to painstaking study. He had discovered before this that the task of writing out a sermon in longhand, revising it and polishing it, consumed much of the average pastor's time. In order to devote as many hours as possible to the study of the subject matter of his sermon, he wrote out the introduction of his sermon, then some of the more important sentences or parts of sentences, and finally the conclusion in full. He trained himself to compose sentences and paragraphs in a finished literary style as he delivered the sermon. His life-long friend, Sir W. Robertson Nicoll, the noted Presbyterian expositor, declared that Maclaren's style in the pulpit had a higher degree of perfection than his writings. In his spoken discourses one heard the English language at its best. There was never a repetition, nor was there a needless word. It was superb English, and with a minimum of adjectives.

Although Union Chapel was located in an inconvenient part of Manchester, the people of the city often walked for miles to hear him. The chapel became too small, and an imposing new church, seating 1500 people, was built in a better location. Mr. Maclaren feared that so large a building could never be filled, but from 1869 to the time of his retirement he preached to congregations that generally numbered 2000. No place of worship in the great city was

more famous than Union Chapel. People from every walk of life attended it, and clergymen of all denominations visited it because of Dr. Maclaren's international fame as an expository preacher. He had many admirers in his native Scotland, and frequent invitations came, urging him to preach in the Presbyterian churches of that country, but all were refused. It was on the rarest of occasions that he could be induced to preach in other than Baptist churches, but during his brief holidays he preached gladly in little country congregations of his own denomination. Some of his most famous sermons were preached in some little moorland chapel.

In 1896 the citizens of Manchester laid aside all other concerns and spent an afternoon paying tribute to Dr. Maclaren. He was 70 years of age, and he had been in office for 50 years. Men prominent in the religious and civic life of the city gathered in a great hall and expressed their high regard for the man who had become known throughout the world as Maclaren of Manchester. In reply he said in part: "My work, whatever yours may be, is, and has been for 38 years, and I hope will be for a little while longer yet, to preach Jesus Christ as the King of England and the Lord of all our communities, and the Saviour and Friend of the individual soul."⁴⁶ In 1903, after completing 45 years as pastor of Union Chapel, Dr. Maclaren was relieved of his more arduous duties, but he remained for six years more and preached from time to time as his strength permitted. In 1909 he returned to his native Scotland, where he died the following year at the age of 84.

Dr. Maclaren had every quality that an eminent preacher could desire. He was a man of fine presence, with the bearing of a Highland chieftain. Sir W. Robertson Nicoll said of him that in any company in which he sat, his place became the head of the table. He had a strong personality, an excellent voice, a mind of extraordinary vigor to the very end of his life, a superb command of the English language both in speaking and in writing, and an evan-

⁴⁶. E. T. Maclaren, *Dr. Maclaren of Manchester, a Sketch*, (London, 1911), p. 151.

gelical fervor of the best sort. Not only was he the foremost Hebrew and Greek scholar of his day, but he had mastered Latin, German and other languages, and was able to read exegetical and dogmatical writings with ease and with discrimination. He had a wide knowledge of the theological writings of several countries, and yet he remained unmoved at a time when the faith of many was shaken by the Higher Criticism. An admirer of St. Augustine, he preached sin and grace. He gave the salvation of the sinner the first place in his preaching, at a time when many were beginning to preach the doctrine of social salvation. He declared, "There must be individual Christianity before there can be social. It must be possessed before it can be applied."

Dr. Maclaren had no confidence in the modern expedients that were being set forth as essential to the growth of a church. To a gathering of theological students he said: "I thank God that I was stuck down in a quiet, little, obscure place to begin my ministry; for that is what spoils half of you young fellows. You get pitchforked into prominent positions at once, and then fritter yourselves away in all manner of little engagements that you call duties, going to this tea-meeting, and that anniversary, and the other breakfast celebration, instead of stopping at home and reading your Bibles, and getting near to God. I thank God for the early days of struggle and obscurity."⁴⁷ Had Alexander Maclaren yielded for expediency's sake when his congregation complained that he made few social calls, he might have gained in personal popularity, but it is not likely that he would have taken a place with Spurgeon, Parker, Dale and Liddon as one of the five greatest English preachers of the nineteenth century. From the standpoint of *expository* preaching, he excels the other four, although each man had his own excellencies. Every discriminating clergyman realizes the value of Maclaren's *Expositions of the Holy Scriptures*, published originally in 31 volumes, and reprinted from time to time. Sir W. Robertson Nicoll said, "It is difficult to believe that Dr. Maclaren's *Expositions* of the Bible will be superseded. Will there ever again be such a

⁴⁷. E. T. Maclaren, *Op. cit.*

combination of spiritual insight, of scholarship, of passion, of style, of keen intellectual power? He was clearly a man of genius, and men of genius are very rare. So long as preachers care to teach from the Scriptures they will find their best help and guide in him. . . . We shall not see his like again."⁴⁸ Certainly these books, and if possible in the excellent first or second edition, are essential parts of every clergyman's library. The volumes contributed by Maclaren to the *Expositor's Bible*, and particularly his exposition of the Epistle to the Colossians, are also valuable. Were such books to be found in pastors' libraries today, and were they studied faithfully, the art of expository preaching would be improved. It is the worthless books of fifteen-minute topical sermons that fill too many shelves that have degraded to its present state the calling once represented by such men as Maclaren, Spurgeon, Dale, Liddon and Parker.

Throughout his life Dr. Maclaren never failed to read one chapter of the Bible in the original Hebrew, and one in the original Greek, each day. He preached with great earnestness. He had a fine speaking voice, and he never lost wholly his Scottish accent, nor did he attempt (as some contemporary Scotsmen of today) to cultivate a synthetic Oxford-Cambridge accent. University students and visiting clergymen and literary men praised his superb command of the English language. These things, nevertheless, were but the case of gold that enclosed the movement of a valuable watch. It is the latter that really gives the watch its value. Maclaren's real strength lay in his skill at Biblical exposition, and his ability to show the relation of everything in the Scriptures to the central theme of sin and salvation. Sir W. Robertson Nicoll, who devotes a chapter of his *Princes of the Church*, (1921), to Dr. Maclaren and his preaching, says that the great Manchester preacher confined his preaching to Scriptural themes and paid no heed to subjects of the day. He believed that the great truths of the Bible are timeless. A queen might die, a new king might be crowned, a public calamity might take place or an important national holiday might fall on Sunday, but it was most unlikely that

⁴⁸. British Weekly, May 12, 1910.

a "special sermon" would be preached at Union Chapel, Manchester, on such occasions. "He was continually alive," says Dr. Nicoll, "to the great realities of sin and grace, and this was the secret of the intense and solemn emotion that burned into the midst of Heaven when he spoke to the people."⁴⁹ He disliked organization, advertizing, newspaper notoriety, and even special music and special days. He knew that these are but the crutches used by clergymen who come to the pulpit with insufficient preparation. He was a skilled craftsman himself, and he knew from experience that a good sermon cannot be produced in ten or twelve hours. Results, in such cases, are sure to be superficial. Even with so nimble a mind as his, a sermon worth hearing meant at least 60 hours of laborious work. He arose at dawn, worked steadily for nine or ten hours with but a few minutes for his noonday luncheon. In the middle of the afternoon he made a few sick calls, hurried home to his evening meal, and night found him seated in an old-fashioned rocker, with a long-stemmed clay pipe in one hand and a Greek Testament in the other, or else a Hebrew Bible, both of which he could read at sight, without the need of a dictionary.

In addition to his famous *Expositions of the Holy Scriptures*, Alexander Maclaren published many books of sermons, but each such book was the result of much urging on the part of his personal friends. His sermons are always textual, and the treatment is that of careful exposition of the text and its application to the needs of his congregation. The language of the Bible was his life-long study, and before writing a word, he probed deeply into the grammar of the Greek or the Hebrew original. Like Campbell Morgan he was often able by the mere study of a Greek tense to discover some shade of meaning that escapes the notice of an ordinary person.

In theology Dr. Maclaren was conservative. He believed thoroughly in the deity of the Saviour, the Atonement, the Resurrection, and salvation through Jesus Christ alone. When men questioned him, he often, in superb sentences,

⁴⁹. W. R. Nicoll, *Princes of the Church*, (London, 1921), p. 246.

drew a contrast between Jesus Christ and John the Baptist. John's influence was great, but it declined, while that of our Lord did not; for John was a great human preacher, while our Saviour is true God. Friends sometimes came to him and urged him to devote more attention to ethical preaching, or to practical discussions of current problems, or to social and industrial questions. He replied to such men by saying that if people can be made inwardly right by the power of the teachings of God's Word, then all ethical and social questions will take care of themselves. As for timely subjects, what subject is more timely than the good news of the unmerited grace of God in Jesus Christ? He declared that a firm faith in Jesus Christ creates a new life within. He hesitated even to say without reservation that it is faith that saves, for this might lead some to conclude that man is saved in view of his faith. Maclaren preferred to say that it is Jesus Christ Who saves, and faith is a God-given channel through which this water of life flows freely. Without the water of life, the channel is useless. Unfortunately, like many of the reformed, he was unclear in regard to the Lord's Supper. While he believed emphatically that sin will be punished with certainty, yet he hesitated to speculate upon the exact nature of this punishment.

Like his famous contemporary and fellow Scotsman, John Kennedy of Dingwall, Maclaren never overlooked the fact that he had before him several classes of people: seasoned Christians; weak Christians whose faith must be strengthened; secure sinners who must be brought to repentance; and many who came to hear him out of idle curiosity. In his preaching he recognized his duty to each class of hearer.

From his ordination to the time of his retirement was a period of 63 years. He began his preaching in an obscure street in Southampton and he ended in one of England's most famous pulpits, and he himself was responsible for its fame. When theological students came in a body to hear him, as they often did, and when they gathered about him at the close of the service and asked him the secret of his success, he had the courage to tell them that the old proverb "a house-going pastor creates a church-going congregation"

is not true unless one has something worth saying to the people after one gets them into the church on Sunday. The mechanical process of writing out a sermon in full, and memorizing it, is not necessarily preparation, even though the task may consume many long hours. Careful preparation, Maclaren believes, consists in devoting many hours to probing the Scriptures deeply in order to discover just what they teach. It includes selecting a text, drawing out of it the teachings contained in it; and certainly not selecting a theme first, and then attempting to support it by means of proof texts. The first method is that of the expository preacher: the latter is that of the more superficial topical preacher.

Miss E. T. Maclaren, a cousin of Alexander Maclaren, has written a biography,⁵⁰ as have J. C. Carlisle, David Williamson and others.⁵¹ Shorter accounts of his life were written by W. R. Nicoll⁵² and by H. C. Howard.⁵³ The May 12, 1910 issue of *The British Weekly*, and succeeding issues contain valuable biographical data and appreciations.

Henry P. Liddon, (1829-1890)

Perhaps the most famous preacher of the Tractarian group was Canon H. P. Liddon, of St. Paul's. Liddon was born in 1829 in New Stoneham, Hants. His father was an officer in the Royal Navy. Henry Liddon was educated in the grammar schools at Colyton and at Lyme Regis, in Devon. In 1841 he entered King's College School, London. At the age of 16 his favorite pastime was writing sermons. In 1846, at the age of 17, he went up to Oxford, and was graduated from Christ Church in 1850. He received deacon's orders in 1852, and was ordained priest of the Anglican Church a year later. While at Oxford he became identified with the Tractarians, and became a lifelong friend of Pusey.

⁵⁰ E. T. Maclaren, *Dr. Maclaren of Manchester, a Sketch*, (London, 1911).

⁵¹ J. C. Carlisle, *Life of Dr. Maclaren*, (London, 1901); David Williamson, *Life of Dr. Alexander Maclaren*, (1910).

⁵² *Op. cit.*, pp. 242-255.

⁵³ H. C. Howard, *Princes of the Christian Pulpit and Pastorate*, (Nashville, 1928), vol. 1, pp. 297-324.

In 1853 he became a curate at Wantage. His fellow curate was the noted A. H. Machonochie, whose stormy career at St. Alban's Holborn, London, is well known. In 1854 Liddon was made vice-principal of the theological school at Cuddleston, but difficulties arose because of his pronounced religious views, and led to his resignation. In 1858 he was made vice-principal at St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford.

From 1858 until 1869 Liddon delivered a series of Sunday evening lectures on the New Testament that proved extremely popular. From 1883 to 1890 he gave another such series of lectures. Having established a reputation as a preacher of rare gifts, even in his early days at Wantage, he was select preacher at Oxford in 1863, 1870, 1877 and 1884. In 1866 he was called upon to deliver the Bampton lectures at Oxford. The notice was short, but his series, later published, on *The Divinity of Our Lord and Saviour* have long been famous throughout the world. From 1870 to 1882 Liddon was Ireland professor of exegesis at Oxford. He preached often in St. Mary's, on the High, drawing great congregations. In 1870 he delivered a series of lectures on religion in St. James, Piccadilly.⁵⁴ The lectures were lengthy, but brilliant, and great congregations crowded the church to hear him.

In 1870 Liddon was made canon of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, and he took his turn at preaching, coming down from Oxford to do so. Services at that time were held in the great choir, which seats several hundred people. When Liddon began his work at St. Paul's, it was seen that the choir would never seat the people, who overflowed into the choir aisles, and stood by the hundreds in the vast nave. Simple benches were constructed and the great nave was thrown open. For 20 years St. Paul's was crowded, as it had not been crowded in three centuries. People throughout London, and in the home counties, scanned their newspapers, and when Liddon's turn to preach came, the old "city" district, normally deserted on Sunday, was filled with thousands of people, all converging upon St. Paul's. At the

⁵⁴. *Some Elements of Religion*.

same time, Spurgeon was preaching to 10,000 a Sunday, across the river in Southwark, Joseph Parker was preaching to 6,000 at City Temple, close to St. Paul's, and toward the end of Liddon's career, Hugh Price Hughes and M. G. Pearse were beginning their remarkable work at the West End Mission of the Wesleyan Church.

Like Stanton, of St. Alban's Holborn, Canon Liddon was a strange mixture of fiery evangelicalism and ritualism. Liddon was conservative in many respects. He protested eloquently against the disuse or mutilation of the Athanasian Creed, declaring his intention of withdrawing from all public activity were this to be done. No man of his day testified more fearlessly against negative Biblical criticism. Liddon declared that it struck a cowardly blow at the Saviour's infallibility, and with a strange prescience he saw that this German importation would undermine the very foundations of all religion in Great Britain and America. Liddon protested against the Jerusalem bishopric. He refused repeatedly to preach in Westminster Abbey, because of Dean Stanley's unionistic practice and his readiness to practice pulpit fellowship with liberalists and rationalists. He was a life-long opponent of Broad Church theology.

Mingled with this fine conservatism was a strange, extreme ritualism. He showed but slight interest in the superficial and showy side of the ritualistic innovation, but in doctrinal matters he was often extreme. Prior to his day, sacramental indifferentism had existed in many places. Liddon went far to the other extreme. In some of his sermons he carried his great congregations with him for a solid hour, and brought them to the very throne of Jesus Christ — only to throw up a solid barrier between the believer and his Lord, which could be penetrated by but a single door: the sacramental one. There were times when he seemed to overlook completely the power of the Gospel as a means of grace. He forgot the many men in New Testament times and since, who were converted and saved without the Eucharist. Liddon had great respect for the Word, but there were times when he seemed to set it aside

completely, and disregard the fact that both Gospel and Sacraments are means of grace.

Liddon's sermons were lengthy. He rarely preached less than one hour, but so admirable was his preaching that people crowded the great cathedral to capacity whenever he came down from Oxford to preach. He was a man of fine appearance, magnetic to a degree, and possessed of an excellent voice which he used with all the skill of a great actor. His tremendous earnestness, his vibrant fervor of utterance, his simple, forceful language, his genial invective now and then, an occasional quick flash of humor and a remorseless logic gave him complete mastery of his great congregations. He read his sermons, and prepared them with great care, paying close attention to progression of thought, working up to a ringing climax, and closing with a peroration that would have brought the people to their feet, had it been anywhere other than St. Paul's.

His subject matter was often typically evangelical: the Fall, sin, salvation through Jesus Christ, death and judgment. However his preaching always had its ritualistic undercurrent. Like the preaching of Stanton one might close his eyes and picture a priest in his biretta, rather than a Spurgeon or a Chalmers in his black robe. Marvellously did he picture the Saviour, but too often it was just a bit suggestive of the Saviour of Reims and Chartres, with a jewelled crown on His head and clad in an albe and chasuble. Protestantism of the "Low Church" sort loses sight of the Kingly Office of our Lord. Protestantism of Liddon's kind seems often to forget the gracious Saviour clad as a Galilean peasant. In each case the picture is but partial.

There was a tenseness to the entire service when Liddon preached. Dr. Brastow declares that it "began and continued under high pressure";⁵⁵ Liddon's incisive, rapid words were lost now and then under the vast dome that crowns the cathedral. He had the culture, the careful training, the oratorical gifts, the mastery of choice language and the wide Biblical training that places him (despite his shortcomings) among the greatest preachers that the Anglican

⁵⁵. L. O. Brastow, *The Modern Pulpit*, (New York, 1906), p. 203.

Church has ever known. His several books of sermons are prized today by men of all denominations, who are charmed by his purity of style and his forcefulness, even though they may not be able to agree with his pronounced Anglo-Catholicism.

Every one who has visited London will remember its skyline. There are miles and miles of buildings of almost uniform height, but above them all rises the enormous dome of St. Paul's. There was a time when men asked one another whether it was worth while to maintain this great building. It is said that Bishop Charles Blomfield and Bishop Samuel Wilberforce were ascending Ludgate hill one day. Before them rose the vast bulk of St. Paul's. "I often wonder," one of them asked, "what that great building has ever done for the cause of Christ?" It remained for H. P. Liddon to give an answer to this question. During his time the cathedral became, in spite of its wretched acoustics, one of the great preaching halls of the country, and Canon Liddon one of the five great preachers of the second half of the nineteenth century. St. Paul's had ceased to be an inarticulate, costly monument. It is 479 feet in length and 102 feet in width. For 20 years the people crowded it in order to hear a man who preached sermons an hour in length, and one of whose Bampton lectures was an hour and forty minutes in length. Because of the claims of materialistic science and of the negative critics, many church leaders were declaring that the Bible must be revised in order to adapt its teachings to what was called the new scholarship. At St. Paul's, at Metropolitan Tabernacle and at City Temple were men who had the courage to defend the basic truths of evangelical Christianity and to defy rationalistic scholarship. While the preaching of Liddon, of Spurgeon and of Parker did not bring about a religious awakening, yet these men brought assurance to thousands of perplexed people.

In addition to Canon Liddon's *The Divinity of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, (1866), and his biography of Pusey, he published a number of books of sermons. Among these are: *Some Elements of Religion*, (1870); *Sermons Preached Before the University of Oxford*, 2 series, (1865-

79); *Easter at St. Paul's*, (1885); *Advent at St. Paul's*, (1888); *Christmastide at St. Paul's*, (1889); *The Magnificat*, (1889); *Passiontide Sermons*, (1891); *Sermons on Old Testament Subjects*, (1891); *Sermons on Some Words of Christ*, (1892) and *Sermons on Some Words of St. Paul*, (1898).

Accounts of Liddon's life and preaching have been written by Johnson, Donaldson, Russell and others,⁵⁶ and his preaching has been described by Nicoll, Howard and many others.⁵⁷

Robert W. Dale, (1829-1895)

R. W. Dale was called the great doctrinal preacher of the nineteenth century British pulpit. He was one of the most famous Nonconformists of his generation. Born in 1829 in Newington Butts, London, he attended with his parents Moorfields Tabernacle, which had once echoed to the ringing voice of George Whitefield. Young Dale became a school teacher at the age of 14. It was at that age that he read J. A. James's *Anxious Inquirer after Salvation*, little aware that within a decade he was to become that famous clergyman's assistant and a few years later his successor in one of England's most famous pulpits. The boy was so deeply impressed when he read this book that he declares he waited impatiently every evening for the family to retire, so that he might read it without being disturbed. While teaching at Andover he joined the Congregational Church. He preached his first sermon at the age of 16. The place was a basket maker's shop, and young Dale demonstrated his independence of opinion by preaching universal grace.

He had decided upon the ministry, and he sought to enter a Congregational college. When the matter was mentioned to the Rev. John Campbell, pastor of Moorfields

⁵⁶ J. O. Johnson, *Life and Letters of Dean H. P. Liddon*, (London, 1904); A. B. Donaldson, *Five Great Oxford Leaders*, (London, 1900); G. W. E. Russell, *Dr. Liddon*, (1905); H. S. Holland, *Personal Studies*, (1905); *The H. P. Liddon Centenary Memorial*, (1929).

⁵⁷ W. R. Nicoll, *Princes of the Church*, (London, 1921), pp. 34-39; H. C. Howard, *Princes of the Christian Pulpit and Pastorate*, (Nashville, 1928), vol. 2, pp. 238-273.

Tabernacle, he received little encouragement. At the age of 16 Dale published his first book. Through the assistance of friends who realized his ability he was able to attend Spring Hill College, in Birmingham, a small institution with but three professors. From there he went to London University, where he received his degree in 1853.

While still a student he had assisted John Angell James at Carr's Lane Congregational Chapel, Birmingham. Mr. James recognized Dale's ability and invited him to become his permanent assistant, thus beginning an association with Carr's Lane that was to last for 42 years. Dale had not been long in Birmingham until another pastor in the city warned him against doctrinal preaching, declaring that "Carr's Lane will never tolerate it." "They will have to tolerate it!" replied Dale. There was objection at first, not so much to his doctrinal sermons as to his departure from some of the more extreme aspects of Calvinism, and it was necessary for Mr. James to urge his young assistant's opponents to let him alone.

In 1859, when J. A. James died, after a remarkable career at Carr's Lane of 56 years, it was Robert W. Dale who became his successor. He served the congregation until his death in 1895, and the combined pastorates of these two eminent men covered a span of almost a century. During a brief leave of absence in 1863, Mr. Dale studied at Heidelberg with the object of gaining a better working knowledge of the German language. In 1869 he became chairman of the Congregational Union. He delivered the Lyman Beecher Lectures at Yale University in 1877, and these lectures on preaching, although not all of equal value, are still considered among the best of the long series.

When Dale came to Birmingham, the traditions at Carr's Lane were Calvinistic. The total depravity of sinful man, an unconditional election, a restricted Atonement and a circumscribed will of God to save, were the doctrines acceptable to the congregation. Mr. Dale aroused opposition when he denied total depravity and restricted grace. When the American evangelists, Moody and Sankey, visited Birmingham, they met with much opposition from the local

clergy because of their revivalistic methods. Anglican clergymen warned their congregations against them, and many Nonconformists held aloof from the campaign. Mr. Dale not only defended the American visitors, but he co-operated with them and preached at some of their outdoor meetings. Their methods were not those of Carr's Lane, yet Mr. Dale declared that Mr. Moody directed sinners to the Cross of Calvary, and he was willing to risk his reputation to defend the evangelists.

Robert W. Dale was one of the most influential preachers of the Congregational denomination, as well as of English Nonconformity, and with Spurgeon, Maclaren, Liddon and Parker he is considered one of the greatest English preachers of the middle and latter nineteenth century. He was a swarthy, bearded man and he wore a bowler hat. His appearance was that of an energetic business man rather than an English clergyman. He had a determined will, a forceful method in dealing with others, and a gift of leadership. He had a rich, mellow voice, unmistakably masculine, a stately delivery, and a thorough command of precise, forceful English. He believed that the English people had suffered because of a decline in doctrinal preaching, and it was his lifelong effort to revive it. His sermons are doctrinal, yet expository in their method.

Mr. Dale gave particular attention to the educated people of Birmingham, for he believed that these people have been overlooked by the Christian churches. He urged his denomination to consider it their special task to reach the educated classes of England and America. Other denominations were doing excellent work among the poor, and establishing congregation after congregation in the more humble parts of the great cities, and often to the neglect of the educated classes. Dale was also interested in civic affairs, he attended political meetings, and he took an active part in all matters pertaining to public education. He detested theological degrees, and when Yale attempted to confer such a degree upon him he declined it. Not many years before his death Glasgow University offered him an LL. D. degree, and he did not refuse it, although he asked

his acquaintances to address him as "Mr. Dale," as they had done in the past.

R. W. Dale published a number of books. Among these *The Atonement*, (1875), in spite of its obvious defects, has won a lasting place in theological literature. His *Ten Commandments*, (1871), is a book that is known to most clergymen. His *The Living Christ and the Four Gospels*, (1890), recalls an incident that changed his manner of preaching. While preparing an Easter sermon, the thought came to him that Christians say much about the Risen Lord, yet they do not realize fully that He is actually alive. The thought of the Living Saviour impressed itself upon him to such an extent, he says, that he arose from his desk and paced up and down the room exclaiming, "Christ is alive! Christ is alive!" He determined to impress that fact upon his people every Sunday. It was not exactly a new departure in his preaching, for as early as 1864 he had preached a sermon two hours in length before the London Missionary Society on "The Living God the Saviour of All Men," which had been hailed by *The Contemporary Review* as one of the greatest sermons of that generation. Not only did Mr. Dale keep before his congregation the fact of a Living Saviour, but he caused them to sing an Easter hymn at every morning service. He declared that it is not enough to have faith in an inspired Book. There must, first of all, be faith in the Saviour Who gave men that Book. He is our Saviour and true Lord not because the Bible is true, but the Bible is true because He is our Saviour.

R. W. Dale was considered a liberal theologian by the old school Calvinists because he denied such things as a limited Atonement, and declared that the offer of grace is made to all men without partiality. Unfortunately this famous preacher, who bore witness to many of the truths of evangelical Christianity, was not conservative in all respects. For example, he held strange views in regard to the future state of the unbeliever, and in some of his writings he advances the theory of their annihilation. Pattison is inclined to overlook his theological faults, for he says of him: "Throughout his active life Dr. Dale remained in Birming-

ham . . . never allowing any interest of the hour to detract from his duty to be first and foremost a preacher of Christ, the Author and Giver of all true life. To a scholarly and philosophical grasp of the subject, he added fine simple methods of arranging his thought; a style remarkable for its sonorous vigor and pre-eminently masculine; and a resolve that, even at the risk of frequent repetition on the part of the preacher, his hearers should not miss his meaning. As the years passed on he gave increasing attention to exposition, and when the end came, a half finished sermon in a practical course on the Epistle of James lay on his desk."⁵⁸

Like that of many preachers, Dale's homiletical style is weak in persuasiveness. He was able to present Christian doctrine with clearness, but it is possible to set forth Christian doctrine as a theological professor might present it in his lecture room. It is a difficult art to combine good doctrinal preaching with the element of persuasiveness that is so essential to a good sermon. Persuasiveness dare not become too obvious, for then the hearer's natural perversity will, whether intentionally or not, set up its defences, and nothing will be accomplished in a constructive direction. The task of the pulpit is not merely to set forth some important truth in its various aspects, but a sermon must suggest some course of action. Merely to define saving faith is not enough, but the hearer must be shown how this faith may be possessed, namely through God's grace and our Saviour's merit, and that any reliance upon human merit is useless. The hearer must be led to seek the will of God as it is revealed in the Bible, and to know that it is through the Scriptures that the Holy Ghost operates. Faith comes to him not as a reward for his seeking, but purely as an act of unmerited grace.

A good biography of R. W. Dale was written by his son,⁵⁹ and several excellent memoirs have been published, including those of W. Robertson Nicoll⁶⁰ and H. C. Howard.⁶¹

⁵⁸. T. H. Pattison, *The History of Christian Preaching*, (Phila., 1909), pp. 330-331.

⁵⁹. A. W. W. Dale, *Life of the Rev. R. W. Dale, of Birmingham*, (London, 1898).

⁶⁰. *Op. cit.*, pp. 74-84.

⁶¹. *Op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 274-302.

Joseph Parker, (1830-1902)

In those remarkable years in the latter part of the nineteenth century, when the visitor in London might hear any one of a dozen great preachers, few men could excel Dr. Joseph Parker. He was a North Countryman, having been born at Hexham-on-Tyne, in Northumberland. His father, a stone-mason, was a man of great physical strength and even greater force of character. Where today are there such men as those strong-willed Christians of other days? England produced many of them and so did Germany, but one finds them especially in Scotland, in the North of England and in Wales. Joseph Parker's father, with his fierce sense of right and wrong, his iron discipline, his stubborn loyalty to the Word of God as he understood it, was typical of such men. Twice each Sunday the family attended Chapel. No work of any kind was permitted that day. Between the morning and the late afternoon service the family remained indoors, and no reading was allowed except the Bible, the hymn book and some approved devotional work. Morning and evening, in such families as these, the father of the house announced authoritatively, "shall we have a chapter?" and the big family Bible was brought out. It was an age of grim discipline. If a boy told a lie he was flogged at home, if he was careless in his studies he was flogged in school, and when he became an apprentice, any lack of thoroughness or careful craftsmanship meant a blow or a kick from the master workman. Such things seem harsh today, but with the disappearance of that old-time sternness, something has gone out of our lives that may never be regained in these more pleasant days.

Joseph Parker attended the common schools, but he had neither college nor seminary education. When about 16 years of age he made himself a corner book shelf and started a theological library of four or five books. He had much of his father's imperial determination, and before he was out of his 'teens, he was studying New Testament Greek with such help as he could get from neighboring clergymen. He attended Chapel regularly with his parents, and when but 15 he was given a Sunday-school class.

His first sermon was preached at the age of 18. He went with two older lads, who were lay preachers, to a place four miles from Hexham. The service was held outdoors, and each of the "local preachers" delivered a sermon. Evidently their efforts did not meet with the approval of young Parker, for without a word of invitation he mounted a cross-beam of a nearby saw-pit and announced a text. It was St. Matt. 11, 22, "But I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon at the day of judgment, than for you." His sermon was a vehement denunciation of the sins of the day. "I simply knew that the age was corrupt," he said many years later, "and, taking the hundred rustics as representatives of the total iniquity, I hurled upon them the thunderbolts of outraged Heaven."

Joseph Parker worked hard. He memorized the speeches of noted orators, and as he walked along the country roads at night he declaimed them to imaginary audiences. He committed to memory long passages of the Bible and recited them on the moors south of Hexham. He was licensed as a local, or lay preacher, and from 1848 to 1852 he preached wherever opportunity afforded. In 1852 he wrote a letter to Dr. John Campbell, of the Whitefield Tabernacle, Moorfields, London, seeking his advice. A visit to London followed. Dr. Campbell was pleased with young Parker and invited him to preach for him. Parker remained in London, assisting Dr. Campbell and supplying a nearby chapel that was vacant.

In 1853 he was called to a small Congregational church in Banbury, Oxfordshire. The people were in poor circumstances, and Parker's salary was but 120 pounds a year. His preaching caused a renewed interest in the little church, and it became necessary to enlarge the building, and then to build a new church. In 1858 he was called to the Cavendish Street Congregational Church in Manchester, one of England's large cities. He was 28 years old at the time, and during the same year another young man, Alexander Mac-laren, became pastor of Union Chapel, Oxford Road, Manchester. In the years that followed these two young men were to become two of England's most noted preachers.

Joseph Parker's position was not an easy one. He was young, he had neither college nor seminary education, yet he had been called to an important city congregation and to one of the prominent pulpits of his denomination. He spent eleven successful years in Manchester. While there he received an honorary Doctor's degree from an American university, and he published his first book of sermons.

However, the name of Dr. Parker is associated not with Manchester, but with City Temple, London. In 1869, at the age of 39, he was called to Poultry Chapel in London, a congregation that took its unusual name from the street in which the chapel was located. Poultry Chapel had seen better days. It had been founded by Thomas Goodwin in the seventeenth century and it had enjoyed a distinguished career, but the changing character of the neighborhood had left it a dying church. With the coming of Dr. Parker the congregation not only was revived, but the church proved much too small to care for the large congregations that assembled. Five years later, in 1874, the City Temple was built at Holborn Viaduct, not far away. It seated over 3,000 people and it cost 70,000 pounds — a great sum of money in those days. Many people would have considered the location poor. It was about midway between St. Paul's Cathedral and St. Alban's Holborn, and at these nearby churches Canon Liddon and A. H. Stanton were attracting multitudes of people. The location was not poor, however, for Dr. Joseph Parker occupied the white pulpit of City Temple for the next 33 years, preaching to congregations that exceeded in numbers all other places of worship in London except Charles H. Spurgeon's Metropolitan Tabernacle.

In addition to his two Sunday services, Dr. Parker preached every Thursday noon to congregations that filled the great church. Men from the offices and from the retail shops flocked to those noon-day services. The labor of preparing and preaching three new sermons each week is enough to tax the strength of any man, yet Dr. Parker managed in some way to preach throughout England and Scotland on weekday evenings. Such a task is not as

formidable as it sounds, for England and Scotland are small countries. From London to Land's End is but 285 miles, and from London to Edinburgh is 394 miles. Dr. Parker could preach in Central Hall, Edinburgh, on Wednesday evening and be back in his London pulpit for the Thursday noonday service.

He was not a theologian. He studied his Bible diligently, but he took little interest in the writings of the dogmaticians. Redemption was the center of his preaching. Few men have placed more emphasis on the active obedience of our Saviour. He had a keen consciousness of the presence of evil in this world, and he believed that the sinful nature of man demands a Substitute Who is able to fulfil all righteousness for him. This great truth, often so tragically lacking in modern preaching, was always present in his preaching and was impressed upon his hearers with forcefulness. He believed emphatically in the suffering, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ for the sin of the world. He believed and preached justification by faith, without the works of the Law. He had an intense love for the Bible, and looked upon it as a sufficient means of grace — so much so that he was unable to accept the Sacraments as means of grace. He looked upon Holy Baptism and the Lord's Supper as "beautiful symbolical acts," but any suggestion that they could, when accompanied by the Word, become means of grace, was rejected with impatience. He understood the plan of Redemption up to the point where its benefits are applied to the believer, but of the doctrine of the means of grace he seemed to have no clear understanding.

During his early ministry he wrote his sermons, but in later life he learned to speak extemporaneously, with marvellous precision and force. He selected a text early in the week, then walked through Hampstead Heath, concentrating his thoughts upon his text. His chief purpose was to get his thoughts arranged in an orderly manner. He paid little attention to actual words. He carried with him to the pulpit his text, written with a lead pencil on a small piece of paper, and a few lines suggesting the main thoughts

in their orderly sequence. The presence of his great congregation of 3,000 or more people gave him the required fire, and he expressed himself in language whose force and beauty any preacher might envy. In 1884 he informed his congregation that he intended to preach through the Bible. For the next seven years he applied himself to this task, preaching three times a week. Reporters took down his words in shorthand, and at the end of seven years he finished the 25 volumes of his famous *People's Bible*. He published a number of other volumes of sermons.

Dr. Parker was one of the greatest preachers of the nineteenth century, and highly esteemed for his richness of thought, his evangelical fervor, his quick imagination, his extraordinary choice of words and his great animation. He was self-educated, even as Spurgeon and Moody were self-educated, yet such learned men as Dr. Alexander Maclaren and Principal Rainy had great admiration for him. Sir W. Robertson Nicoll, the brilliant Scottish exegete, editor and preacher, went to hear Dr. Parker every time that he was able to do so, and after Parker's death, Sir William wrote a character sketch that is a classic. It appeared in *The British Weekly*, of which Nicoll was editor, and it has been included in Nicoll's priceless book *Princes of the Church*.⁶² At least three other full biographies have appeared,⁶³ but none of them equal Sir William's essay of a few thousand words. He describes Dr. Parker as he knew him — a shy man who made few real friends, a man who lived in constant dread of saying or doing the wrong thing, and with a fear of criticism that became almost a mania. All of this he sought to conceal, although hardly realizing it, behind an outward appearance of egoism. However, Dr. Parker was not a conceited man: rather was he tortured by an inferiority complex, due to his lack of a university education. What appeared to the casual observer as egoism would be called today a defense mechanism.

⁶². W. R. Nicoll, *Princes of the Church*, (London, 1921), pp. 169-182; G. J. Holyoke, *Two Great Preachers*, (1903).

⁶³. A. Dawson, *Joseph Parker, his Life and Ministry*, (London, 1901); Wm. Adamson, *Life of the Rev. Joseph Parker*, (London, 1902); G. H. Pike, *Dr. Parker and his Friends*, (London, 1904). *Parker's Preacher's Life*, (London, 1899), is autobiographical.

Three years before his death Dr. Parker said: "I am an evangelical preacher. I want the evangelical doctrines spoken in this pulpit, and so spoken in the evangelical spirit that if the man who comes after me wants to read an ethical essay on a social subject, the congregation at City Temple will rise in their indignation and leave him to preach to empty seats."⁶⁴ Of the dozen or so great preachers of London, Spurgeon and Parker towered above all the others. Spurgeon died in 1892 and Parker in 1902, and their passing marked the end of a great era in the history of the pulpit.

F. W. Farrar, (1831-1903)

F. W. Farrar was born in 1831 at Bombay, where his father was serving as chaplain. He was educated in King William's College, Isle of Man, was graduated from King's College, London, in 1852 and from Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1854. He took deacon's orders in 1854 and was ordained an Anglican priest in 1857. After teaching in 1854 at Marlborough, and at Harrow from 1855 to 1871, he served as headmaster of Marlborough from 1871 to 1876. There his brilliant sermons to his school boys began to attract general attention.

In 1876 he was made canon of Westminster and rector of St. Margaret's, a church adjoining Westminster Abbey. His forceful preaching drew great congregations, even with the Abbey just across the little side street. He was made archdeacon of Westminster in 1883, chaplain to the House of Commons in 1890 and dean of Canterbury Cathedral in 1895. In 1868, 1869 and many times thereafter he was select preacher at Cambridge, and from 1869 to 1873 a chaplain to the Queen. In 1885 he delivered the Bampton lectures at Oxford.

Dean Farrar was a remarkable preacher, vivid, vehement, and with exceptional versatility in his wide range of subjects. His sermons were exuberant, but he was given to exaggerated statements; he was often rhetorical, but his illustrations were good, and his power of appeal to his hearers was noteworthy. He led a busy life, hence many

⁶⁴. Joseph Parker in *The Homiletical Review*, February, 1899, p. 108.

of his sermons betray hasty preparation. He published many books, among which his *Life of Christ* and his *Life of St. Paul* are known everywhere. In theology his tendency is toward the Broad Church school of thought.

The characteristics of Dean Farrar's preaching are described by a writer in the *British Weekly*,⁶⁵ who heard a sermon at St. Margaret's, Westminster. He calls it "an audacious piece of rhetoric." The text was, "Thou crownest the year with Thy goodness," and from this the preacher derived a popular lesson on astronomy, a highly colored description of the changing seasons and a reference to the Christian Year. The sermon contained stories, quotations and expressions that none other than Dean Farrar would have dared to use. He described a rainbow as "that radiant phantom of seven times divided light," he spoke of "the luminous wand of the milky way," of "the aurora with its pillars of mysterious fire," and he commented on "the gorgeous conflagration of the earth's decay," and on "the shells in the sunless and sightless depths of the ocean." Then he puzzled his hearers by asking them, "Who kindled that vast ebullience of unemptyable flame?" Flowery language, as it was called in the Victorian era, was more admired at that time than is generally the case today.

In addition to Dean Farrar's *Life of Christ*, 2 volumes, (1874), and his *Life of St. Paul*, 2 volumes, (1879), which have been mentioned, he wrote *Early Days of Christianity*, 2 volumes, (1882), and commentaries on several books of the Bible. Among several books of sermons one might mention *Eternal Hope*, (1878), *The Fall of Man*, (1878), *Mercy and Judgment*, (1881) and *Sermons on the Lord's Prayer*, (1893). His *Eternal Hope* provoked criticism because of the fact that he questioned the doctrine of eternal punishment of the wicked. His biography was written by his son.⁶⁶

⁶⁵. December 30, 1887, p. 344.

⁶⁶. Reginald W. Farrar, *Life of Dean F. W. Farrar*, (London, 1905); see also Wm. Lefroy, *Memoir of Dean F. W. Farrar*, (London, 1903).

Charles H. Spurgeon, (1834-1892)

C. H. Spurgeon was born in Kelvedon, Essex, in 1834. His grandfather was a Congregational clergyman, and his father was a lay preacher in the same denomination. The family were of Flemish descent, and had come originally to England to escape religious persecution. Charles Spurgeon was educated in the common schools of nearby Colchester, and in 1842 he attended an agricultural college at Maidstone, Kent. In 1849 he became usher, or assistant, to a Baptist schoolmaster at Newmarket. In 1850 he was deeply moved, while attending a Primitive Methodist chapel at Colchester. The sermon was preached by an obscure "local" or lay preacher, and the text was, "Look unto Me and be ye saved, all ye ends of the earth."⁶⁷ Spurgeon began to read with increased interest the Bible and the books of the Puritan writers, which he found in his grandfather's library. In 1851 he became a member of the Baptist Church.

In 1851 he became an usher, or assistant to the teacher, in a school at Cambridge. Part of his time was spent studying under the direction of a tutor. Because of his Nonconformist church membership he did not attempt to take a degree at the university. He was a good student and a tireless reader, and despite the slighting remarks of one or two liberal theologians who have attempted to write his biography, Spurgeon might have received his degree at Cambridge had he cared to make the effort, and had he not been a Dissenter.

His first sermon was preached before he was 17 years old, in a cottage at Teversham, just out of Cambridge. He had accompanied a young man to a religious service under the mistaken notion that his friend was to preach. Upon arriving at the cottage, where the little group met for worship, he was astonished to discover that it was "Charlie Spurgeon" who had been announced as preacher. He made the attempt, and so successful was it that he was encouraged to preach in cottages and in the open air, in and around Cambridge. There were times when he had to go from house to house and gather his congregation. On one occa-

⁶⁷. Isaiah 45, 22.

sion he did this in the midst of a prolonged thunderstorm. Spurgeon studied hard, read his Bible diligently, and poured over the writings of the Puritan theologians.

His father insisted that he attend college. Charles Spurgeon refused repeatedly to do this, for he had read the writings of the Rationalists and the Biblical critics, and for a few weeks had taken a cruise, as he termed it, through the waters of unbelief. He insisted that the colleges of his day were beginning to be influenced by liberalism, and he did not care to have any further contact with such views. Once, to satisfy his father, he went to London to speak with Dr. James Angus in regard to entering Stepney, (later known as Regent's Park), College. Through the stupidity of a servant, he was shown into one room, and Dr. Angus into the adjoining room. Dr. Angus waited for two hours, then departed, saying that a young man who fails to keep his appointments will not make a good student. Then Spurgeon, unaware that Dr. Angus had waited for him, departed, declaring that it was not the Lord's will that he should enter college.

The same year, 1851, he became pastor of a small Baptist congregation at Waterbeach, a few miles from Cambridge. The congregation met for worship in an old thatched barn which had been equipped with a high pulpit and rough benches. He was not yet 17 years of age. Later, the old thatched barn became almost an object of veneration, until it burned in 1861.

On the Surrey side of the Thames, and within sight of the great dome of St. Paul's, stood New Park Street Chapel. A congregation 200 years old met there. Among the former pastors were such noted men as Benjamin Keach, John Gill, Joseph Rippon and Dr. Angus. The congregation had been large and prosperous, and the chapel seated 1,200 people, but due to encroaching industrialism and the slums, the numbers had dwindled to a scant 200 communicants. This thoroughly discouraged group heard of the young Baptist preacher in Waterbeach, and since Dr. Angus had resigned to devote his full time to the presidency of Stepney College,

a letter was sent to Spurgeon, asking him to act as supply for six months.

Spurgeon replied, saying that he was but 19 years of age, and would never satisfy a London congregation; that some mistake had been made, and that some other Spurgeon was, no doubt, under consideration. Other letters followed, and he was urged to come to London. Finally he agreed to go for a few Sundays. His first night in London was spent in a cheap rooming house in Bloomsbury. Amused at Spurgeon's rustic manners and appearance, the young men in the rooming house spent the evening discussing the great learning, the culture and the high social standing of the preachers of London, and the utter foolishness of any person who was not equally well educated, cultured and highly respected, to attempt even to act as pulpit supply in that exacting city.

The next morning hardly 100 people were present in the chapel which seated 1,200. Spurgeon's text was, "Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above."⁶⁸ The evening attendance was better, and Spurgeon's text was, "They are without fault before the throne of God."⁶⁹ The effect upon the congregation was extraordinary. They gathered in groups after the evening service, discussing the supply pastor. Some declared frankly that he would never do. They had heard that he had never attended college, much less a theological hall. He was much too young. He was too rustic of speech and manner. Others insisted that his preaching was unusual, and urged that he be called immediately.

In April of the following year, 1854, after considerable correspondence, and after protests from the congregation in Waterbeach, Spurgeon finally accepted the call to New Park Street Chapel. It was not long until all London had heard of him. The chapel was crowded, and many were turned away. One night Spurgeon turned and pointed to the wall back of the pulpit. "By faith the walls of Jericho fell down," he exclaimed, "and by faith we shall have this

⁶⁸. Jas. 1, 17.

⁶⁹. Rev. 7.

wall down too!" His church officers warned him never to make such a statement again. "We don't want to hear another word about taking down that wall," they told him sharply. "Then get the work under way as soon as possible, and the sooner it is done, the sooner you will hear no more of it." The chapel was enlarged. Although it now seated 1,800, it was outgrown from the start, and the congregation moved across the river, into Exeter Hall, on the Strand near Trafalgar Square. Soon this great Evangelical headquarters was outgrown, and the congregation moved to the Royal Music Hall in Surrey Gardens. It was while there that a shocking disaster and panic took place, which brought sadness to all London.

Metropolitan Tabernacle was begun in 1859 and opened in 1861. It was a great church seating 6,000, and was located at an important traffic center on the Surrey side of the river, known as the Elephant and Castle, because of an old inn that had once stood there. In this great church, that looked like a large municipal auditorium, Spurgeon preached for over 30 years. There were two Sunday services, and the normal attendance was 10,000. Metropolitan Tabernacle stood until 1898, six years after Spurgeon's death, and was destroyed by fire. It was rebuilt and served as an important church until the second World War, when it was destroyed in an air raid.

Spurgeon began to teach theological students as early as the year 1855. He taught them in his home at first, but when the Tabernacle was opened in 1861, he moved his Pastor's College there. In 1874 the new buildings in the south of London were completed, and there the College had its permanent home. In 1867 he founded Stockwell Orphanage, with 500 children and 12 buildings. He introduced the family plan of caring for the children. He organized a Bible Society that in time employed 90 colporteurs. In 1868 his brother James was called as his assistant, and in addition to the Spurgeon brothers, there was a staff of workers. His publication interests kept several people busy, for his sermons alone filled almost 40 printed volumes before he died, while his *Sword and Trowel* and other periodicals had an

enormous circulation. In 1855 he toured the north of England and Scotland. Wherever he went he filled the largest halls. In Glasgow alone, 20,000 people milled around outside, unable to gain admission, but waiting to catch a glimpse of the famous preacher as he left the great hall.

Spurgeon was a short, stocky man, heavy of features, homely, but always good natured. He was uniformly friendly, and had a hearty greeting for everybody, although his ready wit often had a touch of sarcasm. For example, one of the most dignified of London's clergymen, slightly liberal in his theology, once asked Spurgeon whether he ever asked sinners to come forward and be converted. Spurgeon replied, "I have never done so thus far, but if you attend my service, Doctor, I shall promise you to extend such an invitation." On another occasion a Methodist said to him, "Mr. Spurgeon, how is it that you, as a Christian, are always smoking a big cigar?" Spurgeon replied, "Should I ever find myself smoking to excess, I promise you I shall quit smoking entirely." "What would you call smoking to excess, Mr. Spurgeon?" "Why, smoking two cigars at the same time," was the instant retort.

When Spurgeon came to London in 1854, many of the local clergymen were shocked at his preaching, and two of his own denomination were openly hostile. They were offended at his original style of preaching. Prior to his day, the pulpits of both England and America had cultivated an artificial, Latinized form of rhetoric, which was much praised as "fine literary English." Spurgeon was dignified, but he employed a pungent, Anglo-Saxon form of speech which was altogether new in London. His plain, direct, forceful English delighted his congregation. He had a strong, clear voice of great compass, and while he lacked the polish of Liddon and the clarion quality and dramatic style of Whitefield, yet he attracted as many people as any preacher of his century. Like Wesley, he could easily be heard by a gathering of 20,000 people.

His preaching was decidedly evangelical and conservative. He accepted the verbal inspiration of the entire Bible, and had no patience with Biblical criticism, which he

believed to be the opinions of erring men pitted against the infallible testimony of the Holy Ghost. His opponents, especially in his earlier days in London, ridiculed his lack of college training. They declared that he had never had the benefit of study in a German university, and how could he grasp the facts of modern Biblical scholarship? Spurgeon's characteristic reply was, "I believe in the blood of the Lamb, despite the discoveries of science." His opponents declared that his early success in London was but a fire in shavings, and predicted that he "would soon burn out and be forgotten." Spurgeon replied that he "was willing to be forgotten and lost sight of, or to be villified and abused, if the old faith in the substitutionary sacrifice can be kept alive." They declared that it was a serious mistake for a man without a formal college education to attempt to preach in such a place as London. Spurgeon answered them by saying that it is a greater mistake for men who have had a college education, and ought to know better, to meet in conference and try to undermine one another's faith by the latest findings of the destructive critics.

Great as was Spurgeon's ability to stress the teachings of the Bible, yet he was no theologian in the usual sense of the word. He was able to declare the teachings of God's Word in plain, practical language; but he had only ridicule for the school of learned theologians who express themselves in long, involved, Latinized sentences, with a profusion of quotations in Latin from the Church Fathers, and in German from the later dogmaticians.

One noted authority, who has given us a short biography of Spurgeon, belittles him because of his contempt for destructive Biblical criticism. Spurgeon's dislike for the critics was not based upon ignorance, for few men read as much as he. He had an excellent library, and he was thoroughly familiar not only with the Puritan theologians, but with the contemporary thought of his time. He withdrew from the Baptist Union, and became an independent Baptist when he felt that they were becoming liberal.

In his preaching he attempted to remain upon ground that was familiar to the common people. He stressed the

free and unmerited grace of God in Christ more than all other things. He denounced sin and called upon men to repent. He pictured a literal Heaven for the believer, and a literal hell of endless fire for the unbeliever. When other clergymen of the liberal school ridiculed his "hell fire and brimstone," he replied that Jesus Christ had declared it to be true, so why question it? Certainly the Saviour knows all things.

In the pulpit he made use of a free, conversational style. He was natural, and always serious. In private life he was noted for his perpetual humor, and scores of amusing stories are told of him. As soon as he entered the pulpit, he was serious. His preaching was always positive. He felt that the work of a preacher is to build up the faith of his congregation by means of the Word and its teachings. It was not often that he wasted his time discussing the technical matters of his text.

In his preaching he differed from F. W. Robertson. Robertson made a painstaking study of his text, probing it, and drawing out of it the truths that were in it. Spurgeon reversed the process. He selected his text, and then strove to group about the text closely related Bible truths. Thus he was not always homiletical. In his famous sermon in Exeter Hall, London, on the 400th anniversary of Luther's birth, he stressed not only Justification, but unselfishness and prayer as well, even though his text made no mention of the last two things.

Spurgeon preached without notes, and in his latter days he depended upon general reading rather than a detailed study of his text. He told his students that one must have a shelf within his head, and upon that shelf must be stored in an orderly manner the things which one learns daily by study. In his later days, Spurgeon's own shelf was so richly stored he was able to prepare one or more sermons on very short notice.

In theology he was a Calvinist. He had no sympathy with Arminianism. He often spoke of the "down grade movement" of the religion of his day, and declared that

a general neglect of the preaching of the grace of God in Christ was responsible for it. His sermons vary in quality, and to understand them correctly, one must know the date of their composition. Those preached during the years in which the Tabernacle was being built differ from those of his earlier years. Those preached after the year 1861 show Spurgeon at his best. However, he never varied in the strict conservatism of his theology. To the end of his days he clung fast to the doctrines of verbal inspiration, the fall of man, original sin, the need of repentance, redemption, justification by faith alone, and the witness of the Spirit.

Clergymen who ridiculed him when he came to London in 1854, lived to praise him. At a large gathering a famous preacher admitted his error in predicting that Spurgeon would not be able to maintain his high standard of preaching for more than a few years; but now, at the end of almost forty years, he seems to be better than ever. To this Spurgeon replied humorously, that the observations of his good friend may have been more correct forty years ago than they are today.

In 1892, when it was learned that Spurgeon had been taken ill in Southern Europe, members of the royal family, members of both Houses, dignitaries of the Anglican Church, of the Roman Church and of Nonconformity, and people of every walk in life, flooded the mails with anxious letters, and hopes for his speedy recovery. Over 100,000 people attended the various services in Metropolitan Tabernacle upon the occasion of his funeral. When his body was carried through the streets, business was suspended without previous arrangement, and all London crowded the streets, with many people from all parts of the British Isles. The rustic Essex lad had been ridiculed by the young clerks in a cheap Bloomsbury rooming house 39 years before; but now the highest dignitaries of Church and State felt it an honor to march in the procession that carried the worn-out 58-year-old man to his last resting place.

In addition to many hundreds of sermons that appeared singly, a set of 49 volumes entitled *The Metropolitan Tabernacle Pulpit*, was published between 1856 and 1904. *The Treasury of David*, in seven volumes, and devoted to the

Psalms, appeared in 1870-75. A set of 20 volumes, including 19 volumes of sermons and a biography, and called the *Memorial Library*, appeared after his death. Spurgeon's biography has been written by more than a dozen men,⁷⁰ but an autobiography compiled from his diary and letters,⁷¹ and edited by his wife, contains the most authentic account of his life.

Sabine Baring-Gould, (1834-1924)

Sabine Baring-Gould, the famous hymn-writer, was born at Exeter in 1834. His parents made a number of visits to the Continent, and their children became familiar with a number of countries in their earlier years. The Baring-Goulds are an old and respected family, whose estate at Lew Trenchard, Devonshire, near the Cornish border, includes 1,600 acres, a manor house and an ancient church. Sabine Baring-Gould was educated at Claire College, Cambridge, and early in life he desired to become a clergyman, but his mother feared that he lacked the necessary qualifications. However, on her deathbed she withdrew her objections. In his earlier years Sabine Baring-Gould became interested in the ancient churches of Devon, and deplored the fact that many of the magnificent rood-screens, carved pulpits and elaborate bench-ends were being destroyed. He made careful measured drawings of the elaborate woodwork at Lew Trenchard, at Kenton and elsewhere, which served, many years later, as a guide for their restoration.

He was ordered deacon in 1864, and ordained priest in the Church of England in 1865. His first work was as curate at Horbury Brig in Yorkshire, where he served from 1864 to 1866. It was there that two of his most famous

⁷⁰ G. H. Pike, *Charles H. Spurgeon, Preacher, Author, Philanthropist*, (London, 1892); R. Shindler, *From the Usher's Desk to the Tabernacle Pulpit*, (New York, 1892); H. L. Wayland, *Charles H. Spurgeon, his Faith and Works*, (Phila., 1892); C. Ray, *A Marvellous Ministry*, (London, 1905); W. Williams, *Personal Reminiscences of C. H. Spurgeon*, (New York, 1895); R. H. Conwell, *The Life of Chas. H. Spurgeon*, (Phil., 1892); W. M. Higgs, *The Spurgeon Family*, (London, 1906).

⁷¹ *Autobiography of Charles H. Spurgeon*, Compiled by his Wife, (London, 1897-1900).

See also biographies by J. D. Fulton, G. C. Lorimer, J. J. Ellis, etc. *Autobiography of Charles Haddon Spurgeon*, Compiled from his Diary, Letters and Records, 4 vols., (London, 1897-1900).

hymns were written. *Onward, Christian Soldiers* was intended as a children's marching hymn at a Sunday-school festival, and it is said that Mr. Baring-Gould made the banner with a cross and the name of the Sunday-school upon it, hence the reference to "the Cross of Jesus going on before." In some manner the words were published in a church periodical, Sir Arthur Sullivan set a new tune to it, and it quickly became world-famous. To prevent a repetition of this, when the young curate wrote *Now the day is over*, a year later, he himself composed the tune "Eudoxia," but to his great chagrin, the words became associated with the tune "Merrial," with all of its "detestable chromatics," and with certain omissions and alterations of the text which "washed all the colour out of it."

His next parish was Dalton-in-the-Muck, which he served as vicar from 1866 to 1871. Then followed ten lonely years on the island of East Mersea, near Colchester. In 1872 Mr. Baring-Gould inherited the family estates at Lew Trenchard, in Devon. One of his first acts was to restore the ancient church, which had been swept bare of its rich woodwork, and equipped with a yellowish deal altar and common benches of the same material. The old woodwork was found in the attic of the manor house, and enough of it had survived to permit him to restore the old church to its former richness, with its elaborate rood-screen and rood-loft, and its rich pulpit and bench-ends. Through the discovery of his working drawings, the same restoration was possible at Kenton, across the Dartmoor, where the rebuilding of the gorgeous rood-screen and rood-loft, and the remarkable pulpit, occupied the Herbert Reads, father and son, for much of 25 years.

In 1872 Sabine Baring-Gould's health was not good, and his physician predicted that he would die before reaching 40 years of age. However, Mr. Baring-Gould succeeded his uncle as rector of the church, which stands just to the left of the gates to the great estate. The congregation had all but disappeared, owing to the prolonged illness of the former rector. Gathering his large family, his servants and the tenants, a new start was made. Down the valley manganese was being mined, and Mr. Baring-Gould went among the

miners and their families and persuaded them to identify themselves with his church.

His health improved, and for half a century the old rector, much loved by the people, could be seen in his familiar high-wheeled trap, with Pengelly his coachman, going about among the winding lanes of the Dartmoor country on his parish duties. He was a man of exceptional industry, and found time to write over 100 books during his long life of 90 years. His writings include a wide range of subjects: sermons, historical notes, West Country antiquities, books on travel, accounts of strange characters and famous worthies in Devon and Cornwall, and even by far the best of the many guidebooks to Devon. One of his most valuable works is a two-volume collection of the folk songs of Devonshire, many of which were all but forgotten in his day, and which he recovered after numerous visits to very old people.

Tall of stature, friendly, given now and then to practical jokes, but always a warm friend to his many scattered parishioners, Sabine Baring-Gould was one of the most widely known and highly respected of the "men of Devon." His sermons were plain and practical, and of the familiar Anglican kind. A number of visits to Germany led him to believe that Justification is a doctrine capable of abuse. It pained him to see the German people sing their stirring hymns, and then turn the remainder of Sunday into a time of drinking and merry-making. While he continued to preach Justification, he always surrounded it with emphatic warnings, and at one time in his life he held the view that the justification of the believer, while made available by the suffering and death of the Saviour, is not really applied finally until the believer's death. An excellent autobiography, in two volumes, *Early Reminiscences*, (1922), and *Further Reminiscences*, (1925), is written in Mr. Baring-Gould's lively style.

J. Oswald Dykes, (1835-1912)

J. Oswald Dykes, a distinguished Scottish preacher, spent a part of his ministry at Regent Square Church in London, but we have thought it best to include the sketch of his life among the preachers of his native Scotland.

CHAPTER XII

DESTRUCTIVE BIBLICAL CRITICISM, MODERNISM, FUNDAMENTALISM

THERE were differences of opinion among the clergymen of the British Isles during the seventeenth, eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Anglicans, Presbyterians, Baptists, Congregationalists and others had their theological controversies, but in one thing the great majority of them were in agreement. They all respected the inspired Word of God. The Bible was an infallible Book, and those who questioned it were very few.

As recently as the year 1818, Thomas Horne, an eminent Bible scholar, published his great work of the Holy Scriptures.¹ He approached his subject in a spirit of reverent faith, and in its original, unaltered edition it speaks from a positive standpoint. Its scholarly author did not for a moment question the genuineness of any part of the inspired records. It was not half a century later that Samuel Davidson and S. P. Tregelles rewrote Horne's four-volume work² and caused its conservative author to appear in the light of a rationalist.

The denial of verbal inspiration was a direct result of German rationalism. It did not originate with the German theologians, for Spinoza the free-thinking philosopher had questioned the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch as early as the year 1670. In 1678 Richard Simon, a Roman Catholic rationalist had been expelled from his order because he had published a work in which he declared that the Pentateuch was not written by Moses, but by groups of secular scribes who recorded civil and religious events after the days of the exile. In 1753 Aztruc proclaimed the theory that Genesis is a mosaic of various documents of human authorship.

Such men as these commanded but little respect at the time, except among unbelievers. Among the first men to

¹. Thos. Horne, *An Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*, (3 vols., London, 1818-21, 4 vols., 1822).

². *Ibid.*, "Revised, corrected and brought down to the present time by Samuel Davidson and S. P. Tregelles, 4 vols., (London, 1856).

awaken interest in such theories was John Semler, a professor at Halle, who declared that the canons of the Old and New Testaments are the product of natural development, and are not inspired in the accepted sense, and cannot be considered authoritative. He questioned the accuracy of the text of the Bible, and the genuineness of its Books, believing them to be the products of the age in which they were written, and subject to the prejudices and superstitions of early races of mankind.³

Interest was awakened in the German universities, and among the first negative Bible critics to exert a wide influence was John Eichhorn, professor for 52 years at Jena and Göttingen. In his writings he followed Aztruc's documentary theory, rejecting the miraculous, discarding the accepted view of divine revelation and looking upon the Bible as a result of a process of Oriental evolution.⁴ Eichhorn is often considered the father of negative higher criticism, in its modern form. Other destructive critics were De Wette, whose attitude toward inspiration was that of rationalistic skepticism, and Vatke and Leopold George, who were rationalists of the Hegelian type. Still others were Hupfeld, as well as Reuss, Graf, Kuenen and Wellhausen. The Tübingen school, and its associates, included such men as Baur, Zeller and Schweigler, as well as Hilgenfeld, Volkmar, Köstlin and Ritschl. Generally speaking, they denied the genuineness of most of the books of the New Testament, looking upon them as literary forgeries of the second century, due to rivalries between the Pauline and Petrine schools of thought.

The theories of these Biblical critics attracted wide attention in Germany, and later in other countries. Young men from the English and Scottish universities began to flock to the German universities for post-graduate work, and they returned to their native lands taking with them the teachings of the German higher critics. English and Scottish

³. John Semler, *Abhandlung von der freien Untersuchung des Kanons*, (Halle, 1771-76).

⁴. J. G. Eichhorn, *Einleitung ins Alte Testament*, 3 vols., (Leipzig, 1780-83), *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 2 vols., (Leipzig, 1804-12).

professors became interested in the subject. A famous publishing house issued English translations of the German Biblical scholars and theologians. These translations were numerous, and they enjoyed a wide circulation.

Higher Criticism, as it came to be called, became a subject of heated controversy. For a long time Biblical scholars had been familiar with what was known as the lower criticism and the higher criticism. The former was concerned with the text of the Bible itself. It was approached with a reverent attitude, and its purpose was to verify the true text of the Holy Scriptures, and to distinguish it from many slight copyists' errors that had crept into some manuscripts. These errors, which may be compared to typographical errors of the present day, were numerous, but not one of them was important enough to cast doubt upon a single basic Christian doctrine. The older higher criticism was concerned with the authorship, date, content and purpose of the various Books of the Bible. When approached by a conservative Bible scholar, such a study was valuable, for it made clear the conditions that existed when certain parts of the Bible were written, and the content and doctrinal teachings of each Book.

During the days of controversy, the term "Higher Criticism" became a term that was used to describe the theories of the radical Bible scholars of the day. These men differed among themselves, and like Pilate's false witnesses, their testimony did not agree. In general, most of them denied the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, and there were various theories as to how it was written. The most common theory was that the Pentateuch was a miscellaneous collection of purely secular history, codes of laws and traditions of the early races of mankind, together with an admixture of secular poetry, drama and folk-lore. All of these elements were the product, they believed, of Oriental writers who were not acquainted with critical scholarship. The higher critics gave the Pentateuch a post-exilic date. They were not agreed in regard to the Psalms, but it was the general opinion that they were written at a much later date than that of David. The prophets fared even more

badly, and some of their writings were looked upon by the more radical higher critics as spurious. There was disagreement in regard to the Book of Isaiah, and the critics spoke of two or more writers of this prophecy.

In 1862, Prof. Samuel Davidson, of the Lancashire Independent College, Manchester, published a work on the Old Testament⁵ that was little more than a restatement of the views of certain German higher critics. This led to a dismissal from his professorship at Manchester. About the same time, Bishop John W. Colenso published a work in which the authenticity of six Books of the Bible was attacked.⁶ There was a sharp controversy, and Colenso was deposed, although the Crown and the Privy Council later declared his deposition null and void, and Dean Stanley permitted him to preach at the Abbey. Robertson Smith, of the Free Church of Scotland, who had imbibed negative Biblical criticism at Bonn and Göttingen, contributed two articles to the eighth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* that caused a heated controversy in Scotland, and finally resulted, in 1881, in his expulsion from the chair of Hebrew at the Free Church College, Aberdeen. Dr. S. R. Driver, of Oxford, published works on the Old Testament⁷ that caused much protest, for it was a further restatement of the teachings of the rationalistic German higher critics. Dean Stanley's history appeared, based upon the theories of Ewald.⁸ Dr. A. B. Davidson, a powerful leader of Scottish religious thought, was suspected of liberalism, as were Marcus Dods, Walter C. Smith, A. B. Bruce and several others. In America, Dr. C. A. Briggs, of Union Seminary, published several works that gave wide popularity to negative higher criticism in America.⁹

⁵. Samuel Davidson, *An Introduction to the Old Testament, Critical, Historical and Theological*, 3 vols., (London, 1862).

⁶. J. W. Colenso, *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined*, (London, 1862-67).

⁷. S. R. Driver, *Isaiah: Life, Times and Writings which Bear His Name*, (Oxford, 1888); *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, (Oxford, 1890); *An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, (Edinburgh, 1891), etc. etc.

⁸. A. P. Stanley, *Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church*, 3 vols., (London, 1863-76).

⁹. C. A. Briggs, *Biblical Study, its Principles, Methods and History*, (New York, 1883), *Messianic Prophecy*, (New York, 1892), etc.

Meanwhile the young theological graduates from England were flocking to the German universities and listening to the lectures of the German higher critics. There was a renewed interest in the study of the German language, so that men were able to read the liberalistic writings of the German scholars in their original language as well as in their English translations.

The effect of this excitement was not apparent at once in the preaching of the English and Scottish clergymen. The first generation of modernists in the British Isles were men who had enjoyed the advantages of a Christian home, very often a Christian parochial school, and they were men who had been accustomed to hear sermons that were based, in most instances, upon the general principles of evangelical Protestantism. However else these sermons may have digressed in theological thought, yet they all, with very few exceptions, held firmly to the doctrine of an inspired Bible.

This first generation of higher critics in the British Isles tried, in many cases, a policy of compromise. Their early evangelical training, and a regard for the feelings of their congregation, led them to declare from the pulpit such truths as the Fall, original sin, man's complete inability to escape the penalty of sin by his own efforts, the active and passive obedience of the Saviour, the ability of the Saviour to redeem mankind, justification by faith without the works of the Law, and the regenerating power of the Holy Ghost. They stressed the sovereignty of God, in their Calvinistic manner, and some of them still clung to the theory of a limited Atonement. Few of them thought of the Gospel and the Sacraments as the effective means by which the benefits of our Lord's Redemption may be applied to the Christian believer. Many of them failed to understand clearly the distinction between Law and Gospel. Nevertheless, they attempted to hold fast to their early theological views, and at the same time accept the findings of rationalistic German scholarship in regard to the inspiration of the Bible. Thus do we have the strange anomaly of a generation of preachers who clung firmly to many of the basic evangelical truths,

and yet rejected the very inspired Bible that was the infallible basis for these truths.

There were other British preachers, sometimes men of great prominence, who rejected entirely the findings of the higher critics of Germany and their own country. They testified against them, and would have no fellowship with men of unsound views. C. H. Spurgeon would have nothing to do with religious leaders of the liberal school, and he finally severed his connection with others of his denomination because of a growing liberalism in their ranks. James Gibson, James Begg, the Bonars and many others protested vehemently against liberalism of every description.

Still another group of men pursued a policy of toleration. They were not interested in the claims of Higher Criticism, nor in the theories of the evolutionists, but they were men who prized highly the right of private judgment. Men who were conservative in all other respects, and who would not have accepted destructive Biblical criticism for a moment, yet pleaded at every heresy trial for absolute freedom of thought. They insisted that every man has a right, in a free country, to think for himself, and to publish his views and even declare them from the pulpit without molestation. Such clergymen had but little sympathy with doctrinal discipline, but used their influence to the utmost in the direction of what they considered Christian charity. The enemies of an inspired Bible soon discovered that they could write and preach anything, up to a point, and yet rely upon influential protection from men who did not share their views, but nevertheless were ready to offer a form of resolution that had become only too familiar: "While we deplore sincerely the unfortunate views expressed and freely admitted by the brother under accusation, yet we believe that his excommunication would constitute an infringement of the liberty of investigation and thought to which every man is entitled."

This mistaken policy of tolerating error, hoping that brotherly admonition, and an "educational method" in dealing with heresy, would result in much more good than excommunication or deposition, bore its lamentable fruit. Not

only did destructive Biblical criticism, and a rejecting of the doctrine of verbal inspiration, become the accepted theory of the great majority of the clergymen of Church and Chapel, but it led, before many years, to a denial of yet other important doctrines. It is not surprising that men who were able to place the inspired writers of the Scriptures on trial, and decide with human reason as the judge and jury, that their writings are not trustworthy, that the next step would be to reject yet other truths. The time came when such men began to doubt the deity of Jesus Christ, to reject the doctrine of the Virgin Birth, to deny the Resurrection and to think but lightly of a future life.

Even though evangelical preaching suffered greatly because of the influence of natural science and the Higher Criticism, yet it was not destroyed. Wherever men study the Bible and accept it as the sole source of authority, there will be faithful witnesses who will not hesitate to proclaim its truths to the best of their ability. Even when the Higher Criticism and the New Theology were at their height, there were men both in the Church of England and in Nonconformity who rejected rationalistic teachings and proclaimed Jesus Christ the Saviour of sinful mankind.

The Higher Criticism was widespread in England during the last half of the nineteenth century, and as that century drew near to its close, it had become firmly entrenched in most of the universities and colleges. As the twentieth century dawned, it was taken for granted by the majority of religious leaders. Bishop H. C. G. Moule, of the Church of England, had the courage to challenge it, Arthur H. Stanton could see little good in it, while a number of clergymen who were not so well known continued in the traditions of the evangelical branch of the Established Church. The Methodists had William L. Watkinson, Dinsdale T. Young and a number of less prominent witnesses against rationalistic thought. Archibald G. Brown and A. C. Dixon, both Baptists, endeavored to maintain the positive doctrinal spirit of Spurgeon's Tabernacle. The Congregationalists had J. H. Jowett and Campbell Morgan, while Principal P. T. Forsyth, who had given up his early liberalism, sought to

call a whole generation of young men back to more conservative ways. Gipsy Smith, missionary of the Free Church Council, was conducting preaching missions throughout Britain and the English-speaking world, and doing his utmost to strengthen the cause of Fundamentalism.

There had been a trend toward church union even before the International Missionary Conference of 1910, but among those present at that meeting was a stout young man of 28, who was to become one of England's chief spokesmen for church union. His name was William Temple, and he was a son of the late Archbishop of Canterbury. The 1200 delegates attended the service in St. Giles (Presbyterian) Church, and the business sessions in the Assembly Hall on the Mound, and went to their homes throughout the world proclaiming the idea of united action. Even then there were some who had begun to believe that the Gospel is not as effective if proclaimed by a single witness as it is when several men of differing faiths unite in proclaiming it. They were singularly blind to the fact that the Gospel is effective because of its own power. It does not depend upon the denominational label of the man who preaches it, so long as it is preached in its purity; neither is its effectiveness strengthened should several men unite in bearing witness to it. The delegates at the 1910 convention were, as a rule, young men, and few of them had grasped clearly the doctrine of the means of grace, nor did they realize the innate power of the Gospel as a means of grace.

Other conventions were held. Edinburgh in 1910, Jerusalem in 1928 and Madras in 1938 were world missionary conventions. Lusanne in 1927 and Edinburgh in 1937 were concerned with Faith and Order. Stockholm in 1925, Oxford in 1937 and Utrecht in 1938 considered the subject of Life and Work. The background of them all was united action. A number of prominent leaders appeared, but it was William Temple who showed his skill at combining his own arguments and those of other leaders into simple statements that the delegates remembered, and which, by 1938, had become widely accepted. By that time men of many denominations believed that the problems of the religious

world depended for their solution upon the joint effort of people of many creeds. The brilliant success of the Free Kirk of Scotland, and the missionary triumphs of the little Moravian Church were forgotten in the new enthusiasm for united action. Our Lord's High Priestly Prayer was used by some men as an argument for united efforts, if not for denominational mergers. By the year 1938 many of these men, and many others who had never attended a world convention, had come to believe that the divided state of Christendom is a scandal in the eyes of men and a sin against the Lord. In vain did the conservative men of several denominations declare that the Lord's Apostles "turned the world upside down" without the aid of ecumenical movements or of world conferences. Throughout the ages Christian leaders have borne convincing witness, and have stood quite alone in so doing. There is no sin or scandal in independent action so long as Law and Gospel are proclaimed truthfully. It is only when the message becomes corrupted by false doctrine that sin becomes evident, and this is true whether one man or many men are involved.

There were some who believed that the Ecumenical Movement would lead to a great revival of evangelical preaching, when the truths of sin and Redemption would ring throughout the land; but thus far this desirable result has not become apparent. Such things as evolution and the theories of the Negative Critics are not preached so openly as once was the case; nor would one be likely in our day to hear a clergyman declare in his Sunday sermon his misgivings in regard to the Virgin Birth, or the deity of our Saviour, or the fact of His Resurrection. The wrong today does not lie in the things that are said, but rather in the important truths that are left unsaid. It is possible for a man to motor half way across England, expecting to hear a famous preacher bear courageous witness to the facts of sin and salvation, only to be disappointed in hearing a mere lecture on the value of united action. A certain man made several efforts to hear a prominent church leader, and when he finally succeeded, the sermon was a lifeless thing in which the preacher described the voyage of the *Mayflower*

in 1620, and a voyage that he had made in the *Queen Elizabeth* in 1949. One cannot deny that the Atlantic may be crossed more quickly and with greater comfort today than was the case some 300 years ago, but is this the Christian message? Is a preacher of international fame, with perhaps 2000 people before him, justified in spending his time in comments upon the improvement in ocean transportation, when the same half hour might have been spent in describing the manner in which a believer may make the voyage which leads to that haven of glory of which God's Word speaks?

Prominent preachers, and scores of men of lesser fame, devoted their Sunday sermons to discussions of social and economic problems, or to essays on spiritual psychiatry, or to the cultivation of agreeable habits and civic virtues. After the War of 1939-1945 a more or less elusive force called Life became the subject of countless sermons. It was not Eternal Life, but rather a directing influence in this world which governs the actions of men. In a single fifteen-minute sermon the following expressions are noted: "facing Life . . . running away from Life . . . facing Life realistically . . . dealing with Life's situations . . . bear Life's burdens . . . if Life lets you down . . . face Life's demands with courage . . . face Life squarely . . . escape Life's realities . . . the sterner demands of Life . . . when Life catches up with you . . . when Life tumbles in . . . Life's escape mechanisms . . . integrating Life . . . evading Life's issues . . . realizing Life's difficulties . . . Life's requirements . . . co-ordinating Life . . . motivations of Life . . . when Life evaluates you." This is neither Law nor Gospel, neither does one find in the entire sermon so much as a passing reference to the great central truth of Christianity, namely Redemption through Jesus Christ. The only mention of our Lord is a curious statement that He came to teach man not to side-step Life.

In the pages that follow, mention will be made of some of the representative preachers of the period when Higher Criticism had become firmly established and when Modernism, the Social Gospel, Fundamentalism, the Ecumenical Movement and Barth's theology each found its defenders.

There were a number of influential preachers during this period, but we shall select a few who are typical of these divergent schools of thought.

John Clifford, (1836-1923)

One of London's noted Baptist preachers was Dr. John Clifford, who served Westbourne Park Church for 65 years. He was born at Sawley, Derbyshire, where his father was a factory worker. At the age of eleven, John Clifford became a worker in a lace factory, in a day when children often worked for twelve hours a day. In 1850, at the age of 14, he began to take a lively interest in religion. He studied his Bible daily, and, like Spurgeon, he began to preach at the age of 16. From 1855 to 1858 he attended Midland Baptist College at Leicester.

Mr. Clifford was ordained in 1858, and became pastor of what was then called the Praed Street Baptist Chapel, near the Paddington railway station, London. He served this congregation actively until 1915, and from that year until his death he was pastor emeritus. His pungent preaching attracted attention, and it was not long until the chapel was enlarged. Then an imposing Gothic church was built and became known as Westbourne Park Church.

In 1887 when Dr. Charles H. Spurgeon warned against what he termed the "down grade movement" in religion, and withdrew from membership in the Baptist Union, John Clifford opposed the demands that the Union adopt a definite creed. In 1893-94 he was one of the men who opposed the efforts to secure government support for denominational schools. In 1905 Dr. Clifford was made president of the Baptist World Congress.

Although his early education had been somewhat limited, John Clifford, in his earlier days in London, found time to attend London University, completing the courses in arts, science and law. He was a diligent reader, and thoroughly acquainted with the theological trends of his time. When Biblical criticism became a subject of sharp controversy, he was inclined to accept the views of the critics, even though Spurgeon warned against such things

as evidences of a liberalism that would sweep all Protestantism from its doctrinal standards. However, Dr. Clifford never rejected the Atonement. When he left home for college, his mother said to him: "John, find out the teachings of Jesus. Make yourself sure of that, and then stick to it, no matter what may come." Dr. Clifford quoted his mother's words 68 years later, and added: "Our first business is to make men see Christ. Get away anywhere, hide yourselves anywhere, if only to make men see Him in the brightness of the glory of the Father."¹⁰ While Biblical criticism disturbed his belief in verbal inspiration, yet he endeavored to hold fast to the Person and work of the Saviour. He was opposed to church union as a general principle, especially if it involved the making of doctrinal concessions; but he was willing to serve as president of six or eight denominational and inter-denominational councils that met for free discussion. He took an interest in political and economical matters, and urged Nonconformist clergymen to study the social implications of religion.

Dr. Clifford was one of the most popular platform orators of his time. In the pulpit he was equally popular. He was slight of build, with a high forehead, bushy brows and he wore a full beard. He spoke with great energy, with an incisive style, and his sermons contain a multitude of quotations from a wide variety of writers. His large Gothic chapel was crowded, and in the evening its dim, gas-lighted interior was filled with rows of young men who came in numbers to hear him. David Lloyd-George called him the greatest Protestant since Oliver Cromwell. He was well known in London, both because of his preaching and through almost one hundred books and pamphlets which he had published from time to time. He was a leader of the liberal branch of Nonconformity, just as his contemporary, Charles H. Spurgeon, was leader of the conservatives. Unfortunately the fears of the latter were realized. The "down grade movement," due to unchecked Biblical criticism, produced a group of preachers who were able to bear witness to the deity of the Saviour and to the Atonement, even after they

¹⁰ Sir James Marchant, *Dr. John Clifford*, (London, 1924), p. 93.

had begun to question the infallibility of the inspired records upon which these truths were based; but the generation of preachers that followed them, in too many cases, rejected both the infallibility of God's Word and the deity of the Saviour. The Atonement no longer held the central place in their preaching, and evangelical Christianity departed from all too many prominent pulpits and was forced to find refuge in the mission halls and the obscure chapels in the less prominent parts of our cities. Dr. Clifford's attitude toward the Scriptures is set forth in his *Inspiration and Authority of the Bible*, (1892), while of his many other books, *Daily Strength for Daily Living*, (1885), *The Gospel of Gladness*, (1912), *The Christian Certainties*, and *The Dawn of Maidenhood*, (1866), are typical of his homiletical and literary style. Three biographies of Dr. Clifford have been published.¹¹

James M. Wilson, (1836-1931)

James M. Wilson was born at Nocton, Lincolnshire, where his father was vicar. He was educated at King William College, Isle of Man, at Sedbergh School and at St. John's College, Cambridge. He was elected fellow of St. John's in 1860. From 1859 to 1879 he was master of natural science and mathematics at Rugby, and from 1879 to 1890 he was headmaster of Clifton College. In 1890 he was made archdeacon of Manchester, in 1905 canon of Worcester and in 1916 sub dean of Worcester. He delivered the Hulsean Lectures at Cambridge in 1898, was Lady Margaret preacher at Cambridge in 1900 and lecturer on pastoral theology at the same place in 1903. For a time he was vicar of Rochdale. He died in 1931 at the age of 95.

Dean Wilson's influence upon the British pulpit lay in his writings and his lectures more than in his pulpit work. He was a Broad Churchman, and he believed that the Anglican Church was held back by tradition, and its preachers failing to keep pace with modern scholarship. His printed sermons, while clear in language, do not rest upon the authority

¹¹. C. T. Bateman, *Life of John Clifford*, (London, 1908); Sir Jas. Marchant, *Life and Letters of Dr. John Clifford*, (London, 1924); D. Crane, *John Clifford*, (London, 1908).

of an infallible Bible, but rather do they seek to find a basis of authority in the moral and religious impulses in man, and in what he looks upon as the facts of consciousness and experience. He sought to adjust Christianity to the changing thoughts of the times, and to build up, by an inductive method, a system of reasoning based upon experience. Among his published works, *Sermons Preached in Clifton College Chapel*, (1879-1883), is worthy of mention, as well as his *Rochdale Sermons*.

Alfred Ainger, (1837-1904)

Alfred Ainger was born in 1837 in London, where his father was an architect. He attended University College School and then Joseph King's boarding school at Carlton Hill, where the sons of Charles Dickens were his friends. He visited the Dickens home. The great novelist amused himself by instructing his sons and their friends in amateur dramatics, in which young Ainger was unusually proficient. Ainger entered King's College, London, at the age of 16, gave up his interest in dramatics, and in 1856 he went to Trinity Hall, Cambridge, where he took his degree in 1860.

It was during the same year that he took deacon's orders, becoming curate at Arlewas, Staffs. In 1863 he was ordained to the priesthood, and the following year he became an assistant master at Collegiate School, Sheffield. In 1865 he became reader at the Temple, where he remained for 27 years. He became a preacher of recognized excellency, and a literary man of note, numbering among his personal friends many of prominent men of his day. He was a popular lecturer on literary subjects in London and throughout Britain. He was made a canon of Bristol in 1887, select preacher at Oxford six years later, and then master of the Temple. In 1895 he was made honorary chaplain to the Queen and a year later chaplain-in-ordinary. In 1901 he became chaplain-in-ordinary to King Edward VII. Alfred Ainger was noted for his beauty of style, his precision of language and his quiet evangelical tone. His churchmanship was of the moderate type.

Among his published sermons and other works, *Sermons Preached in the Temple Church*, (1870), and *The Gospel*

and *Human Life*, (1904), are typical of his preaching in his earlier ministry and in his later life. A biography of Mr. Ainger was written by Sichel,¹² and Mr. Ainger's collected *Lectures and Essays* were published in two volumes in 1905. In addition to his sermons and lectures, Alfred Ainger published several works on Charles Lamb.

William L. Watkinson, (1838-1925)

William L. Watkinson, a Methodist clergyman who gave evidence of unusual homiletical gifts, was a Yorkshireman. He was born in 1838 in Hull, where his father was chapel-keeper at Kingston Methodist Church. William Watkinson declared in his later life that he had received only six weeks of formal education, in Richmond Theological College. He served several important Methodist congregations, including one in Liverpool where his best work was done. From 1893 to 1904 he was editor of a Wesleyan Methodist religious journal. During 1897-1898 he was president of the Wesleyan Conference.

Standard reference works, and the several obituary notices that appeared at the time of his death in February, 1925, give but meagre information in regard to his congregational activity, but all agree that he was a preacher of noble gifts. He visited America about the turn of the century and delivered lectures at several theological seminaries, preached in a number of prominent pulpits, and made an excellent impression everywhere. He was noted for what Hugh Sinclair calls "the explicit, architectural manner of preaching, which is almost a lost art in these impressionist days."¹³ Mr. Sinclair compares Dr. Watkinson's sermons to a sturdy building with its careful ground-plan, solidity of construction, excellent craftsmanship and a judicious use of ornament. He had the craftsman's love for thoroughness. His sermons were massive, yet his exquisite artistry saves him from any suspicion of heaviness.

He delivered a series of noonday sermons to men, while in Manchester, and that city has not forgotten him.

¹². E. E. Sichel, *Life and Letters of Alfred Ainger*, (New York, 1906).

¹³. Hugh Sinclair, *Voices of Today*, (London, 1912), pp. 267-268.

Men came in crowds and in many instances they went without their noonday meal in order to follow his series, which appeared later in book form.¹⁴ Dr. Watkinson was a man of wisdom and culture. He had a voice of great flexibility, one moment with all the polish of a Canon Liddon, and then, as likely as not, speaking in a confidential tone and with all the homely simplicity of a country preacher in some little chapel on the edge of Pickering Moor. Few men were able to use illustrations with equal skill. He declared not long before his death that he had never intentionally used an illustration that had been used by others. He was a diligent reader, and any incident that might be used to call attention to an important spiritual truth was duly noted. When he climbed the endless flight of worn steps to the ruined abbey, perched on a cliff high above Whitby, the stirring history recorded in the guide book meant less to him than some spiritual truth suggested by the beautiful columns and arches, gnawed as they are by the wind-blown sands.

Dr. Watkinson was one of the very few men who was able to use irony effectively. He did it with a suggestion of a twinkle in his eye, and with a slight geniality, and none of his hearers were offended. Some of his keenest thrusts were directed at rationalism. He wrote more than a dozen books of sermons, as well as a biography of Wycliffe.¹⁵ The following extract from one of his sermons, preached during his American visit, will illustrate his style, as well as his aptness of illustration:

“On the restless wave Heaven is ever building up a kingdom of moral glory. All the world knows how in the fifth century a few fishermen, driven from the mainland, laid in reefs of mud and sand the foundation-stones of Venice. These heroic souls, in deep desolation, drove stakes and built their huts in the slime of the lagoon; then little by little a city of incomparable splendor rose out of the sea — a city of superb palaces, gorgeous temples, crowded marts,

¹⁴. W. L. Watkinson, *Noonday Addresses Delivered in Manchester*, (1890).

¹⁵. W. L. Watkinson, *John Wicliffe*, (1884).

of museums, picture-galleries and libraries, of wonderful loveliness, power and riches: the ideal shrine of poets and painters, of all worshippers of the perfect and divine. So another handful of fishermen, in great travail, laid in the mud and misery of the old world the foundation stones of the Church of Christ, the City of God, the spiritual Venice. It was built on the sea, established on the floods; it has been edified through ages of strife and conflict. A thousand times have the proud waters threatened to swallow it up, yet it endures. The 'sea artillery' has never ceased to batter it; dark waters of superstition, red billows of persecution, deluges of passionate unbelief, foaming out their shame, have broken against it, and broken in vain. Still through two thousand years the beautiful City has steadily risen, and today her towers shine above the sorrow of the sea — not Venice in decay, but in imperial strength and glory. He Who sits on the flood-waters has over-ruled them to the purification of our creed, the deepening of our life, the certainty of our hope, the efficacy of our action and influence."¹⁶ Judged by the standards of today the illustration is too lengthy and the style too florid, but Dr. Watkinson belonged to a less hurried generation than ours, and when a series of short, incomplete thoughts did not constitute a sermon.

Dr. Watkinson answers the critics who point to the imperfections in the Christian Church: "When a visitor to Rome ascends into the dome of St. Peter's, he is surprised by the general coarseness of the mosaic with which it is covered — the material is rough, the inlaying without taste, the colouring devoid of delicacy or design. Yet, surveyed perhaps three hundred feet below, it is grand enough; the apparently crude and slovenly artistry becomes a vision of fair shapes and colours. The ornamentation of the dome was designed with a view to its being seen from the floor, and its imperfection is its perfection; for had the work been smooth and delicate, it would have proved an utter failure, whereas it is the crowning glory of the shrine. The con-

¹⁶ W. L. Watkinson, *The Supreme Conquest*, (New York, 1907), pp. 38-39.

ception of the whole thing evinces on the part of the artist the fullest knowledge, the truest genius, the complete mastery of his vocation. The apparent imperfection is part of a larger perfection."¹⁷

Again he says: "Watching the *Mayflower* driven with its sorrowful freight over the wild sea to an unknown world, the troubled spectator might have protested, Where is the justice, wisdom or benign purpose in the permission of this tragedy? What condemnation can be too severe of the government which allows this expatriation, if such government there be? But it is all clear now. The American Republic is the interpretation of the dubious episode of the seventeenth century.

"That fatal and perfidious bark

Built in the eclipse, and rigg'd with curses dark,

turns out to be God's ark, bearing to a new world the germs of a higher civilization and the future of the race. He makes the wrath of men to praise Him, and compels human sin and folly to majestic ends. Do not give place to impatience; wait a few generations, get the cathedral floor, and the glorious purpose shows through the dark mystery."¹⁸

During his visit to America, Dr. Watkinson preached an admirable sermon at the Moody Institute. His theme was "Words of Life," and his text was St. John 6, 63: "It is the Spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life." Among other things he said: "Five hundred years ago John Wycliffe translated the Scriptures into the language of the English people. With that translation a new and grander era opens in English history; it marked the beginning of a fresh intellectual, political and national life. In conducting the excavation of Pompeii a buried fountain was uncovered, and no sooner were the choking ashes removed than the springing waters made the desolate neighborhood to smile, when Wycliffe translated the Bible into the English tongue, he unsealed living waters which for half a mil-

¹⁷. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.

¹⁸. *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.

lennium have vitalized our civilization.”¹⁹ Then, explaining that Luther, a century and a half later, translated the Bible into the German language, Dr. Watkinson compared it to a harp which had been found by archaeologists in one of the great pyramids of Egypt. The harp played perfectly after having been buried for a few thousand years, yet the sleeping mummies did not wake. “When, therefore, Martin Luther rescued the Word of God from the dust of the ages, and caused it to sound forth from the Castle of the Wartburg, there was a stir among the dry bones, and the dead stood upon their feet, an exceeding great army.”²⁰

It must not be assumed that Dr. Watkinson made use of too large a proportion of illustrations. While he uses more than the average British preacher of his time, yet his illustrations are not as numerous nor are they as lengthy as those of many an American clergyman. His sermons are examples of excellent homiletical craftsmanship, and they give evidence of a considerable amount of painstaking study. While generally evangelical, yet there are sermons here and there where the fact of salvation through the righteousness and blood of the Saviour might have been more fully emphasized. In one of his sermons²¹ he begins by describing a scientist who succeeded in producing a hybrid from a spider and a fly, and from a spider and a butterfly. The result is a monstrosity born with conflicting natures. Applied to spiritual conditions this may easily lead to the erroneous teaching that man’s unregenerate will has the power to decide in favor of conversion and salvation. The same danger lurks in Dr. Watkinson’s sermon on “The Craft and Cruelty of Sin,”²² in which he describes the locusts of Rev. 9, 7-10.

Among Dr. Wakinson’s more notable collections of sermons and addresses are: *The Blind Spot, and Other Sermons*, (1899); *The Supreme Conquest*, (1907); *The Beginning of the Christian Life*, (1887); *Noonday Sermons Delivered in*

¹⁹. *Ibid.*, pp. 166-167.

²⁰. *Ibid.*, p. 167.

²¹. *The Bane and the Antidote*, (New York and London, 1902), pp. 3-19.

²². *Ibid.*, p. 167.

Manchester, (1890); and *The Transfigured Sackcloth*, (1893).

William J. Knox-Little, (1839-1918)

Canon William J. Knox-Little was an Irishman by birth, and was a native of Stewartstown, County Tyrone. He was educated at the Royal Grammar School, Lancaster, and he took his degree at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1862. After his ordination in 1863 he served as curate at Christ Church, Lancaster and assistant master at the Royal Grammar School. Then he went to Sherborne School for six years, as assistant master.

In 1870 he became curate at Turweston, Bucks., where his gifts as a preacher became recognized. This led, four years later, to an invitation to serve as a mission preacher at St. Thomas's, Regent Street, London. At the close of the preaching mission, he remained as curate until 1875, when he became rector of St. Alban's, Cheetwood, Manchester. In 1877, at a preaching mission in Manchester his preaching aroused popular interest to such an extent that he was compared by some to Whitefield. He was made a canon of Worcester in 1881, and he was mission preacher at Leeds in 1883, and at St. Paul's, London, the following year. Thereafter he was a popular Lenten preacher at St. Paul's, and his sermons attracted great congregations on week days as well as on Sunday.

During the Boer War, 1899-1902, he served as chaplain, was mentioned in the dispatches, cited for bravery and awarded a medal by the Queen for distinguished service. He had been made vicar of the Church of the Holy Angels, Hoar Cross, in 1885, and he retained this position until 1907. The church, built by the Hon. Mrs. Meynell-Ingram, is considered the most beautiful modern place of worship in the British Isles. In 1907 Canon Knox-Little went to Worcester, where he was a member of the cathedral staff.

Canon Knox-Little was at the height of his popularity as a preacher during the fifteen years previous to the Boer War. Speaking of a sermon preached at All Saint's, Clifton, one of his hearers said: "The subject that night was 'The

Vision of God,' and the Canon put forth all the power of his genius. Poetical images streamed upon us like golden rain. The following sentence was characteristic, — 'I have seen lonely rocks on the Atlantic shore where the wildest storm can never toss its waves to touch their crests; and so there are thoughts of our souls far too majestic to be played on by the spray of idle words'.²³ Knox-Little was a member of the High Church party. His sermons give sufficient evidence that he was able to express common truths in a fresh and attractive manner, yet there are certain things that are missing in his sermons, such as a clear-cut definition of the means of grace and the practical application thereof, as well as verbal inspiration and objective justification.

Canon Knox-Little published many books, and among these were a number of collections of sermons, which bear such titles as: *The Three Hours' Agony of Our Blessed Redeemer*, (1877); *The Mystery of the Passion of Our Most Holy Redeemer*, (1881); *The Witness of the Passion of Our Most Holy Redeemer*, (1884); *The Hopes and Decisions of the Passion of Our Most Holy Redeemer*, (1886); *Sermons Preached for the Most Part in Manchester*, (1880); *Characteristics and Motives of the Christian Life*, (1880) and *Sermons Preached on Various Occasions*, (1888).

Arthur H. Stanton, (1839-1913)

One of London's most important business thoroughfares changes its name eight times within a distance of three and one-half miles. In the part of this street known as Holborn, and just east of Gray's Inn Road, is a little lane less than one-eighth of a mile long, at the end of which is a well-known church, St. Alban's Holborn. The name of this church at once suggests those days in the eighteen-sixties and eighteen-seventies when lighted candles on the altar, a crucifix, the singing of the *Agnus Dei*, the facing of the altar for prayer, the use of Communion wafers instead of bread, and the sign of the cross at the final blessing, were considered not only an evidence of Romanism, but when laws were passed making such things illegal, and the clergymen who permitted them subject to arrest and imprisonment.

²³. *The British Weekly*, February 7, 1918.

The people who crowded Brooke Street on New Year's Eve, 1872, expecting to see all manner of high ritualism were surprised to find a quiet-looking clergyman, clad only in a black robe. He announced the hymn "Shall we meet beyond the river?" read a Psalm, and then preached a rousing sermon of decidedly evangelical tone, using the text, "I had fainted, unless I had believed to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living." A man who was present declared, "I make bold to say that this ritualistic preacher outpreached any Wesleyan in the great metropolis."²⁴

Arthur H. Stanton was not a man of mystery, as he is so often described. All the facts of his life may be learned readily enough by consulting any standard biographical dictionary. He was born in 1839 at Upfield, near Stroud, Gloucestershire. He was sent by his parents to private schools at Cheltenham, Leonard Stanley, Brighton and elsewhere, for he lived at a time when it was considered desirable to send a boy to several elementary schools. He entered Rugby in 1854, and in 1858 he went up to Oxford, taking his B.A. at Trinity College in 1862. At neither place was he distinguished for his scholarship, nor did he take an interest in athletics. He was able to draw clever pictures and he took a keen interest in meteorology, but his one great interest seemed to be missionary work. When at Oxford he sought out the poor families of the city, and brought many of their children to the clergy for Baptism, acting as sponsor when others could not be found to do so. Six weeks after taking his degree at Trinity, he entered the Theological College at Cuddesdon, where he remained for a short time.

He was ordained in 1862, and assigned to the newly-formed parish of St. Alban's Holborn. The first service had been held in a little room over a fish-shop in Baldwin's Gardens. Then a small chapel had been opened in the basement of a house in Greville Street. It was here that Arthur Stanton preached his first sermon. The chapel was lighted by a grating in the sidewalk, and as Mr. Stanton

²⁴ G. W. E. Russell, *St. Alban the Martyr, Holborn*, (London, 1913), p. 110.

preached, the boys of the neighborhood shouted mockingly through the iron grating. This was the beginning of a remarkable ministry of fifty years.

The parish of St. Alban's Holborn was formed by detaching from St. Andrew's Church a small tract bounded by Holborn, Leather Lane, Gray's Inn Road and Clerkenwell Road. It was a very small, congested area, and in those days inhabited by people in poor circumstances. However, a beautiful church was under construction at the time. J. G. Hubbard, who later became Lord Addington, built the imposing church and the four-story clergy house adjoining it. In 1862 the Rev. A. H. Mackonochie, a Scotsman, who had been connected with St. George's-in-the-East, was assigned to the new parish, with Arthur Stanton as an assistant.

It is not necessary to give the details of the turbulent history of St. Alban's. For those who may be interested, several books have been written in the past.²⁵ It is enough to say that it was a time when such things as lighted candles, an altar crucifix, the singing of *Agnus Dei* and the facing of the altar during certain parts of the service were looked upon with much disfavor. Riots occurred in several places, newspaper comments were bitter, and in 1875 the Public Worship Regulation Act sought to put an end to all such ritualistic practices. Some of the clergy had gone beyond altar candles and the use of wafer bread. They had begun to enter the church in procession, and to wear the white surplice and to practice elevation. The new church building of St. Alban's Holborn was consecrated in 1863, and a little later Mr. Mackonochie introduced the crucifix, which Bishop John Jackson made him remove in 1869.

It was in this troubled period that Arthur Stanton began his work at St. Alban's. He accepted the crucifix and the candles on the altar and he conformed to the other customs of the parish, yet all such things were of secondary impor-

²⁵ G. W. E. Russell, *Op. cit.*, also his *Arthur H. Stanton, a Memoir*, (London, 1917); *The Battle of Brooke Street*, (London, n. d.); T. F. Bumpus, *London Churches Ancient and Modern*, 2 vols., (London, 1908), vol. 2.

tance. His chief interest was the spiritual welfare of the people in the nearby tenements. Post-card pictures of Stanton are still on sale in the stationers' shops in Brooke Street and in Holborn. They show him in his black cassock and cape. That is but one side of Arthur Stanton. Much more characteristic of him is the photograph showing him standing in a churchyard, surrounded by a crowd of people. He is bending forward, his right arm outstretched, his long forefingers pointing, and his face wearing a look of intense concern as he preaches to his outdoor congregation. There was another picture, many years ago, showing Arthur Stanton standing on a street corner in Baldwin's Gardens. Beside him is a choir boy holding a pole, to which is attached a lantern, and the people of the tenements filling the street. This was the real Stanton. His printed sermons give but an inadequate impression of the man, for there were people in Holborn Borough a few years ago who declare that his eloquence was heard at its best on those nights when he took his stand in some side street and declared to the tenement dwellers who crowded about him and filled the street from building-line to building-line, the universal offer of salvation to sinful mankind.

In 1875, thirteen years after the founding of the parish, the work had grown to such an extent that there were seven clergymen. Alexander H. Mackonochie, the senior pastor, died in a blizzard while on a visit to Scotland in 1887, and for the next 26 years the name of A. H. Stanton was closely identified with St. Alban's, and his personality was felt throughout Holborn. When he died in 1913 there was a funeral such as London had rarely seen. The poor from all over London crowded Oxford Street, and many of them were in the procession. Traffic in Oxford Street, one of the busiest thoroughfares in the world, was at a standstill. The choir boys who led the procession, sang, hundreds of clergymen followed them, and the clergy and many of the bystanders took up the hymns and sang as the procession moved through three miles of London's streets to the railway station. It seemed as though all the poor of London had come that day to pay respect to a man whom they knew to be their friend.

Street preaching was but a small part of A. H. Stanton's activities. The number of church services conducted at St. Alban's was surprising. A dozen years after his death the writer of these lines, in passing his church, stopped to read the notice-board attached to the building. Including catechetical lectures, there were no less than 47 services during a period of eight days. During Stanton's lifetime there were occasions when the people from the tenements came in such numbers that they not only overflowed into the Mackonochie Chapel, but rows of boys sat on the chancel steps. In Joseph Parker's City Temple, within a few steps of St. Alban's, the same thing might have been observed. All this is a thing of the past, for during the second World War both St. Alban's Holborn and City Temple were destroyed. In a very few of the 40 weekly services at St. Alban's ritualism was carried to an extreme. It was against these that certain London newspapers and religious journals directed their vehement attacks. They were silent in regard to the many times each week that Stanton and his associates conducted services of Wesleyan simplicity, and preached sermons that were evangelical to a degree. At some of its services St. Alban's Holborn may have gone to extremes in matters of ritual, but A. H. Stanton looked upon such things as secondary. He knew that it matters little whether a church has more ceremonial or less ceremonial, so long as Law and Gospel are preached to the poor.

Mr. Stanton believed that the Holborn section of London contained a mixed population. The tastes of the people varied widely, even in religious matters. Stanton believed that a mission church, in order to reach all the people, dare not limit itself to any one form of service. There were people in Holborn who could be reached through the medium of a service as simple as that of a chapel in Wales or Cornwall. There were others who desired processions, lights and colored vestments. Stanton's great ambition was to bring as many people as possible under the influence of the preaching of God's Word, and he and his associates provided a wide variety of services, from the simplest to the most elaborate. A well-known guide book of ritualistic churches lists St. Alban's Holborn as a four-starred Anglo-Catholic

place of worship, yet in Stanton's day there were hundreds of people who never entered the little court-yard with its carved figure of the Madonna and Child, but who attended the simpler services where a spare, serious-faced man, clad only in a black robe, preached vehement sermons and urged his hearers to surrender their lives to the saving power of the Lord Jesus Christ. A London taxicab driver is said to have told an inquirer: "When you go to St. Alban's you never know whether you will attend a Roman Catholic high mass or a Wesleyan revival." This was an over-statement, but it had an element of truth in it. Such a wide variety of services may well have its dangers. If the purpose of the church is to satisfy every variety of taste, then the deist, the rationalist, the ethical culturalist and the dispensationalist may each request a special form of service and sermon, suited to his respective theories.

When Arthur H. Stanton died he left six quarto volumes containing careful and very full outlines of more than a thousand sermons. His friends hoped that a handsome set of books, containing the sermons that had stirred the people of Holborn for fifty years, might be published, but thus far only two books of sermons and two of outlines have appeared. *Faithful Stewardship*, (1916), contains 19 sermons and *Last Sermons in St. Alban's, Holborn*, (1916), includes 44 shorthand reports of his sermons. Then there are two volumes entitled *Sermon Outlines from his own Manuscripts*, (1917-19). Of the *Last Sermons in St. Alban's*, Sir. W. Robertson Nicoll, a Presbyterian clergyman, says: "His sermons are full of fine thought and pure theology, but their main characteristic is their evangelicalism. The essence and core of his faith were an intense and personal love for Christ. He was possessed by a most earnest and, on the whole, a deep and catholic faith, and the points in which we differ from him are small in proportion to those which command our heartiest sympathy. For the true meeting place of divided Christians is not, as many think vainly, in the circumference of the creed, but in its burning centre. No man of his time preached more earnestly, or with a more simple heart, the doctrines of conversion and of communion with the living Redeemer. He never travelled far from

Calvary, and he understood well that Calvary, as he says, goes back into the very Being of God.”²⁶ We cannot agree with this entire statement, for it leaves room for the assumption that some doctrines are unimportant. Sir William’s estimate of A. H. Stanton is quoted because it is the opinion of a learned and careful observer who believes that Stanton was (up to a point) thoroughly evangelical. A man is evangelical in direct proportion to his faithfulness in preaching sin and repentance, and justification by grace through faith; and if there are errors “in the circumference of the creed” that he proclaims one can but regret the errors. We dare not ignore them as though they are of no importance, for no truth revealed in God’s Word is merely a matter of opinion.

Handley C. G. Moule, (1841-1920)

H. C. G. Moule, a distinguished member of the evangelical party of the Church of England, was born in 1841 at Fordington, in Dorset. His father was a clergyman, and a fine type of the stalwart, nineteenth century evangelical. A firm believer in the Christian day school, he trained his own sons and a group of other boys in evangelical Christianity as he understood it, as well as in the classics. Handley Moule, at the age of 72, published a beautiful account of his boyhood home in Dorset, and the careful training of the boys by their kindly father.²⁷ The sturdy principles impressed upon him in that home and in the parish school, were to bear fruit in later times.

Handley Moule entered Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took his degree in 1864, becoming a fellow in 1865, and then a form-master at Marlborough College. He was ordained in 1867 and served as his father’s curate from 1867 to 1872, and again from 1877 until his father’s death in 1880. During the interval between these two curacies, he was dean of Trinity College, Cambridge, and curate at St. Sepulchre’s Church in the same town. In 1880 Ridley Hall was built at Cambridge by the evangelical party, as a

²⁶. *British Weekly*, January 13, 1916.

²⁷. H. C. G. Moule, *Memories of a Vicarage*, (London, 1913).

graduate school in theology. Handley Moule was chosen as principal, and he served faithfully for 19 years. He preached regularly in Charles Simeon's old church, Trinity, and endeavored to maintain the fine evangelical traditions of that great leader. He preached frequently before the University, and in Henry Martyn Hall. In 1899 he was elected Norrisian professor of divinity, and held this position until 1901, when he became Westcott's successor at Durham Cathedral.

The early evangelical principles and the missionary zeal of his remarkable father made a powerful impression upon Handley Moule, and he found joy in carrying on these principles, paying scant heed to the teachings of John Stuart Mill, Charles Darwin and the German Biblical critics, whose successive theories shook English religious thought to its very foundations. Moule visualized the figure of his tall, stalwart father, looking on in silent encouragement, as the younger man strove to defend the teachings that he had learned in his youth.

Even in his early days when a dean of Trinity College, his expositions of the Greek text were inimitable. His room was just west of the Clock Tower in Old Court, and there it was his custom, when a young man of 32, to gather a group of friends at evening and after a hymn, a Scripture lesson and a prayer, to expound a portion of the Greek text. These lectures, which lasted about an hour, made deep impressions upon a number of men. Later, when he became principal of Ridley Hall, his expositions were held at an early morning hour in the chapel. These expository sermons, and his brilliant lectures on the fundamentals of Christian doctrine, influenced the lives of well over a thousand men.

Even when 78 years of age he carried on this work at Durham. His hair was still dark and his voice strong and youthful, and he preached with undiminished vigor. The Durham miners heard of his expository sermons, and came in numbers to the Cathedral to hear him. He did not permit the air raids of the First World War to interfere with his regular preaching, thus winning the unqualified admiration

of the townspeople. Once, after an air raid that had destroyed many of their homes, Dr. Moule made a tour of the devastated area before preaching at the Cathedral. A burly miner, known for his militant devotion to the Chapel, and his dislike for the Church and for bishops, was heard to declare that there will be good in the Established Church so long as there are men such as Handley Moule. An essayist of those days, in speaking of these Durham miners and of Moule, said: "They came expecting to be led to the Cross and to hear of Christ, and they were never disappointed."

Dr. Moule, in explaining his theological position, was accustomed to say that he was deeply attached to the chief teachings and traditions of the Reformation, and a humble believer in the authority of the Word of God. He prepared some of the volumes of the *Cambridge Bible for Schools*, the *Expositor's Bible* and the *Cambridge Greek Testament*. He was a prolific writer, and among his works we find an excellent biography of Charles Simeon, the great evangelical leader, a history of the evangelical movement in the English Church, a work on Justification by Faith and a number of exegetical and doctrinal works.

"In that Gospel — that revelation of Him 'Who loved us, and gave Himself for us'," he says, "'Who died for us and rose again' . . . lie at once the law and the motive force of sacrifice of self for others which walks in simplicity and peace upon heights which alien philosophies and other Gospels attempt in vain effectually to climb. . . . Without Christ, Who died for our sins, and having died is risen again, faith has no foot-hold, and conscience no rest, and hope no eastern window, and man knows neither himself nor God."²⁸

At a time when liberal thinking was so generally popular; and when the teachings of J. S. Mill, and the evolution of Darwin and the attacks of the German higher critics were accepted by so many religious leaders of both Church and Chapel, it is unusual to find a man with the courage of Dr. Moule. He found joy in preaching the old, conservative doctrines that his father had taught him, and

²⁸ H. G. Moule, *The Old Gospel for the New Age*, (New York, 1901), pp. 24-25, quoted by A. C. Zabriske, *Anglican Evangelicalism*, (Phila., 1943), p. 148.

he held fast to the Scriptures that he had learned so well in his earliest days. He was not without a touch of the pietism of the Keswick movement, in which he was interested. In regard to his attitude toward Justification, he does not seem to make it clear that Jesus Christ, through His vicarious Atonement, has secured reconciliation for all the world, (objective justification), or that it is God's earnest desire that all men be saved (*gratia universalis*), nor that God employs the Gospel and the Sacraments as His means of conferring the righteousness of Christ and forgiveness of sins to man.²⁹ He reveals the fact that it is difficult for the Reformed type of mind to grasp fully the meaning of this great doctrine of the standing or falling Church.

Handley Moule published a whole shelf of books, and among these some of the most significant are: *Sermons on the Litany*, (1870); *Fordington Sermons*, (1881); *Justifying Righteousness*, (1885); *The Christian's Victory over Sin*, (1887); *The Secret of His Presence*, (1900); *Justification by Faith*, (1903) and *Outlines of Christian Doctrine*, (1892).³⁰

William Boyd Carpenter, (1841-1918)

William Boyd Carpenter was born in 1841 at Liverpool, where his father was pastor of St. Michael's Church. He was educated at the Royal Institution, Liverpool, and at St. Catherine's College, Cambridge, where he took his degree in 1864. Having been ordained later in the same year he became curate at All Saints', Maidstone, followed by curacies at St. Paul's, Clapham, in 1866 and at Holy Trinity, Lee, in 1867. It was about this time that his ability as a preacher became evident. In 1870 he was made vicar of St. James's, Holloway. In 1875 and 1877 he was select preacher at Cambridge. Advancement followed rapidly: the vicarage of Christ Church, Lancaster Gate in 1879, a royal chaplain to the Queen the same year, canon of Windsor in 1882 and bishop of Ripon in 1884, a position which he filled for 25

²⁹. See Moule's essay on Justification by Faith in *The Fundamentals*, vol. 2, pp. 106-119.

³⁰. For biographical material see: Handley Moule, *Memories of a Vicarage*, (London, 1913); J. B. Harford, *Letters and Poems of Bishop Moule*, (1921); J. B. Harford and F. C. Macdonald, *Handley C. G. Moule, Bishop of Durham*, (1922).

years. He was select preacher at Oxford in 1883 and 1884, and in 1887 he preached the sermon before the House of Commons upon the occasion of the Queen's jubilee. Upon his retirement as bishop of Ripon, he was made canon, and later sub-dean of Westminster.

Bishop Carpenter was a liberal evangelical, professing his adherence to the basic truths of Christianity, yet reserving the right to adapt them to current trends of thought. He sets forth this position in a sermon, often reprinted in collections of sermons. It was preached in 1884 at Oxford, and is based upon 2 Kings 6, 1-2. In the sons of the prophets who desired to leave the place that they considered "too strait for us," he finds men who possess insight, personal assertiveness, and yet a readiness to adjust themselves to the changing conditions of the day.

This suggestion was comparatively new in the year 1884, but it has become trite in our own day. It is an excellent principle if confined to external matters. The methods of parish administration that were suited to a village church might prove entirely obsolete after the same village has developed into a great city. The danger of such a theory lies in the fact that all too many men, both in Dr. Carpenter's day and in our own, seek to apply such theories to doctrinal matters. Having adjusted their old methods to fit the needs of a modern age, these men did not have the good judgment to recognize the limits of their theory. Their next step was an attempt to readjust and revise the teachings of evangelical Christianity to harmonize with the modern world. The result was what is called Modernism.

Dr. Carpenter preached without notes, and his eloquence caused him to be called "the silver-tongued bishop." He delivered the Hulsean lectures at Cambridge, a series of Bampton lectures at Oxford and a series of Noble lectures at Harvard. He wrote many books on a wide range of subjects that include commentaries, an introduction to Bible study, a work on homiletics and a collection of short biographies of eminent preachers, the last entitled *The Prophets of Christendom*, (1876).

Among Bishop Carpenter's published collections of sermons and lectures are: *Footprints of the Saviour*, (1872); his Hulsean Lectures entitled *The Witness of the Heart to Christ*, (1879); *My Bible*, (1884); a collection of sermons to children entitled *Truth in Tale*, (1885); his Bampton Lectures known as *Permanent Elements in Religion*, (1887); *The Burning Bush*, (1893); *The Son of Man*, (1894); his Noble Lectures called *Witness to the Influence of Christ*, (1904-05); *The Great Charter of Christ*, (1895); and *Lectures on Preaching*, (1895). The story of Bishop Carpenter's life is contained in his *Some Pages of my Life*, (1911) and *Further Pages of my Life*, (1916). There is also a memoir written by J. E. Carpenter and a biography by H. D. A. Major.³¹

Archibald G. Brown, (1844-1922)

It is hardly necessary to say that the several men who filled the pulpit of the great Charles H. Spurgeon were faced with a difficult task. One of these was Archibald G. Brown, who had been born in 1844 at Clapham Park, and who had received his education in Mr. Spurgeon's own college. After completing his theological studies Mr. Brown, not yet 20 years of age, founded a Baptist church in Bromley, Kent, a suburb of London. In 1866 he became pastor of the Stepney Green Tabernacle, and in 1872 he built the great East London Tabernacle, where he labored with conspicuous success. He was made president of the London Baptist Association in 1877. In 1887, when the "Down Grade Movement" was causing agitation in Baptist circles, Mr. Brown followed the example of Mr. Spurgeon and withdrew from the Baptist Union. He became pastor of the Chatsworth Road Baptist Church, West Norwood, London, in 1897 and served that congregation with undiminished success for a decade. In 1907 he became pastor of Metropolitan Tabernacle, Mr. Spurgeon's old church.

Archibald Brown was a forceful preacher, although his popularity never reached that of the great Spurgeon. He was conservative in his theology, holding fundamentalist

³¹ J. E. Carpenter, *Memoir of W. B. Carpenter*, (1888); H. D. A. Major, *Life and Letters of William B. Carpenter*, (1925).

views, opposing the influence of scientific thought, Biblical criticism and the New Theology that was prevalent early in the twentieth century. His evangelical preaching, which had brought him fame during his many years in East London seemed for a time to restore Metropolitan Tabernacle to much of its old prestige, but Mr. Brown was an old man when he was called to that church, and his ministry was not of long duration. His *Sermons Preached at Stepney Green Tabernacle*, (1870), are youthful efforts, and may not be representative of his later preaching. His *In the Valley of Decision*, (1911), are more typical of his maturity.

Henry Scott Holland, (1847-1918)

Canon Holland was born in 1847 at Ledbury, Herefordshire. After attending a private school at Allesley, near Coventry, he went to Eton, and from there to Balliol College, Oxford. He won a senior studentship at Christ Church, Oxford, and in 1872 he became a tutor. He was ordained the same year. In 1881-82 he was made select preacher to the University. In 1884 he became a canon of St. Paul's. He was interested in Christian sociology, he helped found the Social Union, and was active in the establishment of the Maurice Hostel in Hoxton, a poor area of London. He edited the *Commonwealth* from 1895 to 1912, a magazine devoted to social studies. In 1911 he was made regius professor of divinity at Oxford. He was a canon of Truro in 1882 and became a canon of Christ Church in 1910. After going to London his health and his eyesight became impaired, so that reading and writing became difficult.

Scott Holland, as he is generally called, was an admirer of Canon Liddon, and like Liddon he was a representative of the High Church party, yet with an ecumenical attitude toward those of other schools of thought. "He was a broader and more accomplished man than Liddon," declared one who knew him, "and he had a tremendous command of words; but he never quite gained Liddon's popularity, nor was he a master of homiletics in the same manner. Liddon showed little or no interest in social and economic problems, therein resembling Pusey; but Scott Holland threw himself with passion into what may be called applied Christianity,

and it was to him more than to any other except Westcott, that the Christian Social Union owed the influence it possessed. . . . He accepted broadly the ascertained results of Biblical study, but he held very firmly to the miraculous element in Revelation, to the supernatural Birth and Resurrection of our Lord. He came into controversy with Dr. Sanday and his school, defending his position with great skill and dignity."³² However, like his contemporary Knox-Little, the sermons of Canon Scott Holland often lack an exposition of some of the Biblical truths that might have added to their excellence.

Canon Holland published a number of books. His theological position and his homiletical and literary style are revealed in such works as his *Four Addresses on the Sacrifice of the Cross*, (1879); *Logic and Life; with other Sermons*, (1882); *Good Friday Sermons at St. Paul's*, (1884), which are meditations on the Seven Last Words; *Creed and Character*, (1887); *Christ or Ecclesiastes*, (1887); *On Behalf of Belief*, (1888); *Pleas and Claims for Christ*, (1892) and *Vital Values*, (1906). An account of his life and preaching was written by Stephen Paget, and a detailed character analysis by Lyttleton.³³

Hugh Price Hughes, (1847-1902)

Hugh Price Hughes, the famous Welsh preacher who took London by storm, was born in Carmarthen, Wales, in 1847. While yet a young lad he wrote a letter to his father, a prominent physician, informing him in a single short sentence that he felt it the Lord's will that he become a Wesleyan preacher. During his elementary school days, he was much impressed when a Cornish ship docked at Swansea, and the entire crew, officers and men, attended service at the chapel nearby. The fervent singing and the prayers of these brawny Cornishmen made an impression on Hugh Hughes that was lifelong.

³². Sir W. Robertson Nicoll in *The British Weekly*, March 21, 1918.

³³. Stephen Paget, *Henry Scott Holland, Memoir and Letters*, (1921); E. Lyttleton, *The Mind and Character of Henry Scott Holland*, (1926).

When but 14 years of age he sat in the Wesleyan chapel one evening with a number of women and school boys. The "local" or lay preacher failed to keep his appointment, and after a short wait, Hugh Hughes arose quietly from his seat, walked to the pulpit, announced a hymn, read the Lessons, offered prayer and then preached an excellent sermon from the text, "This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptance, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners; of whom I am chief." The women and the school boys who had come to worship were amazed. However, almost any chapel-keeper in Swansea might have told them that the boy had come repeatedly to borrow their keys. Locking himself in some chapel, he would preach an hour at a time to an imaginary congregation.

Not long after, Hugh Hughes was put on the "plan" and allowed to substitute in cases of emergency. Chapel stewards were often amazed when a frail, white-faced, spectacled lad, in his Eaton jacket and school boy tie, appeared with a Bible under his arm to conduct the service. This was during his school days at Thistleboon.

Hugh Price Hughes attended the Wesleyan Theological College at Richmond, Surrey, just out of London, from which he was graduated in 1869. He was ordained the same year, and given a Wesleyan chapel in Snargate street, Dover. At the end of Snargate street (locally known as "Snoggett" street) is a gigantic cliff, on the top of which is a little cruciform church almost as old as Christianity itself. In the shadow of this towering cliff, and the ancient church, and the Pharos of the days of Roman occupation, Hughes began his work. He was told that Wesleyan Methodism was dead in Dover. A few people appeared at his first service, and at its close, 18 persons professed conversion.

Hughes spent three years in Dover, going from there to Brighton in 1872, Tottenham in 1875, Mostyn Road, London, in 1878, Oxford in 1881 and Brixton Hill, London, in 1884. In 1887, the West London Mission of the Wesleyan Methodist Church was opened, with Hugh Price Hughes as its superintendent. Their place of worship was St. James Hall, Piccadilly, in the heart of the theatre and the night-life area. Charles H. Spurgeon, of Metropolitan Tabernacle.

preached at the opening, and he accepted with the understanding that no band instruments be used. However, Spurgeon did not, at that time, understand Hugh Hughes. While Hughes conducted a popular service on Sunday evening, yet he looked with disfavor upon revivalistic methods and sensationalism. While he substituted a preaching platform and a small lectern for the traditional octagonal pulpit of England, and while he permitted certain instruments in addition to the church organ on special occasions, yet even his popular type of evening service was conducted with decorum, and the preaching was always dignified, although never stiff and formal. The evangelical appeal was always present, although he never permitted revivalistic methods.

Mr. Hughes enjoyed a high reputation as a preacher and a platform orator, and some of his more ardent admirers declared that he was second only to such men as Spurgeon and Liddon. Men of calm judgment are not inclined to give him so high a place as he occupied in his own generation, yet there is no question that Mr. Hughes was one of the famous preachers of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. He was in great demand as a speaker at great temperance gatherings, and at meetings of protest against indecencies of various kinds, and when his righteous indignation was stirred, his ringing denunciation of wrongdoing was a thing long to be remembered by his hearers. His preaching at the West London Mission always attracted large congregations. When 400 trained workers were sent out on certain Sundays to count the actual attendance at all of London's churches, chapels and mission halls, the congregation at Mr. Hughes's West London Mission was 3,333, as compared to 1,882 at Westminster Abbey nearby. From 1891 onward, Mr. Hughes had an exceptionally able co-pastor in the person of the Rev. Mark Guy Pearse, a Cornishman, and one of the powerful preachers of the time. The West London Mission maintained a staff of trained workers, including several deaconesses.

Of his various published works, the following are typical of Mr. Hughes and his interests: *Social Christianity*, (1889); *The Philanthropy of God*, (1892); *The Ethical Teaching of*

Christianity, (1891), and *Essential Christianity*, (1894). His biography was written by his daughter,³⁴ and several other accounts of his life have appeared.

F. B. Meyer, (1847-1929)

Frederick B. Meyer is a clergyman who won fame in four different fields of activity: as an evangelist, as an expert in spiritual therapy, as a crusader and as a prolific author. He was born in 1847 in London, he attended Brighton College and Regent's Park Baptist College, and he received his degree in 1869 at London University. As a student he attended Bloomsbury Chapel, taking an active interest in all things pertaining to religion, and even before his college work was completed, giving evidence of unusual homiletical ability.

Mr. Meyer was ordained in 1870 as assistant pastor of Pembroke Baptist Chapel, Liverpool, where he was associated with the Rev. C. M. Birrell. In 1872 he was called to a chapel in York, and while there he went to hear Dwight L. Moody, and became acquainted with him. Under Moody's influence he was led to give up certain habits which, while not serious sins, yet were looked upon as hindrances to a full spiritual life. In 1874 he was called to Victoria Road Church in Leicester, an important congregation, where his excellencies as a preacher soon won him sufficient fame that the great Melbourne Hall was built in 1878 especially for him. During this period of his life F. B. Meyer was noted for his evangelistic preaching — not especially in the sense of revivalism, but rather a robust preaching of sin and grace, and direct appeals to his hearers to forsake all things that might stand in the way of a complete acceptance of Jesus Christ as their Saviour. While at Melbourne Hall, two members of Mr. Moody's Cambridge Seven visited Leicester and conducted a preaching mission in Mr. Meyer's church, and the influence of these young missionaries upon the pastor of Melbourne Hall was a lasting one.

In 1888 Mr. Meyer was called to Regent's Park Chapel in London, his home town. Four years later he was called

³⁴ D. P. Hughes, *Life of Hugh Price Hughes*, (1904).

to the great Christ Church, Westminster Bridge Road, one of the most noted Nonconformist chapels on the south side of the Thames. It was after coming to London that he gained a reputation as a physician to the spiritual life of men. His congregation was a large one, and was made up of middle class people, most of whom were seasoned Christians. The object of his preaching, after coming to Christ Church, was not to terrify the sinner by means of the Law, but rather to appeal to the people who were sincere believers, who possessed an assurance of salvation, but who desired to grow in grace and in strength of faith. There were misgivings in the minds of neighboring pastors, who predicted that such great stress upon spiritual development was but a stressing of sanctification at the expense of justification. Nevertheless, Mr. Meyer attracted large congregations of people who considered themselves faithful soldiers of the Cross, and whose chief desire was to have their faith strengthened.

To the dismay of his friends, the noted pastor of Christ Church, whose sermons had brought spiritual help to many, and whose presence at Keswick Conventions had given a certain character to these gatherings, gave up his work at the Westminster Bridge Road church and became an agent of the National Free Church Council in an effort to curb vice. When two prize-fighters of international fame were preparing to meet in London, it was the crusading of F. B. Meyer and his Free Church Council that stopped the fight. He became a traveling missionary of the Free Church Council, speaking everywhere with all the fervor of an Anthony Comstock, urging the churches and chapels to join in the Christian crusade to stamp out vice of every kind. Certain newspapers ridiculed Dr. Meyer without mercy, and he became the target of the cartoonist and the satirist, who pictured him as a grim Puritan seeking to take away from the poorer classes those very things that had brought a few rays of sunshine into their drab lives.

From 1909 to 1915 Dr. Meyer returned once more to Regent's Park Chapel, and from 1915 to 1921 he returned to Christ Church. After that he became pastor emeritus until his death, at the age of 82, in 1929.

Dr. Meyer's preaching attracted many, and for over half a century he was famed throughout England, as well as in America, where his lectures at Moody's Northfield school caused him to become widely known. Today he is remembered chiefly as the writer of some seventy books, which are said to have reached a circulation of five million copies at the time of his death. His several books on Bible heroes are more than mere character sketches. His style has a suggestion of the ornate; for example the following description of the writing of St. Luke's Gospel:

"It were a theme worthy of a great artist to depict. Mary's face, furrowed by deep lines of anguish, yet glowing with sacred fire and holy memory. Luke, sitting at his manuscript, now letting her tell her story without interruption, and again interpolating an inquiry, the words growing on the page; whilst, nearer than each to either, making no tremor in the hot summer air as He comes, casting no shadow in the brilliant eastern light — He of whom they speak and write steals in to stand beside them, bringing all things to their remembrance by the Holy Spirit's agency, even as He had told them."³⁵ Dr. Meyer's biography was written by the Rev. W. Y. Fullerton.³⁶

Bernard J. Vaughan, (1847-1922)

There are many strange sights in London, but none of them were more unusual than to go down into the White-chapel slums on a certain day of each week and see a billowing multitude of children coming along, hundreds of them, their total swelling moment by moment as they crowd around a man who carries a bell in his hand. He is ringing the bell as he walks along, and calling out, "Ding-dong, bell! Come to our meeting! There's good news to tell!" He is the Rev. Bernard J. Vaughan, S.J., who was as popular among London's Roman Catholic population as were Spurgeon, Liddon, Parker and Morgan among non-Catholics. He was from exclusive Mayfair's Immaculate Conception Church, in Farm Street, just off Berkeley Square.

³⁵ F. B. Meyer, *John the Baptist*, (New York, 1900), pp. 19-20.

³⁶ W. Y. Fullerton, *F. B. Meyer, a Biography*, (London, 1929).

Bernard J. Vaughan was a son of Colonel Vaughn of Courtfield, and although born in 1847 of a prominent family, yet the place of his birth is a matter of dispute. Ireland claims him, and a house is shown the tourist and declared to be his birthplace. In the Jesuit registers one may find the words "*insula* Jersey," although in the original records there has plainly been an erasure. Courtfield is accepted by his biographer as the place of Father Vaughan's birth, although it is admitted that the family lived in other places for short periods, and not in their ancestral home. It was a remarkable family, for six of Bernard Vaughan's eight brothers became priests and one of these a cardinal, while his three sisters all became nuns.

In 1859 he was sent to school at Stonyhurst, in 1866 he entered his novitiate and from 1868 to 1871 he studied philosophy at St. Mary's Hall, Stonyhurst. He was made assistant prefect of the philosophers, and from 1873 to 1877 he attended Beaumont College at Old Windsor. This was followed by four years of theological study at St. Bueno's, and by his ordination in 1880, after 21 years of study. In school he was famous for his mimicry. He was able to imitate a London Cockney, a Lancashire laborer, a German or an American in a manner that was perfect. On one occasion he came in the garb of a Nonconformist clergyman, and was escorted through the college by his own professors. Again he came dressed as a fashionable young man from London's West End, and on still another occasion he came disguised as a nun. He could visit a London hotel, mingle freely with a group of American tourists and speak in the American manner without detection, to the vast amusement of his companions. This keen sense of humor remained with him through life.

After his ordination he was made sub-minister at Beaumont College, and supervisor of the boys. In 1883 he began a notable career of 18 years at Holy Name Church, Manchester, where he was made first superior in 1888 and rector in 1893. His exceptional gifts as a preacher were recognized at once, and from 1883 to 1886 his popularity was so great that it was said in Manchester that he used Holy Name Church as his headquarters, but spent his time preaching

throughout the surrounding country. This was an exaggeration, for in 1886 he began an extended series of sermons at Manchester, and made it a rule to preach three times a week in his own church. Holy Name was a small parish when he came there, and it had a very small parochial school. There was a large church building, however, opposite the University, in the south part of the city. Father Vaughan's sermons attracted great congregations composed of Roman Catholics, Anglicans and Nonconformists. When every available square foot of space was occupied, he himself would throw open the gates in the sanctuary rail and urge the people to come up around the altar. In 1900 he won national fame because of a sermon on gambling. He accepted an invitation to address a large gathering of Nonconformists, and he took as his subject "Why I am a Jesuit." He had many close friends both among Church and Chapel clergymen, yet few men were more severe in their criticism of Protestantism. He exposed Modernism without mercy and declared that the Anglican church was thoroughly honeycombed with it. He had no patience with Higher Criticism, but urged his non-Catholic friends to read their Bibles and to remain loyal to the teachings of the Scriptures. The Anglo-Catholics irritated him particularly because they claimed to be a branch of his own church; and he once declared that of all the hazy theology among the denominations, none was more nebulous than that of the Anglo-Catholics.

In 1901 Father Vaughan became identified with Immaculate Conception Church in London's fashionable Mayfair. Of London's Roman Catholic churches, few are better known than this one, which is known locally as "Farm Street." The Protestant Westminster Abbey, the Catholic Westminster Cathedral and the Farm Street Church are landmarks in the West End. Bernard Vaughan was not in London long until he became involved in two sensational lawsuits, involving the alleged Jesuit Oath. Father Vaughan fought his cases to the end, declaring that the oath is a fabrication of extreme anti-Catholics, and not only did he win his contest, but the cost of litigation eventually ruined one of the periodicals that had printed the oath.

In 1906 he preached a series of sermons on "The Sins of Society." Long before the hour for the sermon the big church was filled to capacity, with long queues of people waiting outside. Side aisles and chapels were filled, people sat on the sanctuary rails and they even climbed to the pedestals that supported images. His first sermon, on the Pharisee and the Publican was used to demonstrate the unreality of society. The second one, on Dives and Lazarus, was on the corruption of society. The third discourse, on Herod Antipas, was directed against violations of holy matrimony. The fourth one, on the Prodigal Son, was a denunciation of gambling and fast living. The fifth of the series rebuked those who were unmoved by human suffering. Father Vaughan treated his subjects in a manner entirely new to London. Many other eminent preachers had preached generally against sin and its hideousness, but Father Vaughan was specific. He declared that it was well enough to become indignant over great sins, but what of the nearby shop-keepers who save their tea leaves after having used them, dry them in the back of the shop, and then use them to adulterate the tea that they sell the poor working men in nearby Pimlico? What of the Mayfair milk dealer who adulterates his milk?

Bernard Vaughan furnished the newspapers with advance copies of his sermons, neatly typed, and for weeks they were printed with editorial comment. He was called the Savonarola of London, and cartoons appeared in the daily papers and in well-known periodicals.

Father Vaughan did not confine his preaching to exclusive Mayfair. In 1902, hardly a year after his arrival in London, he began his open air preaching in the tenement districts. He went down into Whitechapel Road and Commercial Road, in docklands, and catechized a class of 1,200 children of the tenements once a week. It is a very poor neighborhood, and in 1902 its inhabitants were Russians, Poles, Germans and Jews. He carried a crucifix with him, and a good sized bell, walking through the narrow, crowded streets into which the sun rarely shines, calling out to the people, "Who will hear the good news?" In 1911 he conducted a preaching mission in Whitechapel, and during the

three weeks of the mission he preached to 64,000 people. There were processions through the streets, and when Bernard Vaughan mounted his improvised pulpit he did not hesitate to address the people in the Cockney dialect, which he had learned to use so effectively in his college days. Protestant clergymen condemned this, declaring that it was unbecoming conduct for a clergyman to use such a dialect. Father Vaughan went even further, for he went among the Italians and preached to them in their own language, even though his pronunciation was far from perfect.

On one occasion he was asked to return to Manchester and speak at the cornerstone laying of a new church. It was on a week day, and the masons and carpenters continued to work even after Father Vaughan had mounted the platform. He began his sermon by comparing the Christian life to a building under construction. First one mechanic and then another threw down his tools and came to listen. A tram stopped in front of the new church and the tram-driver leaned out to listen. Immediately Father Vaughan began to tell a story about a tram-driver who had led a worldly life, but finally became a Christian. The street-car man left his car, and so did all the people in it, and joined the growing crowd. At the beginning of the sermon there were but 25 people gathered around the platform, but before he had finished, there were hundreds.

Bernard Vaughan had certain mannerisms that were criticized by his acquaintances. He would almost always begin a lecture with the words, "As I came into this hall tonight a man met me at the door and he said . . ." then he would deliberately tell one of the oldest and most threadbare anecdotes, while the audience roared with laughter. He was quick-witted. Once a Protestant clergyman, in introducing him, said, mindful of Father Vaughan's love for publicity, "He is a man who was never known to have taken a back seat." Father Vaughan retorted quickly, "I shall examine my conscience, and if I have ever been tempted to take a back seat, I can assure you that I shall apologize." On one of his American preaching tours he was entertained at a fashionable New York hotel by a group of prominent business men. These executives dispatched telegrams and

received telephone messages throughout the dinner. "You see, Father Vaughan, we Americans lose no time," one of them said. "No — but Eternity!" Vaughan responded. In Chicago he was told that "our Harrison police station is the most noted thing of its kind in the world." "What exactly is proved by that?" he asked, and the crowd around him cheered.

Peter T. Forsyth, (1848-1921)

Principal P. T. Forsyth was a Scotsman, although most of his life was spent in England. He was born in 1848 in Aberdeen. He attended the University of Aberdeen, taking his degree in 1869, and then going to Göttingen, where Albrecht Ritschl was one of his professors. He attended New College, London, and he spent a short time teaching Latin at the University of Aberdeen. He became pastor of a Congregational church at Shipley, Yorks., in 1876; going from there to St. Thomas's Square Church, Hackney, in 1880; then to the Cheetham Hill congregation in Manchester in 1885. From there he was called to Clarendon Park Church, Leicester, in 1889, and in 1894 he became pastor of Emmanuel Congregational Church in Cambridge. In 1901 he was made principal of Hackney Theological College, Hampstead, London; and he was also a member of the faculty of London University, teaching theology. In 1905 he was elected chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales.

Principal Forsyth was a liberal theologian in his early days. About the time of his Leicester ministry he yielded to the spirit of theological unrest which had prevailed for some time. It was a reaction against the rigors of Calvinism. Men who had formerly spoken of the decrees of God now began to lay stress upon the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. The poet Whittier became singularly popular, and his sayings were quoted in the pulpit more often than the inspired writings of St. Paul. The severe God of Calvinism gave place almost overnight to a God of indecision, capable of threatening man with laws which neither He nor man had the slightest intention of enforcing. Great stress was laid upon love, and the preach-

ing of the day, which had once been sternly Calvinistic, became saccharine, and it was tacitly believed that God is too good to condemn any one. Much was said in regard to the Incarnation, and less and less in regard to the Crucifixion. Sanctification was preached from many a pulpit, and justification was all but disregarded. More and more did men come to look upon the Cross merely as an example of supreme love.

Dr. Forsyth did not escape some of the prevailing theological liberalism of his day. He took an active part in the Leicester Conference, which was a liberal gathering. At one time an investigation was ordered, and P. T. Forsyth and Allanson Picton were questioned in regard to their theological views. It led to the withdrawal of Mr. Picton from the Congregational Church, and he became leader of a pantheistic cult. However, Dr. Forsyth did not remain a pronounced liberal. As time went on he became more conservative, and during the second decade of the twentieth century he came to be regarded as a moderate evangelical, although still influenced by the teachings of F. D. Maurice, and of his old professor, Albrecht Ritschl. He accepted the deity and the authority of the Lord Jesus Christ, and yet he looked upon the teachings of St. Paul as of greater authority than those of the Four Gospels, considering them the posthumous doctrines of the Saviour. An extended analysis of Principal Forsyth's theology appeared in the *Homiletic Review*.³⁷

Principal Forsyth was a notable preacher, and it has been said that his brilliancy of intellect and his incisiveness may be compared to the same qualities in his old professor, Principal Fairbairn. The influence of Ritschl is not altogether absent. Principal Forsyth's finest sermons were his Thursday evening discourses to his students in the little chapel of Hackney College. There are many who regret that these incisive sermons were not taken down in shorthand, edited by Forsyth and published. Forsyth himself was too nimble a thinker to be a good writer. His thoughts crowded upon one another, and his staccato sentences often

³⁷. September, 1913, pp. 179-185.

give the impression of incompleteness, if not of vagueness. His students understood him, but the average reader finds his writings difficult.

Modernism was the prevailing fashion in his day, and he was all too familiar with it through painful personal experience. He had known, on the one hand, the arid liberalism of those whose faith had been shaken by naturalistic science, Higher Criticism and certain pseudo-philosophies of that generation; and on the other hand an optimistic, superficial form of evangelicalism that lacked a solid doctrinal foundation. Forsyth sought to convince a generation that had discarded what they termed the doctrine of penal satisfaction. He endeavored to give them a form of theology centered upon the Cross, and based upon the holy love of God. Declaring that "this humanist day" is passing, he called for "a faith more profound in its note, more tragic in its tone, and more redemptive in its effect," and "a positive and featured faith" centered upon the atoning Cross of the Eternal Son of God. "The Word of the world's redemption by holy love must seize the conscience in the world's great heart." His *The Church and the Sacraments*, originally appeared in 1917, and was reprinted in 1948 in honor of his centenary. It discusses the Church and the Ministry, as well as the Sacraments. In it he not only calls for a return to a Cross-centered faith, but he offers a form of theology that he believes will satisfy his generation.

Forsyth has been compared to Barth, and Barth's son, Dr. Markus Barth, is said to have declared: "You did not need my father in this country. You had Forsyth."³⁸ However, there is a difference between Forsyth and Barth. Canon J. K. Mozley, who is not of Forsyth's denomination, called him "a bell ringing in the night," and said, "that very bell sounded in England long before it was heard on the Continent, and the bell-ringer was Forsyth."³⁹

Principal Forsyth was outwardly austere, practicing self-discipline himself, and impressing it upon his students; yet he was a kindly, thoughtful man, and not without an occa-

³⁸. *British Weekly*, July 22, 1948, p. 4.

³⁹. *Ibid.*

sional flash of humor when lecturing to his students. It was he who defined a nepotist as one, who being evil, yet knows how to give good gifts to his children. He never forgot his students. If one of them suffered a personal bereavement, whether in college or after his ordination, Principal Forsyth at once wrote him a letter, and often several letters, and his old students declare that these are models of all that such letters should be.

Forsyth, in his later years, was a sharp featured man, and without the ruddiness of complexion that one associates with the people of the British Isles. He spoke rapidly, rather quietly, but with an incisiveness that commanded attention. Aware that he was considered difficult to understand, he sought by means of definitions and epigrams to make his meaning clear. If judged by a single spoken discourse, Principal Forsyth has been thought by some who have heard him to carry this anxious effort at clearness to the point of tediousness; but men who heard him several times, and who became accustomed to his manner of preaching, have often insisted that he was not only a great theologian, but one of the most impressive preachers of the early twentieth century. It is doubtful whether the common people, who flocked to hear C. H. Spurgeon, Joseph Parker and A. H. Stanton would have understood Principal Forsyth, but clergymen and theological students idolized him. Through his influence many a Modernist lost much of his self-assurance, and turned to the neo-orthodoxy that prevailed in some quarters.

In addition to his *The Church and the Sacraments*, (1917), Principal Forsyth wrote: *The Person and Place of Jesus Christ*, (1909); *The Work of Christ*, (1910); *The Charter of the Church*, (1896); *The Holy Father and the Living Christ*, (1897); *Christian Perfection*, (1899); *The Taste of Death and the Life of Grace*, (1901); *Positive Preaching and the Modern Mind*, (1907); *This Life and the Next*, (1918); *The Cruciality of the Cross*, (1909); *Faith, Freedom and the Future*, (1912); *Theology in Church and State*, (1915) and *The Justification of God*, (1916). An analysis of Principal Forsyth's theology may be found in Canon J. K. Mozley's *The Heart of the Gospel*, (1925) and

in Gwilym O. Griffith's *The Theology of P. T. Forsyth*, (1948). Harry Escott's *Peter Taylor Forsyth*, (1948), and the recent reprints of Forsyth's more important books, are also worthy of mention.

Charles A. Berry, (1852-1899)

C. A. Berry was born in 1852, of Scottish ancestry, at Bradshawgate, Leigh, Lancashire. He was educated at a Wesleyan day school and at Airedale College, Bradford, where he took his classical and theological studies between 1869 and 1874. His college and seminary days proved to be a period of theological unrest to many men. The writings of Carlyle, the liberal views of F. W. Robertson, Macleod Campbell and F. D. Maurice were being read and discussed, as well as the theories of J. S. Mill, Bishop Colenso and many others. The old Calvinism was on the decline; and the theory of evolution, the views of the rationalistic German higher critics and a gradual decline of evangelical conservatism were causing much unrest. Charles Berry was looked upon as a young man of singular promise, and the old patriarchs in the little chapels where the boys from the seminary were accustomed to supply, pronounced him "a lad o' pairts."

In 1875 Berry became pastor of St. George's Road Congregational Church, Bolton. The congregation worshiped in a handsome building seating between 1100 and 1200 persons. Shortly after his settlement in Bolton, the young pastor had an experience almost identical to that of William Haslam, of Baldhu. Late one night a Lancashire girl, wearing clogs, and with an old shawl over her head, appeared at his door and begged him to come quickly and visit a dying woman. At the bedside of this woman, in one of the worst parts of Bolton, Berry attempted to prepare her for Eternity. He spoke of the beautiful life that the Lord Jesus had led, and of His influence as an Example, a Teacher and a great Leader. "Maister, that's no good for me," declared the dying woman firmly. "Maister, I've lived an awfu', sinful life, and I don't want no Example and I don't want no Leader, but I do want a Saviour. Can't you tell me of the Saviour, and tell me how He can come and *get me in*?"

There at the bedside of the troubled woman, young Berry realized the great error of his preaching. He had been laying great emphasis upon Jesus Christ the Example, and not upon Jesus Christ the Saviour of sinners. He sat down beside the dying woman and, casting aside all his theories, tried to recall everything that his parents had taught him in his childhood days. He told her of man's hopeless nature, conceived and born in sin, of God's great love for mankind, of His gift of His only begotten Son, of the perfect righteousness of Jesus Christ, and of His suffering, death and resurrection for the sins of the human race, and of the gift of Redemption through the grace of God and merit of Jesus Christ. As the day dawned, the old woman died, rejoicing in her Saviour. "I got her in," declared Dr. Berry to J. H. Jowett, "and I got in myself."

In 1880 Mr. Berry visited America, and in 1883 he was called to Queen Street Congregational Church, Wolverhampton, a down town church seating 1300, where he had five full-time helpers, and several affiliated missions. In 1887, when H. W. Beecher died, the world was astonished to hear that Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, had called C. A. Berry of Wolverhampton as his successor. Berry was hardly known in America, yet the call was all but unanimous. Mr. Berry declined the call, declaring that he had important work to do in England. In 1890 he declined a call to Westminster Chapel, Buckingham Palace Gate, London, called "the cathedral of Nonconformity." He entered upon the general work of his denomination, becoming chairman of the Congregational Union and an active leader in the Free Church Federation. In 1899 he was asked to preach the funeral sermon of his old family physician, who was a very close personal friend as well. After an unusually eloquent sermon, Dr. Berry left the pulpit only to collapse and die near the casket of his old friend. He had been stricken at the early age of 46.

While Dr. Berry bore witness to Jesus Christ the Saviour, yet he chose to keep an open mind toward modern views in regard to such things as Inspiration. He accepted the Bible as God's Word, but the exact authorship and dates

of the Books of the Bible did not seem to him important. Fortunately he did not drift far away, as did so many men who attempted to hold a like position.

Dr. Berry's preaching was marked by a vividness of expression and action. He loved to visit a Lancashire cotton mill, or to walk through a Staffordshire blast furnace. So keen were his powers of observation that he could preach to a group of mill-hands, drawing illustrations from their daily lives, and using them in a striking manner to drive home spiritual truths. In his later visits to America he could go through a paper mill, for example, and if the alarm gongs rang, indicating that some big machine was "making broke," Dr. Berry would use the incident in a vivid manner on the following Sunday as an illustration of some doctrinal teaching.

Amzi C. Dixon, (1854-1925)

When Archibald Brown closed his brief pastorate at Metropolitan Tabernacle in London, an American was called to fill the pulpit made famous by Charles H. Spurgeon. He was Dr. A. C. Dixon, who had been born in North Carolina in 1854, whose father was Thomas Dixon and whose brother was Thomas Dixon, Jr., the famous novelist. A. C. Dixon received his education in Wake Forest College, North Carolina, where he was graduated in 1875. His religious training was received at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. He began to preach at the age of 19, and was ordained in 1876. A number of short, but successful pastorates followed: the Baptist Church at Chapel Hill, N. C., in 1877; the Baptist Church at Ashville, N. C., in 1880; Emmanuel Baptist Church in Baltimore, where he spent eight fruitful years from 1883 to 1890; then from 1890 to 1896 at Hanson Place Baptist Church in Brooklyn, N. Y.; going from there in 1896 to the Ruggles Street Baptist Church in Boston; then a significant pastorate of five and one-half years at the Moody Church in Chicago, from 1906 to 1911.

It was in 1911 that he was called to the Spurgeon Tabernacle in London. There were some who looked upon it as a doubtful experiment. Torrey and Alexander, the Amer-

ican evangelists, had conducted an evangelistic campaign in 1905 in Royal Albert Hall, not far away. While thousands of London people were staunch friends of these evangelists, yet certain London newspapers had shown a spirit of hostility toward what they considered the "application of the methods of big business to religion." When it was learned that Dr. Dixon was an evangelist, the same newspapers once more expressed their lack of confidence in aggressive American methods of religious work. When it was rumored, perhaps with a certain degree of truth, that Dr. Dixon was hoping to buy the Elephant and Castle, a famous public-house in the shadow of Metropolitan Tabernacle, and that he planned to use it for a Bible institute, the newspapers were not at all friendly. The fact must not be overlooked that England was not accustomed to such things as display advertizing in the Underground tube stations, nor did they attempt expansion projects that involved hundreds of thousands. They admitted freely that the new religious methods of America were often "colossal," yet they feared that there were times when such things "might easily become vulgar."

Dr. Dixon went to Metropolitan Tabernacle admitting frankly that he was an evangelist of the soul-winning kind, and that he intended to carry out evangelistic methods even though it was acknowledged quite generally that revivalism was on the decline. He let it be known from the outset that he was a Fundamentalist of the most pronounced kind. He defended the doctrine of plenary and verbal inspiration, he opposed evolution in all its forms, he made not the slightest concession to the findings of the Higher Critics, he spoke against the New Theology of the R. J. Campbell type and he warned against the teachings of Christian Science. Dr. Dixon's creed was not merely a negative one. He upheld the traditional teachings of evangelical Christianity, as he understood them.

Dr. A. C. Dixon made a fine impression in the pulpit. He stood six feet or more in height, and his strong, resonant voice filled the great church without difficulty. It was a pleasant voice. Even when he denounced sin he never did it in a tone of sharp reproof. His words were empathic, he painted sin in its blackest colors, he held out not the

slightest hope for the unrepentant sinner, yet he did it all in a tone of voice that suggested a friend coming with an urgent warning. Dr. W. A. Sunday denounced sin in a vehement manner, but there were times when his voice had a ring of sharpness to it. Not so with Dr. Dixon. He was able to picture sin in all its hideousness, but he never gave one the impression that he was pointing a finger in anger at the sinner: rather did he come with a helpful attitude, as though he were saying to us, "You are guilty of these sins that I have described, and the wages of sin is death; but I am here not only to preach the Law to you, but to show you the way of escaping the penalty which you deserve, namely through the blood which your Saviour shed for you on the cross."

Dr. Dixon, while evangelistic, was not an evangelist of the sensational kind. He had little confidence in the extreme type of evangelism that is noted for what is commonly called "high-pressure methods." His preaching was straight-forward and evangelical, but he avoided the familiar tricks of the sensationalist. His form of church service was dignified, yet by no means dull. His deportment in the pulpit suggested the church rather than the revival tent. In 1914, about three years after Dr. Dixon came to Metropolitan Tabernacle, Dr. Leonard G. Broughton was called to Christ Church, Westminster Bridge Road. Both were Americans, both from North Carolina, both were outspoken Fundamentalists, and they were called to churches less than half a mile apart, and two of the most important pulpits in London.

Dr. Dixon's success at Metropolitan Tabernacle was an answer to the threadbare assertion of the liberalists that old-fashioned religious teachings had lost their appeal. His church remained a great center for what is called in America Southern Baptist Fundamentalism. He proved that there are thousands of people who care little for the type of preaching that questions the account of Babel and ridicules the record of Jonah and the great fish. Not only was A. C. Dixon able to fill the Tabernacle at his two Sunday services, but 1,200 to 1,500 people came to his mid-week

service to hear him defend just those teachings that modern thinkers had declared absurd. Capacity congregations are not necessarily a test of a clergyman's worth, even though superficial thinking would have us believe otherwise. Dr. Dixon did more than attract large congregations. His preaching strengthened the church numerically and spiritually. While he did not employ popular revival methods, yet he gave people a chance to meet him after each service, and there were very few occasions when some did not remain to speak with him. People who had become spiritually indifferent became active Christians once more, others were won from the great unchurched majority. South London, at that time, had a population of almost 1,800,000, and a census made in 1905 showed that five men out of every six, and four women out of every five attended no church.

Dr. Dixon returned to America in 1922 and became pastor of University Baptist Church in Baltimore. He died in 1925 at the age of 71. Several books of his sermons have been published, and a series of booklets on such subjects as Destructive Criticism, Spiritism, Evolution and Christian Science. He published a series of 24 sermons entitled *Milk and Meat*, (1893); 21 sermons bearing the title of *Glories of the Cross*, (1912); and 19 sermons called *Through Night to Morning*, (1913). Other books by Dr. Dixon are: *The Bright Side of Life*, (1912); *Evangelism Old and New*, (1905); and *Young Converts' Problems*, (1905). Some of his smaller works are: *Present Day Life and Religion*, (1905); *Heaven on Earth*, (1896); *Destructive Criticism vs. Christianity*, (1912); *The Christian Science Delusion*, (1903); *Reconstruction: the Facts against Evolution*, (1919); *Spiritualism: is it of God or of the Devil?* (n. d.); *The True and the False*, (1890); *Lights and Shadows*, (1898); *Higher Critic Myths*, (1921); and *Back to the Bible*, (1912). His biography, *A C. Dixon, a Romance of Preaching*, (1931), was written by H. C. A. Dixon.

William J. Dawson, (1854-1928)

William J. Dawson, whose efforts to reach the neglected portion of his community, attracted attention in two coun-

tries, was born at Towchester, not far from Oxford, in 1854. Part of his early life was spent in Cornwall. He was educated at Kingswood School, Bath, and at Didbury College, Manchester. In 1875 he was ordained by the Wesleyan Methodists, and served several congregations, among which were Wesley's Chapel, in City Road, London, and churches in Glasgow and Southport. In 1892 he became a Congregationalist and was called to Highbury Quadrant Church, London, in 1892.

Mr. Dawson's awakening came after having served Highbury Quadrant Church for ten years. When on holiday in August, 1902, he was distressed with the thought that all was not well with his congregation. They had enjoyed numerical growth, and during his decade in London, a highly organized church had been built up, composed of some of the most cultured people of the neighborhood. In spite of all this outward success, Mr. Dawson had an uncomfortable feeling that the real breath of life was lacking. He himself had established a fine reputation as a cultured preacher, who delivered admirable ethical sermons on such subjects as "The Fear of Self." He was looked upon as second to none in ethical psychology, and his character analysis of the Dying Thief, and the Centurion at Capernaum had received warm praise. He considered all these things, and was satisfied neither with himself nor with his congregation, but at the time he was unable to discover just what was lacking.

It was the elder Gipsy Smith, and other such realistic men, who gave him the answer a few months later, at the meeting of the National Free Church Council, held in March, 1903, at the great seaport city of Brighton. Mr. Dawson was one of the essayists. The convention proceeded for several days in the aimless fashion of many such gatherings. Lamentations were heard on every hand. Something was wrong with the church life of England, for neither Nonconformity nor the Established Church were reaching the people. In spite of all their efforts, a scant one-tenth of England's population were actually attending Church or Chapel. Many reasons were suggested, and remedies proposed.

Late one night one of the men attending the convention, perhaps Gipsy Smith himself, arose and said: "We have been talking for several days about reaching the unchurched. Why don't we do something about it? Here we are in this large city of Brighton, with the drunkards and the wastrels all about us. We pass them by, come to this convention hall and bewail the fact that the religious forces of England are not reaching the neglected. I propose that every man present tonight go out into the back streets of Brighton tonight, right now, and bring back to this hall whoever we might find, and bring them under the influence of the Law and the Gospel."

By some miracle these ringing words commanded respect. Instead of debating the matter, a motion was made, and the convention, one thousand strong, went out into the streets at 10:30 at night. When they returned they had perhaps the largest assembly of outcasts that had been gathered in many a year. Gipsy Smith, in his inimitable way, preached. It was entirely impromptu, but in direct, simple language, he pictured the hideousness of sin, and the welcome that awaits the sinner who repents and comes to the foot of the Cross. As he preached, William J. Dawson discovered the important element that was lacking in his own sermons, and the spirit that was absent in his great congregation in North London. At the close of Gipsy Smith's sermon at midnight, scores of drunkards and outcasts poured into the inquiry room, confessing their sins, and seeking to know the requirements for Christian living.

William Dawson went back to London with a zeal in his heart that he had not known since the early days of his ministry, 28 years before. His ethical sermons became evangelical in tone. He called upon his fashionable congregation in a manner that recalls the words of W. J. E. Bennett, of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, in 1844, urging them to consider the plight of the vast population surrounding Highbury Quadrant. What were they doing to reach such people? Consider the districts of Highbury, Clissold Park, Stoke Newington, Stamford Hill and Finsbury Park, with its thousands of people who never enter a church. After some

weeks of such preparatory work, Gipsy Smith was invited to come and conduct a preaching mission at Highbury Quadrant Church. The climax came one night when almost a thousand people, headed by a brass band, went through the streets of the community. They returned, 3,000 strong. Gipsy Smith addressed one of the most unusual congregations that North London had ever seen. During the weeks that followed, the interest did not die out. So many of the unchurched, the poor and the neglected came to Highbury Quadrant Church that it was actually necessary to ask the older members of the congregation to stay away, in order to give the newcomers room. A great Thursday evening service was started for just such people as these. Within a period of ten days, 20,000 people attended service at Mr. Dawson's church. Not only did they reach the poor of the community, but many cultured people, of the well-to-do classes, who had not been in the habit of attending church, were gained.

Mr. Dawson conducted a preaching mission in November, 1904, at Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., once served by Henry W. Beecher. He told the story of his experience at Highbury Crescent, declaring that one reason for indifference and decay in a large congregation, is due to a lack of interest in the outcasts and the poor of the community, — this, and a pastor who neglects to plead with men for their redemption through Jesus Christ the Saviour of mankind. In 1905 Dr. Dawson resigned his London pastorate and engaged in the work of preaching missions in England and America. From 1912 to 1925 he was pastor of First Presbyterian Church, Newark, N. J.

During his earlier days Mr. Dawson accepted to a certain extent the theories of the German higher critics. His preaching, prior to the Spring of 1903, was thoroughly ethical, and the facts of sin and redemption were taken for granted, but not emphasized to a great degree. He published a number of books of sermons, and those of his earlier days are entirely ethical. They are interesting studies of Bible heroes, and detailed discussions of the good civic virtues that should be found in every Christian. He did not

succeed in giving up entirely his views in regard to Biblical criticism, but he reached a stage where he declared that it meant little to him whether the negative critics could find one Isaiah, two Isaiahs or twenty Isaiahs. He considered such things of but slight importance when compared to the truth that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, and came into this world to redeem mankind from their sins. Like many men who called themselves liberal evangelicals, he considered it his duty to preach Christ crucified, but to regard as a matter of secondary importance the question of the exact dates and authorship of the various books of the Bible. In some of his books of sermons, Mr. Dawson shows a preference for the ethical and psychological, rather than for an exposition of the great doctrines of redeeming grace. This was especially true of the books that he wrote previous to the year 1903, when his sermons were often psychological studies of Bible characters. His *Life of Christ*, published in 1901, lays disproportionate stress upon the human nature of our Lord. Some of Mr. Dawson's more important books are: *Manhood: Sermons to Young Men*, (1889); *The Threshold of Manhood*, (1889); *The Church of Tomorrow*, (1892); *Quest and Vision*, (1892); *The Comrade Christ, and Other Sermons*, (1894); *Making of Manhood*, (1894); *The Story of Hannah*, (1896); *The Endless Choice, and Other Sermons*, (1897); *Table Talks with Young Men*, (1898); *The Man Christ Jesus*, (1901); *The Reproach of Christ, and Other Sermons*, (1903); *The Evangelistic Note*, (1905); *The Empire of Love*, (1907); *The Divine Challenge*, (1910); *The Book of Courage*, (1911).

John Wilson, (1854-1939)

John Wilson was born on Whiteburn farm, near Forfar and Thrums in Scotland. He received his education at Craichie and at Forfar Grammar School. In 1874 he entered Spurgeon's Pastor's College, and he also attended King's College. After serving for a time as student pastor at Chiswick, he went to Launceston, in the Duchy of Cornwall, where he founded a church. In 1877 he became pastor of a small congregation of 90 communicants at Woolwich, an outlying area of London. While at Woolwich a pleasure

steamer, the *Princess Alice* was sunk in the Thames with a loss of 600 lives. John Wilson delivered the sermon at the funeral of the victims, and in so doing his eloquence and his ability to convey the comfort of God's Word to the sorrowing became evident to the citizens of his community.

During the many years that Dr. Wilson served his great congregation, Woolwich Tabernacle became one of the most important places of worship in Greater London. The foundation stone of a great new Tabernacle was laid in 1895 by the Rev. J. A. Spurgeon, brother of the famous C. H. Spurgeon, in whose memory Woolwich Tabernacle was built. Toward the end of Dr. Wilson's pastorate, his Tabernacle had a Sunday attendance of over 2,200, and among the twenty largest Baptist churches in London it was exceeded only by Spurgeon's Metropolitan Tabernacle.

Dr. Wilson was described as a man possessed of "a fine voice and a warm and believing heart," but he had more than that. He was interested in the poorer classes who flocked into Woolwich, transforming it from a quiet country village into an area of small suburban flats and endless rows of cheerless workingmen's cottages. He preached his evangelical sermons in a manner that proved most acceptable to these humbler people, and during his many years in that community the reputation of Woolwich Tabernacle was nation-wide. Dr. Wilson was a preacher of unusual talents, and in 1937 when a great service was held in Westminster Chapel by Dr. G. C. Morgan, to honor the memory of Dwight L. Moody, it was Dr. Wilson who was selected to deliver the anniversary sermon.

Robert F. Horton, (1855-1934)

Robert F. Horton, a son of the Rev. T. G. Horton of Tonbridge Chapel, Euston Road, was born in 1855 in London. He attended Tettenhall School, Shrewsbury School and New College, Oxford, where he won distinction for his scholarship. He was made a fellow of New College in 1879 and lecturer in Roman history. In 1880 he became pastor of a new Congregational Church in Hamstead, at that time a suburban area of London. The congregation assembled in a corrugated iron chapel. An arrangement was made

by which Mr. Horton could continue his work at Oxford, and yet serve the mission congregation in London. He was reluctant to leave Oxford, even though his life there was not entirely placid, due to a prejudice that existed in those days against Nonconformists. One of his earliest orations was delivered before the Union. It was an eloquent defense of the right of a Nonconformist to be buried in a consecrated churchyard.

The congregation in London prospered, and in 1883 the foundation stone of a permanent church, seating 1150 persons, was laid. Dr. Robert Moffat the missionary delivered the sermon. Almost from the start Mr. Horton delivered a monthly lecture to artisans, which he continued for almost fifty years. He gave up what promised to be a brilliant teaching career at Oxford, and established residence in London. He encouraged his congregation to maintain a mission in nearby Kentish Town, in one of the less prosperous parts of that area. Once a year he conducted a preaching mission in some part of England.

In 1888 Mr. Horton became the object of much unfavorable criticism through the publication of a book in which he questioned the accepted doctrine of Inspiration.⁴⁰ Spurgeon and other prominent men condemned the book as unsound, and Horton was classed with the higher critics. Some of the members of Lyndhurst Road Church withdrew from membership. In 1893 he delivered the Lyman Beecher Lectures at Yale University, in 1898 he was elected chairman of the London Congregational Union, in 1903 of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, and in 1905 he became president of the National Free Church Council. In 1930, after having served Lyndhurst Road Church for fifty years, he was made pastor emeritus.

During his fifty years in London, Dr. Horton gained considerable fame as a preacher. He admitted an interest in the modern theories of science, as well as the speculations of the Biblical critics; but he insisted that the central teachings of Christianity need not depend upon the authority of an infallible Church nor an infallible Bible. It was his belief

⁴⁰ R. F. Horton, *Inspiration and the Bible*, (London, 1887).

that the conclusions of the scientists and the higher critics strengthened, rather than overthrew the truths of Christianity, and from his Oxford days onward he endeavored to reconcile Christian teachings with modern science and Biblical criticism. His friends found a certain mysticism in his preaching, while men such as Spurgeon looked upon him as a representative of the "downgrade movement" of those days.

Dr. Horton and many of his contemporaries failed to realize the inconsistent character of their theology. Like Fionn, in the old legend of the Hebrides, they attempted to ride in two chariots moving in opposite directions. They attempted to detach the great truths of Christianity from the very Book that bears witness to these truths. This contradiction is apparent in several of Dr. Horton's writings. In addition to his *Inspiration and the Bible*, (1887), already mentioned, he wrote, among other things: *Revelation and the Bible*, (1893); *The Teachings of Jesus*, (1895); *The Apostles' Creed*, (1895); *The Women of the Old Testament*, (1897); *Brief Sermons for Busy Men*, (1898); *The Trinity*, (1901); *Does the Cross Save?* (1905); *My Belief*, (1908); and biographies of John Howe, Oliver Cromwell and Alfred Lord Tennyson. An account of his life may be found in his own autobiography, which was published in 1917.

Charles Brown, (1855-1947)

Charles Brown, one of London's eminent Baptist pastors, was born at Clipston, Northamptonshire, in 1855. Working on a farm as a boy, and leaving home for Birmingham when 15 years of age, he prepared himself for Bristol University, and then studied at a Baptist theological school. In 1883 he became pastor at Nailsworth. He was called in 1890 to a newly organized congregation in Ferme Park Road, London. The congregation numbered 71 adherents at his coming, and at the end of ten years a church seating 1000 people was built. He served this congregation for 35 years, and then became pastor emeritus in 1925. Fourteen years later, at the age of 84, he preached the sermon upon the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of the first place of worship of his old congregation. He was

elected president of the Baptist Union of Great Britain in 1910, and of the National Free Church Council in 1912.

Dr. Brown was an attractive preacher, and during his long pastorate at Ferme Park Road and Campsbourne Road Baptist Church he was known throughout London as an able and influential preacher.

Dr. Brown was tall and gaunt. His brow was massive, and his voice was somewhat husky. In his preaching he employed the expository method. "You listened to him and you felt drawn away from Charles Brown to the Saviour Who was always the centre of his message," said Dr. F. Townley Lord in *The British Weekly*. Shortly before his ninetieth birthday Dr. Brown wrote a series of biographical "Reflections," which appeared in nine issues of *The British Weekly* in 1944. He died in Llandudno in June, 1947, at the age of 92.

S. F. Collier, (1855-1921)

When Samuel F. Collier became the head of the Manchester Mission in 1885, there were men who declared that his stay in that city would be brief. Their reason was, "Collier is not a good preacher." Nevertheless Collier remained for 36 years, until his death, and preached to the largest Methodist congregation in the world — a congregation that filled Free Trade Hall to overflowing, Summer and Winter.

Samuel F. Collier was born in 1855 at Runcorn, Cheshire. His father, a Wesleyan Methodist lay preacher, was a man of great force of character. Young Collier was educated at Mill House Academy; at Bickerton House, Southport, a Methodist school; and at Didsbury College, Manchester, which he attended from 1877 to 1881. While in college he conducted mission work with considerable success among a group of navvies, or railway construction men, at Heaton Mersey. In 1881 he was sent for a year to Kent as district missionary for that county, and in 1882 to the Brentford circuit.

Collier's notable Manchester ministry began in 1885, after three years as a circuit preacher. The work in Man-

chester was by no means new. It was started by John Wesley in 1781, and it developed into the Oldham Street Chapel, a large and influential congregation. When the people moved to the suburbs, this chapel was left with but 50 or so members. The old chapel was razed, and a large mission hall was built on the site. Samuel Collier was sent to Manchester for one year, to hold together the 50 or so people during the construction of the new mission hall.

When the new mission hall was opened in 1886, the officials decided to permit Collier to remain for a time. They did this with certain misgivings, for it was said that he was not a good preacher. He lacked fire. However, at the end of a year the big mission hall was filled and Collier had opened a second place of worship in St. James's Theatre nearby, to take care of the overflow. A few months later it was necessary to start a Tuesday mid-day service. In 1889 it was necessary to secure Free Trade Hall as a home for the mission. By 1895 its communicant membership numbered 1484, plus 345 probationers. By 1907 its Sunday-school numbered 4,338, and there were nine Bible classes. No less than 22 religious services were held every Sunday, to say nothing of 49 open air services each week, 33 prayer meetings and 21 services in lodging houses. 28,000 homeless men were fed during 1907, and among the members of their Men's Club were a former English clergyman, several university men and a number of others from good families. These members of the Men's Club were reformed drunkards. The Manchester Mission occupied a four-story building that covered almost half a city block, and its outward appearance was that of a concert hall of a generation or so ago.

It is hardly necessary to say that a considerable staff of workers were necessary to conduct the 22 Sunday services and all the other activities, yet the one man who directed this vast congregation was Samuel F. Collier, and it was he who did more than his full share of the preaching. When he died in 1921, he left but five written sermons, and one of these was the first sermon that he had ever preached, in his college days.⁴¹

⁴¹. Geo. Jackson, *Collier of Manchester*, (London, 1923), p. 109.

S. F. Collier was not a great preacher in the same sense that his friend and neighbor Dr. Alexander Maclaren was great. With Maclaren the preparation of a sermon meant a full week of patient labor. Collier, on the other hand, was kept so busy by a multitude of activities that he had little time for careful preparation. He carried a notebook and pencil with him wherever he went, and he kept it at his elbow during his office hours at the mission. His thoughts were jotted down in this notebook, whenever opportunity offered: during a rare half hour of leisure at the mission, while waiting on a corner for a tram, even while listening to the long story of a beggar.

Samuel Collier had a kindly face, and he was a big, hearty man who loved a good joke, and whose laughter could be heard throughout the building. He had a good presence and a clear, resounding voice that filled the great mission hall. In the pulpit he was entirely serious, and he shunned sensationalism. His sermons were simple and full of common sense. One of his five surviving sermons is entitled "Spiritual Relationship in Christ." His main divisions are: I. What it is not; II. What it is. Such unexpected simplicity would bring forth a hearty laugh in a class in homiletics.

Much time has been spent attempting to account for the great popularity of S. F. Collier. What quality did he possess that enabled him to build up the largest Methodist congregation in the world, and fill the huge mission hall, Summer and Winter, for 36 years? Many answers have been suggested, and among them was that of Mr. Frank T. Bullen, the author. Mr. Bullen said: "I heard a plain, simple Gospel address on the text, 'No man careth for my soul.' None of the arts of the practiced orator were employed, none of that flamboyant extravagance of language which make some popular preachers such a draw, and in the eyes of Christian folk such a failure; but a homely, straight, sensible talk, such as C. H. Spurgeon used to favour us with in old Tabernacle days. And, listening to him, I could understand how such a quiet, reasonable exhortation had still the power, despite modern dicta upon the

foolishness of preaching, to fill this great place with eager listeners all the year round.”⁴²

Perhaps the subjects upon which Mr. Collier preached had much to do with his success. He kept a record book in which he noted the date and text of every sermon. In it one finds such things as these: “For I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ: for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth.” “Holding faith and a good conscience; which some having put away concerning faith have made shipwreck.” “If Thou wilt, Thou canst make me clean.” “If God be for us, who can be against us?” “Be strong in the grace that is in Christ Jesus.” Men who preach such sermons, honest expositions of these texts, will not lack hearers. Mr. Collier was greatly interested in hymns, striving continually to discover those with the greatest spiritual value. He was editor of the *Free Church Council Hymnal*. In 1920-21 he conducted a preaching mission in Australia and New Zealand, where his simple, practical sermons proved attractive to the people in many communities.

W. Y. Fullerton, (1857-1932)

William Y. Fullerton was born in 1857 in Belfast. His grandfather and great-grandfather were Methodist clergymen. As a boy William Fullerton was interested in religion. He attended the Model School in Belfast. When Moody and Sankey visited his native city, young Fullerton attended their services, and was allowed to assist as a personal worker. He went to London with the intention of engaging in secular work, and it was not long until he had made the acquaintance of Mr. Charles H. Spurgeon, who encouraged him to attend his Pastor's College. From 1870 to 1880 he was engaged in evangelistic work with Manton Smith. From 1879 to 1893 he was one of Mr. Spurgeon's assistants, and often preached for him in Metropolitan Tabernacle. In 1894 he became pastor of Melbourne Hall, a large church in Leicester where F. B. Meyer had been pastor. He visited China in 1907-08 in the interest of the Baptist Missionary Society. Visits

⁴². *Op. cit.*

were made to Australia and New Zealand in 1921, to Canada in 1927 and to South Africa and America in 1928.

Dr. Fullerton was one of the most attractive preachers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Tall, bearded, and possessed of a winsome personality, he was called the "happy warrior of the London pulpit." He spoke with a slight Irish brogue, and he had the eloquence and the quick wit of his race. His earliest preaching in London was in lodging houses and on street corners, but Mr. Spurgeon soon discovered his ability, and encouraged him to engage in evangelistic work. He was president of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland in 1917-18.

Mr. Spurgeon's many activities, preaching, teaching and editing, proved arduous, and it became Mr. Fullerton's duty for a time to revise Spurgeon's sermons for the printer. Each sermon was arranged so as to fill exactly twelve pages of print, and Mr. Fullerton's task was to condense or to expand the weekly sermons of the great preacher of Metropolitan Tabernacle so that twelve printed pages might be filled. Fullerton became thoroughly familiar with Mr. Spurgeon's style, and he was able to edit the sermons so skillfully that paragraphs attributed to Spurgeon are sometimes really Fullerton's.

Among Dr. Fullerton's published works, his *Practice of the Presence of Christ* had a wide circulation, and Alexander Whyte declared that it ranks with the famous devotional work of Brother Lawrence, which bears the same title. Fullerton's *Melbourne Hall Sermons*, in two volumes, (1903), and his *Sunset Sermons*, (1929), are typical of his earlier and later preaching. He wrote *Thomas Spurgeon, a Biography*, (1919); *C. H. Spurgeon, a Biography*, (1920); *F. B. Meyer, a Biography*, (1929), and about 24 devotional books. His autobiography is entitled *At the Sixtieth Milestone*, and appeared in 1917.

Rodney Smith, (1860-1947)

Rodney Smith was born in 1860 in a gipsy tent in the parish of Wanstead, near Epping Forest. Five years after his birth, two of the children and then their mother were

taken ill of smallpox. Cornelius Smith, the father of the family, had been imprisoned for three months on a false charge. While in prison he had gained a fragmentary knowledge of Christianity from the chaplain. As his wife lay dying he attempted to point her to the way of salvation through Jesus Christ the Saviour. After her death he was almost prostrated with grief. Driving along the highway one day, with his children in their gipsy wagon, he met two of his brothers. He told them of his great loss, and of the burial of his wife in Norton churchyard. The three brothers drove their wagons to Barnwell, where a woman gave them a copy of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. None of them could read at that time, and, seeing a young man coming out of a public house, they persuaded him to remain with them for a few hours and read a part of the book to them. He read a selection which included the incident where Pilgrim's burden dropped off when he looked at the Cross. This encouraged the three brothers to drive on to Cambridge and to attend Sunday service at the Primitive Methodist Chapel in Fitzroy Street. They drove on to Shepherd's Bush, a London suburb, and camped near a mission hall. They attended the preaching services at the hall, and in a short time all three of them professed Christianity. This was the beginning of the career of the "three gipsy preachers" who became well known in all the gipsy camps surrounding London. They began preaching to the gipsies, as well as in the mission halls and the chapels of the "gorgios," or people who are not gipsies. Unable to read or write at the outset of their career, it was necessary for them to memorize various selections from the Bible, until interested friends taught them to read.

Rodney, the son of Cornelius Smith, was brought to a knowledge of Christianity through the example of his father. The boy determined to follow in the footsteps of his father and his two uncles, and by strict economy he managed to buy three books: a Bible, an English dictionary and a copy of Professor Eadie's *Bible Dictionary*. His father sent him to school for a few months, but otherwise Rodney Smith was self-educated. He was a diligent worker, and by the time he had reached the age of 17, he began to preach.

His first sermons were rehearsed in a turnip field, with no congregation to hear him. Then, one Sunday, seeing many people strolling along a highway in London's outskirts, he followed the example of John Wesley and others. He took his stand in a prominent place and began to sing. A crowd soon gathered, and there he preached his first sermon.

The Rev. William Booth was told of the gipsy boy, and he invited him to come to the Christian Mission, in Whitechapel Road, London. It was no easy matter to give up the carefree life of the gipsy wagon, and parting with his father, his brothers and sisters, was an ordeal for the lad, then but a few months past his seventeenth birthday. Buying himself a frock coat, he went to London and became associated with the Whitechapel Mission. He was allowed to preach now and then in the mission hall, at outdoor services, and at other mission stations. So rapid was his progress that he was sent to Whitby, Bradford, Sheffield, Bolton, West Hartlepool and Manchester. Then he was stationed for a time at Plymouth, and from there he was sent to Chatham, where the mission grew from 35 people to 250 within nine months. Mission work at Newcastle, Hull and Hanley followed.

In 1878 the Christian Mission became the Salvation Army, and "Gipsy" Smith became Captain Smith. In 1882 the people at Hanley presented Captain Rodney Smith with a gold watch, which he accepted. This incident led to his dismissal from the Salvation Army, for the accepting of a gift was looked upon as a technical violation of regulations. When the people of Hanley learned of Captain Smith's dismissal, they secured a building seating 4,000, and here Smith remained for four years, preaching to great congregations.

Mr. Smith conducted a successful preaching mission in London, at St. James' Church, a congregation of the Bible Christian denomination. From 1886 to 1889 he conducted preaching missions in a number of places, meeting with growing success. In 1889 he resolved to visit America. With a number of letters of introduction from prominent Free Church pastors, he sailed for New York. He went

directly to a Methodist conference where he made a number of acquaintances. Then he visited Dr. Clark, assistant editor of the *Christian Advocate*, who gave him a letter of introduction to Dr. Prince, pastor of the Nostrand Avenue Methodist Church in Brooklyn.

When Mr. Smith called upon Dr. Prince, the latter informed him that he was not in favor of Smith's suggestion of a preaching mission. Undaunted, Mr. Smith attended a midweek service that night at Dr. Prince's church, and was introduced to the two or three hundred people present. Gipsy Smith spoke briefly, but so good an impression did he make that he was urged to stay. He conducted missions in Brooklyn, New York City, Trenton, Philadelphia, Cincinnati and elsewhere, and it was not many months until his fame spread throughout the eastern part of America.

He returned to England, and was associated for a time with Mr. S. F. Collier, in Free Trade Hall, who had begun with 42 people in his congregation and by the year 1890 had 14,000 adherents in Free Trade Hall and its branch missions in Manchester. From this time onward, Gipsy Smith conducted preaching missions throughout the world: America, England, Scotland, Australia, South Africa. He visited America more than 35 times, and was as well known here as in his native land. From 1897 to 1912 he was Missioner to the National Free Church Council.

Few men have equalled Gipsy Smith in power of appeal. Known the world over, the very announcement of his coming was enough to insure a congregation that filled the largest hall to overflowing. Beginning life in a gipsy tent, and unable when a boy to read or write, he became a master of simple, persuasive English. One may listen to him for an hour and not detect the slightest error of grammar, or offense against good taste. He had a fine, flexible voice, with a touch of the pathos of his race. His denunciation of sin was terrible at times, and his testimony against unfaithfulness of testimony was fearless. During one of his last visits to New York he said, (I quote from memory): "New York is a city of beautiful churches. You have your church buildings of great architectural merit; you have excellent

choirs; you have marvellous organizations; you have splendid people — but you don't have Jesus Christ."

Gipsy Smith's preaching was expository, and his exegesis and his theological position were superior to many men who have had much greater educational advantages than he. In a simple, sincere manner, and without the slightest impression of studied pathos, he could tell the story of his stalwart gipsy father, kneeling at the bedside of a dying wife, and struggling to tell her the few facts that he had learned from the prison chaplain concerning sin and salvation. In the same manner he could tell of Mrs. Bella Cook, bedridden for over 35 years, while the open fields surrounding her New York home grew up in large buildings. People came from far and near to see her, because her splendid Christian faith strengthened them; and with no apparent means of support, she contrived in some manner to send 200 turkeys at Thanksgiving time to the poor of her neighborhood. It must not be assumed that Mr. Smith's sermons are largely stories. He introduces such things easily and naturally, as illustrations of some great truth that he has been expounding.

Gipsy Smith's successful career has done much to correct many wrongful notions in regard to gipsies. He assured one that they are highly moral people, and their devotion to one another is a thing that the "gorgio" might envy. They never lie to one another, nor do they cheat one another, although they are less careful in such matters when dealing with persons not of their race. Their family loyalty is so great that no gipsy has ever been known to die in a public alms house, if his plight is known to his own race. The gipsies have a traditional knowledge of God, they insist upon baptism for their children, whom they usually give Bible names, and yet they do not, as a rule, have a clear knowledge of the Saviour. They respond readily to Christian teaching, and show great gratitude to any person who is sincerely interested in their spiritual improvement. They never forget a kind deed. Gipsy men and women of great age have been known, after half a century, to express great joy in meeting the children and grandchildren of some

"gorgio" who once befriended them. They never steal children, as is commonly believed by non-gipsies. In important matters they are honest, although their peculiar code of ethics permits them to steal a few potatoes from a field, with the understanding that they "find" only enough to satisfy their immediate hunger. They see no wrong in pasturing their horses in meadows that do not belong to them, provided the horses are not allowed to remain too long. If a gipsy is arrested, it is usually for some trifling offense, such as pitching his tent in some private wood-lot. Their greatest sins are drinking and profanity.

Gipsy Smith mentions such facts here and there in order to illustrate some truth. For example, gipsies do not often own Bibles, because many of them cannot read; and in the great city of New York thousands are going through life equally ignorant of God's Word, although well able to read the Scriptures, if they only would. Mr. Smith's simple, persuasive style is exhibited admirably in his own autobiography.⁴³ There were times when his oratory was of the old-fashioned kind, as when he told the story of his reception into church membership, and because he was an unknown gipsy boy, nobody thought it worthwhile to shake hands with him after the service and wish him well — none but an old man. "When I reach the glory-land, I will find out that dear old man," he exclaimed, "and while angels shout and applaud, and the multitudes who have been brought to Christ through the gipsy boy sing for joy, I will thank that grand old saint for his shake of the hand and for his 'God bless you!' for he made me feel that somebody outside the tent really cared for a gipsy boy's soul."⁴⁴

Gipsy Smith died aboard the *Queen Mary* August 4, 1947, just before the ship picked up Nantucket light, as she approached New York harbor. The aged missionary had toured America thirty times, and at 87 he was ready to tour again. He had made two missionary journeys that had taken him entirely around the world. He was the last of a memorable group of evangelical preachers; a group that

⁴³. Rodney Smith, *Gipsy Smith, his Life and Work*, (New York, 1906).

⁴⁴. *Op. cit.*, p. 83.

includes C. H. Spurgeon, D. L. Moody, William Bray, Joseph Parker, C. F. Collier, Alexander Whyte, J. H. Jowett, Dinsdale Young and G. Campbell Morgan, to mention but a few of their generation.

Dinsdale T. Young, (1861-1938)

For thirty-two years one of London's most popular preachers was Dinsdale T. Young. His long years of undiminished fame puzzled all clergymen of liberal views, because Dr. Young was a most pronounced fundamentalist. He preached to great congregations in Westminster Hall until a few weeks of his death.

Dinsdale Young, like Joseph Parker, was a Northumbrian, having been born in 1861 at Corbridge-on-Tyne, where his father was a well-known physician. In early life Dinsdale Young decided to become a Methodist preacher, and he began to preach at the age of 15. Even then it was necessary for him to plan with a wisdom beyond his years. He made friends with the local, or lay preachers, accompanied them to the places where they were "planned," and read the Lessons for them. Young as he was, he had learned that not all local preachers are infallible, for occasions would arise when some man could not keep his appointment, and the congregation would be without a supply pastor. Dinsdale Young was on hand to take the place of any such man, and he always had a sermon ready. He attended Headingly Theological College, at Leeds, and was graduated in 1880.

His ordination took place in 1879, and he was the youngest person until then to be ordained a Methodist preacher. He served the usual brief tenures at Highgate in London, Islington, Birmingham and at Centenary Church in York. From there he went to Gravel Lane in Manchester, Bayswater in London, Nicholson Square in Edinburgh and Great Queen Street Church in London.

By the year 1906 his reputation had become so excellent that he was chosen pastor of John Wesley's Church in City Road. It was not long until that venerable church became crowded, and in 1914 it was necessary for Dr. Young

to go to Central Hall, Westminster. The great congregations that came in undiminished numbers to Central Hall proved baffling to the liberalists, who had declared repeatedly that Dinsdale Young would soon preach to empty seats, because of his rigid fundamentalism. He rejected practically everything that the Biblical critics were offering, and he was equally unimpressed by the scientific speculation of his day. He preached the fall of man, original sin, man's totally lost condition by nature, the atonement and justification by faith alone. To him the Bible is God's infallibly inspired Word, regardless of the negative critics, and God created man in His own image, in spite of all the theories of the evolutionists. At the time of the First World War, liberal churchmen declared repeatedly that the servicemen would come home and demand of the Christian Church that she restate her theology so as to conform to a new age. To this Dr. Young replied that a restatement of theology is not the crying need, but rather a clear statement of the old theology.

Dr. Dinsdale Young was a superb pulpit orator, and a defender of evangelical doctrine. However, he never attacked his opponents. He was content to set forth the teachings of God's Word, as he understood them, in a positive manner, and pay no heed to his critics. He often preached or lectured seven to eight times in a single week, and he traveled on an average of 10,000 miles a year in keeping his preaching appointments. He was a diligent reader of Thomas Goodwin and the Puritan writers, a great admirer of Morley Punshon, Dr. Rigg and Charles Garrett, and a friend of Joseph Parker and C. H. Spurgeon. Among his writings is a book,⁴⁵ discussing the secret of successful preaching. In it he gives evidence of little confidence in most of the things offered in modern times as remedies for the empty church. He is firmly convinced that the only way to build up church attendance is to preach Christ crucified. He is a firm believer in the preaching of both Law and Gospel, declaring that a preacher "must wound them with the sword of the Spirit." He must show his hearers "all the mercy" by first of all showing them "all the sin."

⁴⁵. D. T. Young, *Popular Preaching*, (London, 1929).

Dr. Dinsdale Young did more than preach Law and Gospel after the manner of other evangelical preachers. He preached these things with an air of confidence that impressed his congregations powerfully. They had heard the same truths from less eminent preachers, but these seemed more important somehow, when Dr. Young uttered them with a ring of assurance in his voice, and a look of triumph on his face.

"Of all the preachers in England who speak from the vantage ground of a great metropolitan church, and who are entitled to serious consideration by reason of their manifestly attractive power, Dr. Young is the only one who can be called, without any qualification whatever, an old-fashioned, four-square, evangelical preacher of sin and salvation. He is so orthodox that he has become heretical." These words were spoken by one of his contemporaries.⁴⁶

"His natural gifts have rarely been equalled, never excelled," declared Dr. Wardle Stafford.⁴⁷ "He had the architecture of a born preacher. His presence, his manner, his voice, his command of mellifluous English, his consistent and uncompromising adherence to the fundamentals of the Christian faith, secured for him the attention and good will of all who heard him."

It was a dismal day, late in January, 1938, when Dinsdale Young was buried from the great Central Hall in Westminster, London, where he had been pastor for so many years. Great throngs braved the chill drizzle in order to attend the funeral, or to gather outside the hall. Dr. Young's favorite hymns were sung, and among them was "There is a Fountain filled with blood." When the congregation reached the stanza:

"Then, in a nobler, sweeter song,
I'll sing Thy power to save,
When this poor lisping, stammering tongue
Lies silent in the grace,"

the clouds overhead broke for a moment, and a brilliant shaft of sunlight fell slantingly through one of the high

⁴⁶. E. H. Jeffs, *Princes of the Modern Pulpit in England*, (Nashville, 1931).

⁴⁷. J. T. W. Stafford, in *The British Weekly*, January 27, 1938.

windows, and rested upon the casket. The same thing had happened in the nearby Abbey, exactly eight months before at the Coronation, but for some reason this seemed all the more remarkable. Among Mr. Young's published books the following are well known: *Girding on the Armour*, (c.1897); *Unfamiliar Texts*, (1899); *Neglected People of the Bible*, (1901); *The Crimson Book*, (1903); *The Enthusiasm of God*, (1906); *The Travels of the Heart*, (1907); *Messages for Home and Life*, (1907); *Popular Preaching*, (1929); *The Gospel of the Left Hand*, (1909); *Silver Chains*, (1911) and *The Unveiled Evangel*, (1912). The story of his life is set forth in his *Stars of Retrospect*, (1920).

Alfred E. Garvie, (1861-1945)

Principal Garvie was born in 1861 in Zyrardow, Russian Poland, where his father was a linen manufacturer. He received his education in private schools in Poland, in George Watson's College in Edinburgh and at Glasgow University where he was graduated with first honors in philosophy in 1889. He took first honors in theology at Oxford in 1892, and at various times he was awarded prizes and medals for his proficiency in Greek, Latin, logic, literature and moral philosophy. In 1892 he was a lecturer at Mansfield College, Oxford. He was pastor of Macduff Congregational Church in 1893-1895 and of Montrose Congregational Church from 1895 to 1903. From 1895 to 1902 he was examiner in Biblical language and literature at Edinburgh Congregational Hall. In 1902 he became president of the Congregational Union of Scotland. His career as an educator began in 1903 when he was made professor of theism, comparative religion and Christian ethics at Hackney and New Colleges, London. In 1907 he became principal of New College, holding this position for over 30 years. He held official positions in several important organizations, including the Congregational Union of England and Wales, of which he was chairman in 1920; the National Free Church Council, over which he presided in 1923; and the Federal Council of Free Churches, which elected him moderator in 1928.

Dr. Garvie published a formidable list of works, including commentaries, books on Christian apologetics, homiletics and the history of preaching. He was a preacher of recognized ability, describing himself as "a Lutheran rather than a Calvinist." However, Principal Garvie's attitude toward the Bible is that of the modern theologian, rather than that of the Lutheran. In one of his books he has a chapter on "The Preacher and the Bible,"⁴⁸ in which he describes "some of the champions of the older views" as men who "are often so offensive and intolerant that they do not deserve consideration, and even invite a chastisement by speech."⁴⁹ He admits that a preacher will shrink from saying anything that will cause needless pain especially to the older members of the congregation, and yet he feels it to be the duty of the preacher to inform his people in regard to modern scholarship. He suggests that the views of the Higher Critics be expounded in the Bible class, or by means of week-day lectures, even at the risk of estranging some of the older people. "But it is certain that the younger people will respond most gladly to the liberation from doubt and bewilderment that the knowledge of the Bible as it actually is will bring to them."⁵⁰ He says further that "The zealous but unwise defenders of the older views about the Bible by their distortions of what the modern scholarship teaches are doing untold mischief to the cause which they have undoubtedly at heart."⁵¹ Dr. Garvie's chapter on the Bible, and his chapters on "The Preacher and Modern Thought" and on "The Preacher and the Gospel," show only too clearly that he is ready to measure all revealed truth with the defective yardstick of human reason. He is not a radical higher critic, nor is he an extreme modernist; yet the man who takes the half-way position between orthodoxy and modernistic theology may prove more harmful than the extreme type of theological liberalist.

Principal Garvie's energetic nature led him to attempt many things. In addition to his preaching and teaching,

⁴⁸. A. E. Garvie, *The Preachers of the Church*, (London, 1926), pp. 131-145.

⁴⁹. *Ibid.*, p. 134.

⁵⁰. *Ibid.*, p. 142.

⁵¹. *Ibid.*, p. 142.

books on a wide variety of subjects came from his study in rapid succession. Some of these were sent to the publisher without the long and painful labor that their subjects might seem to justify. His *The Christian Preacher*, (1920), is really three books in one, namely a history of preaching, a discussion of the qualifications of the preacher of today and a work on homiletics. In the section on the history of preaching he attempts to cover a vast field in 248 octavo pages, beginning with our Lord and His Apostles and including all periods and countries in a rapid survey, with many extended quotations derived too frequently from secondary sources. It appears to be an outline of a subject to which ten volumes might well be devoted, were one to attempt a thorough survey of all countries. The second and third sections of the same book contain much helpful material, although his concessions to the discredited school of negative textual criticism are not in harmony with orthodox scholarship of our own day.

The following titles, selected from a larger list of his books, will indicate the wide range of Principal Garvie's interests: *The Ritschlian Theology*, (1899); *The Gospel for Today*, (1904); *A Guide to Preachers*, (1906); *Studies in the Inner Life of Jesus*, (1907); *The Christian Certainty Amid the Modern Perplexity*, (1910); *Christian Life and Belief*, (1911); *Studies in Paul and his Gospel*, (1911); *Handbook of Christian Apologetics*, (1913); *The Joy of Finding*, (1914); *The Master's Comfort and Hope*, (1917); *The Purpose of God in Christ*, (1919); *The Christian Preacher*, (1920); *The Beloved Disciple*, (1922); *The Preachers of the Church*, (1926); *The Christian Belief in God*, (1932); *Can Christ Save Society?* (1933); *The Fatherly Rule of God*, (1935). Principal Garvie wrote several commentaries, a book on the ethics of temperance, a book on missions, a volume on Evangelical Christianity and another on the Catholic Church.

G. Campbell Morgan, (1863-1945)

For half a century Dr. G. Campbell Morgan enjoyed undiminished fame throughout Britain and America. He was born in 1863 at Tetbury, Gloucestershire, in the Cots-

wolds, and he held important pastorates and lectureships in both England and America. His father, of Welsh background, was a Baptist pastor. Four months after the birth of Campbell Morgan, the family moved from Gloucestershire to Cardiff, Wales. After attending the elementary school at Chepstow, in the picturesque Wye Valley, the boy was sent to a school at Cheltenham. He united with the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Cardiff, and when but 13 years of age he preached his first sermon. Its subject, "Salvation," was one that formed the center of his preaching for the next 70 years, and the homiletical method that the precocious lad adopted in the case of his first sermon was a favorite method throughout his life. His divisions were: I. A great Salvation (Hebrews 2, 3). II. A common Salvation (Jude 3). III. The Eternal Salvation (Hebrews 5, 9). IV. A present Salvation (II Corinthians 6, 2).⁵²

Family reverses made it necessary for the lad to earn his own living before he was ready for college. While in his 'teens he taught in the Wesleyan Day School at Islington, Birmingham. Later he became a teacher in the Jewish Collegiate School, Birmingham, where he was a master from 1883 to 1886. On Sundays, and during the school vacations, he preached in mission halls in the city and in Wesleyan churches in the surrounding country. During the Summer of 1887 he began his chosen life's work as a missionary, and the following year he became a Wesleyan lay preacher for the Macclesfield, Cheshire District.

In 1888 Mr. Morgan received a rebuff that caused the Wesleyans to lose one of the most brilliant preachers of the time. He applied to the Wesleyan Church for ordination, together with 150 other candidates. He explained to them that it had been necessary for him to support his parents, and for that reason he had been unable to attend college and seminary. He was one of the 105 candidates rejected at that time.

Undiscouraged, Mr. Morgan, then but 25 years of age, went to Hull, in Yorkshire, and engaged in a 13-month

⁵² John Harries, *G. Campbell Morgan, the Man and his Ministry*, (New York, 1930), p. 27.

preaching mission. Twenty street meetings were organized, and Mr. Morgan visited each of them in turn every Sunday, speaking at each of them, if only a few sentences. In addition to these street meetings, he preached twice, and often three times every Sunday in Wilberforce Hall, to congregations that grew quickly to 2000 people.

In 1889 he was called to a Congregational church at Stone, Staffs., and was ordained the following year. While serving Stone, he revived a dying congregation at Eccleshall. In 1891 he became pastor of Heron Court Congregational Church at Rugeley, Staffs., where his Sunday work included a lecture to a men's Bible Class at 9 a. m., sermons at 11 a. m., 3 p. m. and 6 p. m., and a conference at 8 p. m. He was called to Westminster Road Congregational Church, Birmingham, in 1893. The membership numbered 155 communicants, and at the end of three and one-half years it had grown to 430. At Birmingham Mr. Morgan began his weekday Bible lectures that were to be heard throughout the world in the years that followed.

By this time Mr. Morgan's fame had reached London, and in 1893 he was called to New Court Congregational Church, Tollington Park, where such eminent men as Richard Baxter, Daniel Burgess, Thomas Bradbury and a number of others had been his predecessors. His success in London was immediate. People crowded the big church morning and evening, and long queues of people waited outside long before the hours of service. Those who were so fortunate as to gain admittance saw a tall, gaunt, homely young man of 30 years, with a great mop of black hair. His sermons were at least twice as long as those of other preachers, but so exceptional was his expository treatment of his texts that none of his hearers tired for a moment, even on occasions when he preached for well over an hour.

Many requests came to Mr. Morgan from England, America and elsewhere, for sermons and Bible lectures. He preached throughout London and the provinces, and conducted preaching missions of from three to ten days throughout England, Scotland and Wales. It was about this time that his frequent trips to America were begun. Mr. Moody

was greatly impressed with his ability, and in 1896, 1897 and 1898 Mr. Morgan was one of the most highly esteemed lecturers at Northfield, Mass.

In 1900, after the death of Mr. Moody, his son visited London with the intension of persuading Mr. Morgan to go to America as Dwight L. Moody's successor. "It's a plain case of burglary," declared Joseph Parker, when he heard of the younger Moody's visit. In spite of vigorous protests from all over the British Isles, Campbell Morgan came to America in 1901, and became director of Northfield. A farewell service, attended by many British notables, was held at City Temple, with the great building crowded, and throngs of people waiting in the streets outside to catch their last glimpse of one of England's most distinguished preachers.

Determined efforts were made to persuade Mr. Morgan to return to England, and in 1904 he consented to go back for a time, to become pastor of Westminster Chapel, in Castle Lane, near the gates of Buckingham Palace. Dr. Morgan had been impressed with the fact that this great stronghold of London Nonconformity, with its church that seats 2,500, had dwindled to almost nothing. For years it had no pastor, and then men came for brief periods. A powerful preacher was sought in order to rescue Westminster Chapel, Buckingham Gate, from complete dissolution. Dr. Morgan, with all his humility, knew secretly that he was able to do it, and one of the few who could do it. He returned to England, expecting his stay to be just long enough to place Westminster Chapel on a sound basis. At his first service 800 people were present. In the evening the attendance was 1300. Within a week or two there were congregations of 2,000, and in a short time the attendance reached 2,500, with long lines of people waiting outside. One of Dr. Morgan's first acts was to set apart four deaconesses, and send them into the poorer parts of Kensington and Pimlico. He started his famous Friday Bible lectures and his Tuesday afternoon classes for Bible study. His brief stay was extended. Then the war came, and Dr. Morgan remained with his people, often preaching and lecturing with bombers overhead. Hundreds who joined the forces never returned.

Dr. Morgan, who had never allowed current happenings to interfere with his preaching of evangelical doctrine, departed from his custom and preached a series of war sermons that attracted attention throughout the British Empire and America.

Westminster Chapel had become the center of evangelical Nonconformity even before the war years. Its great interior resembles Spurgeon's Tabernacle: a huge rectangle, with seats on the main floor and two tiers of galleries running entirely around the interior of the building. Capacity congregations crowded it morning and evening, and often in the afternoon. It became the rallying place for conservative Protestantism. Before the war, R. J. Campbell, of City Temple, was the spokesman for liberal Protestantism, and Campbell Morgan became the leader of British fundamentalism. Destructive Biblical criticism was the subject of fierce controversy in those days, and after reading a few books from Modernist circles, Dr. Morgan removed these writings from his shelves, and made it a rule not to waste his time on such writings. Whenever the suggestion came that he read what he termed "disturbing literature," he made it a rule to turn with greater intensity to Bible study.

He resolved not to forsake his congregation during the war years, but by 1917 his health was broken, and he resigned. After preaching at Highbury Quadrant Chapel for a year, he returned to America. The three years that he had spent as head of Northfield had been years of brilliant success, but upon his return to America in 1919 he did not return to Northfield. He lived for two years at Lake Winona, Indiana, a Mid-western Fundamentalist headquarters, and from there he moved to Athens, Georgia. During this time he preached and lectured throughout America. His Bible lectures attracted wide attention, and were attended by clergymen of all denominations, as well as lay people. Exegesis can become a dry subject, but Dr. Morgan was able to make it fascinating, and to hold the closest attention of his hearers for an hour and a half. I have heard him take a single word, such as *hamartion*, and base an entire lecture upon it. After a series of expository

lectures, perhaps upon some book of the New Testament, or even upon a single chapter of some such book, there was invariably a revival of interest throughout the city in Biblical exegesis.

Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, one of New York City's most prominent congregations, tried more than once to induce Dr. Morgan to become its pastor. He did preach there in the Summer months, and upon one occasion he supplied their pulpit throughout a Winter. In 1926 he preached for six months at First Presbyterian Church in Cincinnati, going from there to the Los Angeles Bible Institute with which Dwight L. Moody had been identified. In 1929 he became pastor of Tabernacle Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, and later he became professor of Biblical Interpretation at Gordon College of Theology in Boston. In 1932 he returned to Westminster Chapel, Buckingham Gate, London, and was with his old congregation during the Second World War. His church suffered damage by bombs, but Dr. Morgan remained at his post as he had done at the time of the previous war. He died May 16, 1945, at the age of 82.

From the time that the lad of 13 preached his first sermon in a school room at Monmouth until the time of his death was 69 years. During those years many people tried to account for his exceptional popularity as a preacher, but Campbell Morgan remained a puzzle to all of them. He scorned the very things that are believed by the average man to be the qualities of the acceptable preacher. In an age of short sermons he preached sermons at least an hour in length, and often more than that. He detested sensationalism, and his sermons were serious to a degree. He avoided topics of the day, and he seldom made use of controversial subjects. When a wave of liberalism swept through Nonconformity and the Established Church as well, Mr. Morgan clung tenaciously to Fundamentalism. Many men declared that religion, if it was to survive, must adapt itself to the ways of the world; but Dr. Morgan's reply was that there is a sharp distinction between the ways of the world and the ways of Christianity, and therein lies Chris-

tianity's great glory. This man, who had been refused ordination when 25 years of age, because his trial sermon before the examining committee was considered unsatisfactory, lived to become perhaps the most distinguished preacher of his generation. He had been assured that his lack of a college and seminary education would prove a certain obstacle to success, and keep him forever in the category of the "local" or lay preacher, yet for over half a century he preached in the most important pulpits in England, Scotland, Wales and America, and he lectured to great gatherings of admiring clergy. They crowded the Summer conferences whenever he gave a series of exegetical lectures, and they came in numbers to any church in which he preached. Regardless of their denominational connection, these clergymen came away declaring that he was superb. On one occasion a group of pastors holding membership in the most conservative branch of the most confessional of all American religious bodies, attended Dr. Morgan's lectures for a week, note books in hand. They came away declaring that he was thoroughly sound, insofar as they could see. On that particular occasion the distinguished preacher avoided certain subjects, such as Chiliasm, and he made no mention of the Real Presence, either for or against it. He was very definite in regard to sin, and the salvation which is found in Jesus Christ alone, yet he said nothing in regard to synergism, and its next-of-kin, foreseen faith.

A clergyman who sat spell-bound through one of Dr. Morgan's sermons, which was an hour and a half in length, asked some of his fellow clergymen how any man would dare preach so long to a twentieth century congregation. To this another pastor replied, "The only man who would dare to do it is the man who has something very important to say." In spite of his lengthy sermons, Campbell Morgan received numerous calls to important congregations, and even after his great shock of hair had turned snow white, these calls continued to come to him. It is not true, as certain liberalistic writers declare, that this great leader of evangelical Nonconformity had outlived his era, for he was in great demand even after passing the age of fourscore years.

Campbell Morgan published many books. From the year 1897 until the time of his death, there was hardly a year that one or two volumes did not appear. His *Analysed Bible*, in 10 volumes, (1907-08), is well known, while his *Parables of the Kingdom*, (1907), and *Crises of the Christ*, (1903) are to be found in many a clergyman's library. Dr. Morgan published commentaries on the Psalms, on the first five books of the New Testament and on some of the Pauline Epistles. Others of his writings are expositions of certain parts of the Bible, such as his *The Ten Commandments*, (1901); *The Study of the Teachings of the English Bible*, 2 volumes, (1910); *Living Messages of the Books of the Bible*, 2 volumes, (1912); *Great Chapters of the Bible*, (1935); *Searchlights from the Word*, (1936); *The Bible and the Cross*, (1909); *Categorical Imperatives of the Christian Faith*, (1930) and *A First Century Message to Twentieth Century Christians*, (1902). Another group of books are devoted to the life and teachings of our Saviour. In addition to the two well-known ones that have been mentioned, he wrote *The Hidden Years in Nazareth*, (1898); *The Christ of Today*, (1905); *The Teaching of Christ*, (1913); *The Great Physician*, (1937) and *Parables and Metaphors of Our Lord*, (1943). One of his last works was *The Triumphs of Faith*, (1944), a study in Hebrews 11. These are but a few of Dr. Morgan's long list of published works, and we select them as representative of the subjects in which he was interested.

Many of Dr. Morgan's books are written in a compact manner, and may not prove so attractive to superficial readers as some of the light and worthless religious literature that is displayed so profusely on the tables of the book shops. A professor of homiletics in one of America's largest theological seminaries, and presumably a conservative stronghold, urged his students to read the works of a notorious Modernist "because of their fine literary style." It so happens that the style which he so much admired is that of the newspaper reporter and not of the pulpit, the method topical and not expository, and its subject matter the same psychology that was so popular as a college elective during the first decade of the century. Had the professor

of homiletics directed attention to Campbell Morgan's two shelves of books, the students might have found a less breezy literary style, but they would have learned the art of expository preaching, and the value of the great themes of Redemption. Dr. Morgan falls short of Dr. George Stoeckhardt, whose commentaries on Romans, Ephesians, I Peter, some of the Psalms and portions of Isaiah, combine admirable exegesis and a comprehensive doctrinal foundation.

H. Hensley Henson, (1863-1947)

H. Hensley Henson was a man whose words commanded attention in the pulpit, in the Church Assembly and in the House of Lords. A sharp-tongued critic of modern civilization, as well as of certain popular tendencies in Church and State, he was long a man of influence. He was born in London in 1863. His father, a layman of pronounced evangelical views, prided himself in a theological library that included a number of standard works. The family moved to Broadstairs, where Hensley Henson received his preliminary education in a day school. His stepmother was a German woman who had had a taste for literature, and she encouraged the boy to matriculate at Oxford, which he did in 1881. He was a fellow of All Soul's College from 1884 to 1891. From 1887 to 1888 he was head of Oxford House, Bethnal Green, from 1888 to 1895 he held the vicarage of Barking, Essex, and from 1895 to 1900 he was incumbent at St. Mary's Hospital, Ilford. In 1897 he was appointed chaplain to the Bishop of St. Alban's, and from 1900 to 1912 he was rector of St. Margaret's, Westminster, the church that stands in the shadow of Westminster Abbey, and in which a number of members of Parliament worship. It was while at St. Margaret's that his quiet, incisive sermons began to attract more than ordinary notice.

In 1911 Hensley Henson was made Sub-Dean of Westminster and from 1912 to 1918 he was Dean of Durham and professor of modern history at Durham University. In 1917 he caused a sensation by preaching in the Congregational City Temple, the scene of Joseph Parker's distinguished ministry and then of R. J. Campbell's shorter pastorate. At the morning service at which Mr. Henson preached, Principal

Garvie, of Hampstead, officiated, and in the evening Dr. Shakespeare, president of the Free Church Council, had charge of the service. The Dean of Durham in a Nonconformist pulpit caused considerable comment in Anglican circles. On the following Sunday Mr. Henson occupied the pulpit of St. Sepulchre's, Holborn, near City Temple. The subject of his sermon was, "The Failure of Lutheranism no Disproof of the Reformation." This caused surprise to many Nonconformists.

From 1918 to 1920 Hensley Henson was Bishop of Hereford and from 1920 to 1939 he was Bishop of Durham. In 1935 he attracted attention throughout the world by a sharp attack upon Jewish persecution. This address, which was delivered before the Assembly, did much to direct attention to the treatment of the Jews in Central Europe, and was not without its influence in shaping the foreign policy of Church and State. Bishop Henson, as a member of the House of Lords, soon won distinction. He had an uncomfortable gift that had been familiar to those of the Church Assembly. Without a word of polemics he would arise, after an important speech by an opponent, and in his quiet, incisive manner proceed to build up his argument. Ignoring entirely what had been said by his opponent, he would present facts and reasons that would counteract completely all that had been said by others.

Hensley Henson had decided views on Prayer Book revision, and he resented keenly the influence of Parliament in such matters. This led him, at least at one period of his life, to favor disestablishment of the English Church. When dictatorship arose in certain European countries, he denounced such forms of government and warned against political recognition of these dictatorships. He was a severe critic of modern civilization, and in his pulpit, in the Church Assembly and in Parliament he declared that civilization is reverting to barbarism. He was not in harmony with that spirit of complacency that looked upon the prestige and traditions of the British empire as a guarantee of a brilliant future. He considered American mass production and standardized industry as a threat to sound civilization.

Among his many books were two on the subject of the Buchmann movement, which he considered mere religious exhibitionism.

Hensley Henson gained a reputation as an influential preacher, even though he ignored the arts and graces which are so often looked upon as essential. His delivery was nervous, direct and incisive, and his method was compelling rather than persuasive. His conception of religion was gained from his father, and he defined it as "a view of Religion as something, grim, indeed, and unattractive, yet essentially august and lofty, to which it is man's duty to conform himself, and which he may not reasonably attempt to bend into the service of his own preferences and interests."⁵³ In 1895-1896 he was select preacher at Oxford, and in 1901 at Cambridge. He wrote a number of books, as well as an autobiography⁵⁴ of considerable length in which he expresses his views on matters of Church and State.

Hensley Henson published a score or more of books. Among his volumes of sermons are: *Light and Leaven*, (1897); *Apostolic Christianity*, (1898); *Ad Rem*, (1899); *Godly Union and Concord*, (1902); *Preaching to the Times*, (1903); *The Value of the Bible and Other Sermons*, (1904); *Moral Discipline in the Christian Church*, (1905); *Christ and the Nation*, (1908); *Westminster Sermons*, (1910); *The Creed in the Pulpit*, (1912); *Wartime Sermons*, (1915); *Christian Liberty and Other Sermons*, (1918). His Lyman Beecher Lectures are entitled *The Liberty of Prophesying*, (1909). He also wrote a good biography of Robertson of Brighton, and books on Rationalism, Christian marriage, religion in the schools and English Puritanism.

John H. Jowett, (1864-1923)

J. H. Jowett, whom the newspapers of two continents once hailed as the greatest of all living preachers, was born at Halifax, in Yorkshire, in 1864. His father, a tailor, was a man of decided Christian character. After attending Hipperholme grammar school, young Jowett taught school

⁵³. H. H. Henson, *Retrospect of an Unimportant Life*, 2 vols., (London, 1942-44), p. 4.

⁵⁴. *Op. cit.*

for a while, and then resolved to study law. Just before his departure for his legal studies, he chanced to meet his old Sunday-school teacher, who expressed disappointment that the young man was not planning to study theology instead of law. This conversation caused Jowett to change his plans, and he went to Airedale College instead, and in the days when Dr. A. M. Fairbairn was principal. He attended Edinburgh University, taking his degree in 1887, and from there he went to Mansfield College, Oxford.

After finishing his studies at Oxford in 1889, Mr. Jowett was called to St. James' Congregational Church, Newcastle-on-Tyne. It was not usual in those days to call a young candidate to so important a congregation, but in this instance the choice of the Newcastle people proved a wise one, for Jowett quickly attracted wide attention because of his rare gifts. Carrs Lane Congregational Church in Birmingham was at that time not only one of the foremost Congregational churches in England, but one of the most noted of any denomination. Two of England's greatest preachers, Angell James and R. W. Dale, had occupied its pulpit for 92 years. When it became necessary for Carrs Lane to call a man worthy to fill the place of Dr. Dale, the people chose the young Newcastle preacher, at that time 31 years of age. Mr. Jowett became pastor of Carrs Lane Church in 1895. He soon became a leader of his denomination, and was made Chairman of the Congregational Union and of the Free Church Council.

In 1909 Mr. Jowett visited America. He spoke at Moody's Northfield Summer assembly, and preached in several important churches. Shortly after this visit, the wealthy and fashionable Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York, became vacant. A committee was sent to England to invite Mr. Jowett to become pastor of the New York congregation. When this fact became known, there was a protest throughout England. Mr. Jowett declined two calls to the Fifth Avenue congregation, but when the call was repeated the third time, he felt it his duty to accept it, making it a condition that his salary be no greater than that which he had received at Carrs Lane Church.

Conditions have changed today, and it is difficult to realize the excitement that was caused by Mr. Jowett's departure. The King and Queen invited him to a formal dinner at Buckingham Palace. The Prime Minister pleaded with him that England at that time needed him more sorely than America. Men of all denominations flooded him with letters of farewell. In New York there was even more excitement. Conservative newspapers gave his coming front-page notice, and printed lengthy accounts of his life. Sensational newspapers appeared in the streets with headlines entirely across the front page. All manner of incidents from his past life were made public, and the American papers throughout the land called him the greatest of all living preachers. One of the favorite stories of the time was that of Dr. Jowett and the penny whistle. In those days a penny whistle was a favorite toy. It was a tin tube with seven or eight holes in it, and was used by small boys as a musical instrument. While at Newcastle Mr. Jowett was about to preach at a children's service, when a boy in the congregation blew a few shrill notes on his penny whistle. Mr. Jowett called him aside and said: "I am deeply grieved that you fellows play your whistles so badly. Come to my home and I'll teach you how penny whistles ought to sound." Later he was found, with a group of delighted urchins about him, and Mrs. Jowett at the piano, while the dignified pastor of St. James' Congregational Church was teaching the lads to play their whistles in four-part harmony.

After Mr. Jowett's arrival in New York, Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church was crowded long before the hour of service, with long queues of people standing outside regardless of the fact that notices were posted on all doors stating that every square foot of standing room was taken. Reporters crowded the side galleries. They came, expecting to find a sensational preacher, with dazzling oratory, catchy sermon topics on current events and perhaps a pompous attitude toward all. Instead, they found a shy, quiet little man, bald-headed and with a cropped white moustache, who spoke in a calm, simple manner, and without recourse to the spectacular eloquence that they had expected. All admitted that his sermons were superb, that he was a man of culture

and that his crisp words were chosen with exquisite care, but when the newspapers discovered that Dr. Jowett's fame had not been gained by sensational methods, their columns of extravagant publicity soon ceased.

Dr. Jowett remained in New York until 1917, but during the war years he felt that it was his duty to return to England. In 1912 he declined a call to Free St. George's, Edinburgh, to become Alexander Whyte's successor; but three years later, when asked whether he would accept a call to City Temple, London, he was disposed to reply in the affirmative. However, the call was not extended. Then a call came from Westminster Chapel, Buckingham Gate, London, the great church that had been built for Samuel Martin in 1863, and which had become a problem to the Congregationalists until Dr. G. Campbell Morgan had rescued it from disaster, only to shatter his health in so doing. The call was an urgent one, and many noted men of all denominations, as well as the Prime Minister, sent letters and cable-dispatches to Dr. Jowett, declaring that England needed his spiritual leadership in those darkest days of the World War. When he accepted, much regret was expressed in America, and the papers went so far as to say that the King had "commanded" him to return to his stricken country.

It was in 1917 that Dr. Jowett made the return trip to England through dangerous seas. He became pastor of the great Lombardic church, which seats over 2,500 people. When peace came late in 1918, it was Dr. Jowett who organized the great Thanksgiving Service in Royal Albert Hall, at which the royal family and many of the most prominent people of the British Isles were present. Jowett, with his characteristic modesty, spoke but ten minutes, giving the more important addresses to others. He had become the unmitered prelate of all the Free Churches, and even the Established Church had begun to regard him in a kindly manner. In 1920 he was invited to preach in Durham Cathedral. Rigid churchmen were scandalized, and they declared that not since the days of Cromwell had a Dissenter been asked to preach in a consecrated building of the

Anglican Establishment. Floods of letters came, protesting against the invitation, and urging him to decline. Dr. Jowett accepted, however, and when the day came, 9,000 people crowded the vast Norman church. Among many eminent men of Church and State were numerous people of more lowly station, including the Durham Miner's Association. As Dr. Jowett announced his text, the Vicar of Wheatley Hill arose in the nave and protested loudly, calling upon all loyal churchmen to support him. A tumult arose, and at this point the Durham miners arose as a man and started to sing "When I survey the wondrous Cross." Order was restored, the excited vicar was ejected, and Dr. Jowett preached his sermon.⁵⁵

After the war Dr. Jowett fell a victim to the false optimism that swept through the English churches, and he became one of the two leaders of a movement whose object it was to prevent all future wars. Preaching to 2,500 people twice each Sunday, with a weekday service for a time, and a multitude of parochial activities, proved too much for his health, which had never been robust. Westminster Chapel had shattered the health of Samuel Martin and of Campbell Morgan, and now Dr. J. H. Jowett was the third to break down under the burden. He resigned in 1922, and died in December, 1923, at the age of 59. It was said at the time that Nonconformity deals cruelly with its famous preachers. At such places as the Abbey and St. Paul's, there are always two or more preachers of first rank in residence, and the burden is shared by them, and such physical breakdowns as those of Martin, of Spurgeon, of Morgan and of Jowett are rare.

Dr. Jowett was a shy, modest man, who loved the quiet of his home. The fierce publicity that he had received in America grieved him. The demands made upon his time were distasteful to him, and he declared in a letter to a friend that "if the pulpit is to be occupied by men with a message worth hearing, we must have time to prepare it." He detested sensationalism in the pulpit, and looked upon flashy oratory, appeals to the emotions and popular sermon

⁵⁵. Arthur Porritt, *John Henry Jowett*, (London, 1924), pp. 202-203.

topics as the devices of shallow minds. He studied his sermons with great care, and no man took greater pains to express himself in simple and extremely precise language. All who have heard him have had much to say in regard to his exceptional choice of words. In private life he had a rare sense of humor, but such a thing as facetiousness in the pulpit was shocking to him.

The great theme of Dr. Jowett's preaching was Redeeming Grace. This, he believed, must be the central theme of all evangelical preaching. Throughout his life he was continually engaged in the task of making clear just what is meant by Redeeming Grace. "It is holy love," he said, "in spontaneous movement going out in eager quest toward the unholy and the unlovely . . . it is God unmerited, undeserved, going out toward the children of men, that He might win them into the glory and brightness of His own likeness."⁵⁶ "I have but one passion," he said again, "and I have lived for it — the absorbingly arduous yet glorious work of proclaiming the grace and love of Jesus Christ."⁵⁷ He believed that every sermon must be evangelical, and that if a square inch were taken out of any sermon, it should contain a suggestion that would lead those who heard it to the throne of God and the Lamb.⁵⁸ He was noted for his unusual illustrations. Usually these were brief, yet striking. He spoke of an old cobbler who, when feeling oppressed when working in so small a room, merely opened his door, beyond which lay a glorious view of the sea. Dr. Jowett began his sermon preparation at six in the morning. He learned this in his early ministry from the example of the Yorkshire factory hands. "The sound of their clogs fetched me out of bed," he said, "and took me to my work." On one occasion he told his New York congregation that if working people can arise at six in the morning in order to earn their daily bread, much more should a clergyman be at his desk at the same hour, because he is concerned with the Bread of Life.

According to Dr. J. D. Jones, Dr. Jowett "carried an 'atmosphere' about with him" which impressed even the

⁵⁶. Arthur Porritt, *Op. cit.*, p. 146.

⁵⁷. *Ibid.*

⁵⁸. *Review of Reviews*, (London), January, 1924, p. 47.

stranger.⁵⁹ "He was no preacher on the minor moralities. He regularly made the great themes of the Gospel the subject of his sermons. . . . No man can preach a great sermon on a small theme." Dr. Jones also declares that Jowett had a marvellous gift of using Scripture to illustrate Scripture. Although Dr. Jowett did not hesitate to go to the Jerry McAuley Mission and preach to the homeless men, yet most of his preaching was directed to seasoned church people. He believed that people need to be comforted and strengthened, as well as aroused.

The following titles, selected from a score of Dr. Jowett's books, are sufficient to indicate the evangelical character of his preaching: *Apostolic Optimism*, (1902); *Brooks by the Traveller's Way*, (1902); *Thirsting for the Springs*, (1902); *The Passion for Souls*, (1905); *From Strength to Strength*, (1908); *The High Calling*, (1909); *Meditations for Quiet Moments*, (1909); *The Transfigured Church*, (1910); *The School of Calvary*, (1910); *Things that Matter Most*, (1913); *The Whole Armour of God*, (1916) and *The Friend on the Road: Gospel Studies*, (1921). His Yale Lectures on Preaching are entitled, *The Preacher, his Life and Work*. Selections from his sermons are found in E. D. Jones, *The Best of J. H. Jowett*, (1948).

John D. Jones, (1865-1942)

Whenever the names of the princes of the modern pulpit are mentioned, "Jones of Bournemouth" is sure to be one of them. For almost half a century this "man with the mouth of gold" delighted the people of England and of America. As his name implies, Dr. Jones was a Welshman, having been born on the day after the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, at Ruthin, Denbeighshire. His father, a Welsh schoolmaster and musician, was determined to name him Lincoln, because of his admiration for the great American, but family objection prevented this, and he was given the good Welsh names that he bore through life. He attended Chorley grammar school in Lancashire, took his degree at Owen's, now Victoria College, Manchester, in 1886. From there he proceeded to

⁵⁹. *British Weekly*, (London), December 28, 1923.

Lancashire Independent College, Whalley Range, Manchester, for his three years of theological studies. After his graduation from the theological school in 1889, he attended St. Andrews University for a year.

During his boyhood days the old Welsh *Cymanfas*, or preaching mission was still popular, and J. D. Jones had a chance to hear some of the great Welsh pulpit orators. It is a pity that nobody has written the history of those stirring days, when people came for miles, and for several days at a time, to hear some of the greatest preachers of all time. Most of the records, as well as the sermons, are preserved in a language other than English, and few people except those in the Welsh valleys and mountains, would recognize the names of men who well deserve to be counted among the most admirable preachers of all time.

J. D. Jones was ordained in 1889 and he became pastor of an important congregation, Newland Congregational Church, in the cathedral city of Lincoln. He served with distinction, and it was not long until he was made a lecturer in New Testament Introduction at Nottingham Theological Institute.

It was in 1898 that he was called to the city with which his name was to be linked so conspicuously for the next forty years. Bournemouth is one of England's most noted watering places and seashore resorts. In the days of J. D. Jones it was an eminently respectable place, with no Sunday cinemas or other places of Sunday amusement, and when Sunday meant an actual day of worship for the thousands who flocked from the city for the Summer months.

Richmond Hill Congregational Church is one of the most noted congregations among the English Free Churches. The people who went to Bournemouth from England, Scotland and Wales, learned quickly of the "golden mouthed" preacher, and they flocked to hear him, going back to their homes and spreading his fame. Dr. Jones had three great objects in life: Church extension, assistance for older and less fortunate congregations and better support for the clergy. His congregation became the leader in contributions for outside purposes. Dr. Jones was responsible for estab-

lishing some thirty other congregations during his long pastorate at Bournemouth. He was not only interested in starting new missions, but he gave attention to the plight of small, struggling congregations that found it difficult to survive. The average salary of the pastor of the smaller congregations was but £120 a year, or \$600 at the rate of exchange then prevailing. Dr. Jones led a movement which raised a sustentation fund of \$1,250,000 — a great undertaking in those days. Then he raised a jubilee fund of \$2,500,000. This task was a difficult one, because Congregationalism at that time was made up of a number of independent congregations, each one suspicious of any attempt at centralization of authority. It was the mellifluous persuasion of the famous Welshman from Bournemouth that overcame this prejudice, and showed the independent congregations their duty toward their weaker parishes, their aged pastors and the widows of deceased pastors.

Dr. Jones visited America several times, and in 1919 he was a lecturer at Mr. Moody's Northfield summer assembly. He preached in a number of important churches, and so well did he impress the people of the wealthy and influential Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, in New York, that they wanted him to become their pastor. His old friend Sylvester Horne urged him not to become "Americanized, Presbyterianized and demoralized." Other friends pleaded with him to remain in Bournemouth, and the overtures from America were declined.

In 1925 Dr. Jones was invited to preach in Canterbury Cathedral. There was no general protest, as had been the case when Dr. Jowett had preached in Durham Cathedral in 1920, and no Vicar of Wheatley Hill was present to rise and protest. J. D. Jones became the first Nonconformist to preach in Canterbury, the church of those bitter enemies of Nonconformity, Laud and Sancroft. Dr. Jones was elected chairman of the Congregational Union and from 1930 to 1940 he was moderator of the International Congregational Council. For a number of years Dr. Jones and his friend Sylvester Horne conducted a week's preaching mission annually in some part of rural England, and this was not discontinued until the death of Horne.

Dr. Jones had an admirable voice of rich, musical quality and great power of expression. It has been said of him that so prosaic a thing as the reading of a financial report at a convention became a thing of classic beauty.⁶⁰ People throughout the British Isles idolized him, and men and women were not lacking who chose deliberately to spend their Summer holiday weeks at Bournemouth, rather than at Southport, Blackpool or Torquay, because of the opportunity to hear the preaching of the eloquent Welshman. He read his sermons, but so melodious was his voice, so exquisite his choice of words, and so delightful his Welsh lilt that the average hearer was quite unaware that he had a manuscript before him. He was one of the few great preachers whose sermons were of uniform excellence. He prepared for the pulpit with great care, whether the occasion called for a sermon an hour in length, or whether it was but a five minute introduction when a visiting pastor was present and preached. His preaching was textual and expository, and it was his constant practice to derive his sermon from the text, and not to attach his own ideas to a verse or two of Scripture.

Theologically Dr. Jones considered himself a liberal evangelical, with a strong leaning toward evangelical thought, rather than toward liberalism. He was one of those strange men who accepted the doctrine of evolution, and who took seriously some of the less radical conclusions of the higher critics, yet at the same time held firmly to such doctrines as the Fall, the sinful nature of mankind, the deity of the Saviour and salvation solely through the righteousness and blood of the Saviour. One may read his sermons, of which many exist in print, and find numerous places where evangelical truth is presented admirably, and in such a manner that none would suspect that J. D. Jones had the slightest interest in the views of Modernism in respect to the Inspired Records. Such men as Dr. Jones and his friends Sylvester Horne and J. H. Jowett belonged to a generation which has left few spiritual descendents. Men such as Dr. G. Campbell Morgan, as well as the men iden-

⁶⁰ E. H. Jeffs, *Princes of the Modern Pulpit*, (Nashville, 1931), p. 127.

tified with Moody's Northfield Conference and his Bible Institute, either attached no importance to destructive Biblical criticism, or else testified against it. Men such as Jones and Jowett and Horne accepted some of its less radical conclusions, yet declared that the great truths of saving grace are too sublime to be lessened in the least by the critics. Whether there was but one Isaiah or whether there were two, did not trouble them in the least. They cared but little whether St. Luke was verbally inspired, or whether he compiled his Gospel from existing documents. Whatever the method, the great truths remained. It was a dangerous position to take, and multitudes of less sturdy men than they, in the years that followed, ended in disaster. However, as far as Dr. J. D. Jones is concerned, a man who knew him well was able to say, at the time of his death, "Of his central message one need only say that he was from first to last Evangelical. To him the only thing worth preaching was the Gospel of the Grace of God and the redeeming life and death of Christ."⁶¹ Dr. Jones, despite his unfortunate acceptance of a mild form of evolution and of negative higher criticism, bore witness to Jesus Christ not as our Leader, but as our Lord, as he himself liked to express it.

Dr. John A. Patten said: "Some seaside preachers think they fulfil their ministry by dwelling on the beauties of nature, but Dr. Jones has little to say about the lapping waves, the twinkling stars and the wind on the heath. Instead, he preaches on the holiness of God, redemption through Christ, the forgiveness of sin, the conquest of temptation, the immortality of the soul, always sounding the great chords of Christianity."⁶² His manner of preaching was expository. He often began by telling a Bible story and expounding it, drawing from it a few practical lessons that he felt were needed by his congregation, but at all times the great central truths of the Christian religion were given prominence.

⁶¹. E. H. Jeffs, in *The Christian World*, April, 1942.

⁶². J. A. Patten in *The British Weekly*, February 20, 1936, p. 422.

A partial list of Dr. Jones's books might include the following: *The Model Prayer*, (1899); *The Glorious Company of the Apostles*, (1904); *Christ's Pathway to the Cross*, (1906); *The Gospel of Grace*, (1907); *Things Most Surely Believed*, (1908); *The Hope of the Gospel*, (1911); *If a Man Die*, (1917); *The Lord of Life and Death*, (1919); *The Greatest of These*, (1925); *Watching the Cross*, (1926); *Inevitable Christ*, (1928); *Richmond Hill Sermons*, (1932) and *The Way of the Kingdom*, (1934). He also published, among other things, a four-volume commentary on St. Mark, (1913-14).

C. Sylvester Horne, (1865-1914)

One of the most popular preachers at the beginning of the present century was C. Sylvester Horne, of London. If asked to give the reasons for his popularity, those who knew him best will place his radiant personality as the first of his excellencies. Sylvester Horne won the admiration of his acquaintances from his earliest days. He was born in 1865 at Cuckfield, Sussex, where his father was a Congregational pastor. He attended the grammar school at Newport, as well as Glasgow University. His theological studies were pursued at Mansfield College, Oxford. He began to preach while still a student, and from the start it was evident that he would become an exceptional preacher.

Before he had finished his school work, he received a call, in 1889, to Allen Street Chapel, Kensington, one of the most important Congregational churches in London. Mr. Horne introduced a new note into London preaching. One associated Nonconformity with a robust man, whose energetic pulpit oratory commanded the attention of great congregations. Spurgeon, Dale, Allon and Parker were such men. Sylvester Horne was not of this type. Many have tried in vain to find a word that will describe his baffling personality. They have called him winsome, eager, radiant, fascinating and glowing, but none of these words really seem adequate. He presented the teachings of Christianity not as stern things, but as something joyous, and attractive beyond all things. His face glowed with friendliness, and

the warmth of his voice and literary style won the admiration of the stranger from the moment Mr. Horne started to speak.

Sylvester Horne is remembered as a political preacher, and as a Member of Parliament, but it is a curious fact that this is but a minor part of his activities. Those who attended his church expecting to hear a discussion of current politics were disappointed, for Mr. Horne never allowed such subjects to enter his pulpit. He preached the simple doctrines of evangelical Christianity, as he understood them. He was a man of great faith, and he accepted the fundamental teachings of the Scriptures; and the attacks of the rationalistic Biblical critics seemed of slight importance to him. He thought of Jesus Christ as the God of infinite love, and it was this attribute that he stressed more than any other.

In 1902 Sylvester Horne startled the Congregational Union, at their Glasgow convention, by his eloquent opposition to Mr. Balfour's attempt in Parliament to secure government aid for parochial schools. A year later Mr. Horne was called to George Whitefield's church, in Tottenham Court Road, and it was there that his political activities attracted wide attention. He refrained from any mention of politics in the pulpit, but his Sunday afternoon mass meetings at Whitefield's Church drew men from all parts of London. It was at these meetings that Sylvester Horne became known as a political leader. He never seemed to grasp clearly the relation of Church and State, and to his mind, good citizenship and good Christianity must become interchangeable terms. The government, he believed, must rest upon a Christian foundation, and such issues as the Education Bill, temperance, home rule, the poor laws, unemployment insurance, gambling and international peace were religious issues as well as political. While he would have been the first to resent any attempt of the State to interfere with either the Free Churches or the Established Church, yet Mr. Horne could see no reason why the various religious bodies might not seek to influence the government in political matters. In 1910 he stood for Parliament, and was elected. Some of the members of his congregation objected, and they insisted that he withdraw from all political activities. He yielded to their wishes, but in 1914 he resigned and sailed for America,

where he had been invited to deliver the Yale Lectures on Preaching, and to engage in a preaching tour. While aboard a lake steamer, and nearing Toronto, he suffered a heart attack, and died at the age of 49.

Sylvester Horne's sudden death was a severe shock both to the churches of Britain and to those of America. There had been much shaking of heads when he started his Sunday afternoon mass meetings for the study of political issues, and many of his friends regretted his membership in Parliament. However, his radiant good nature and his boyish faith in the elementary truths of evangelical Christianity had endeared him to many. When grave problems arose following the First World War, it was common to hear religious leaders say, "What a pity that Sylvester Horne is not here to give us the benefit of his practical wisdom!" There was a reassuring quality in his tone of voice that created a sense of well-being in the hearts of his listeners. There have been statesmen in more recent years, both in America and Britain, who have possessed this same gift.

Sylvester Horne was, without question, one of England's great preachers. He fell somewhat short of his friend J. D. Jones in respect to the golden eloquence for which the famous Welshman was so much admired. In warmth and in a certain glowing persuasiveness he was Dr. Jones's equal; and when they went together, as was their custom, to conduct an annual preaching mission in some part of rural England, it was an event long to be remembered.

Speaking of Sylvester Horne, Dr. Jones said: "He was, as he always is, magnificent. Night after night he flamed and burned, and the audience caught the sacred fire from him. . . . Rain could not stop people from coming. To hear Sylvester Horne was more than worth the risk of wetting. . . . He was one of the most moving speakers I have heard, and I have seen audiences swept before him as leaves before the autumn wind."⁶³

It is many years since C. Sylvester Horne died so suddenly, and at the height of his career, but no one has ever been able to explain his strange power over a congregation.

⁶³. Arthur Porritt, *J. D. Jones of Bournemouth*, (London, 1942), p. 55.

His was a dazzling personality. A man of fine appearance, eager of manner, beaming with genuine good will, he gave one the impression of a man who was quite able to indulge in bursts of the most impassioned eloquence, yet never did so, — like the great organ in Royal Albert Hall, with its thunderous Diapasons and powerful Double Trumpets remaining silent, although available at the touch of the organist's finger, while he makes use only of the stops of moderate power.

To Sylvester Horne, Christianity was a joyous thing. Man is a great sinner, of course, and under the wrath of God by nature; but may he not rejoice in the fact that the very object of Christianity is to rescue him from the consequences of that sin? Did not Jesus Christ come into this world solely for that purpose? With the gracious gift of salvation offered so freely to all men, without money or price, can any one afford to look at Christianity gloomily? Where other preachers have terrified their hearers by reminding them of the wrath of God against sin, Sylvester Horne's preaching was an unending *Sursum Corda*, because the riches of the grace of God in Christ Jesus have rescued the believer from sin. Perhaps it was his buoyant, boyish eagerness — in which respect he reminds one slightly of Gilbert Talbot, that wonderful young man from Oxford whose life was cut short in the First World War. Whatever may have been the secret of his peculiar charm, C. Sylvester Horne remains baffling to this day. In his own pulpit Sylvester Horne was most impressive, but to see him at his best it was necessary to visit one of the great halls in some English city, where Horne loved to preach. It pleased him to face a vast congregation on one of these occasions, and here his radiant manner, as he described the wonders of divine grace, revealed Horne at the height of his power.

Among Mr. Horne's books the following are well known: *The Ordeal of Faith*, (1898); *The Life that is Easy*, (1896); *Rock of Ages*, (1901); and of course his Yale Lectures, *The Romance of Preaching*, (1914). His *A Popular History of the Free Churches*, (1903) is an account of the development and influence of Nonconformity.

Thomas Phillips, (1868-1936)

Thomas Phillips was born in 1868 at Rhydwlwm, Pembrokeshire, Wales. He received his education at North Wales Baptist College and at North Wales University College, Bangor. He was ordained to the Baptist ministry in 1891 and became pastor of Fuller Church in Kettering, which he served until 1900, when he became pastor of St. Mary's, Norwich. From 1905 to 1928 he was pastor of Bloomsbury Central Church in London. He served this congregation during a difficult period, and so well did he become known in that part of downtown London that he was called "the apostle of Shaftesbury Avenue." Mr. Phillips had much of the fire for which his race is noted, and during his long pastorate in Central London his church became one of the most important in the Trafalgar Square area. He was president of the London Baptist Union in 1914, lectured on preaching at Nottingham the same year, and at Regent's Park College in 1915. In 1916 he was made president of the national Baptist Union and in 1929 of the Free Church Council. In 1928 he returned to his native Wales in order to become principal of the Baptist College at Cardiff. The *Times* said that he was "a fine specimen of those eloquent preachers of whom the Welsh Baptists have furnished so many."

An interesting story is told of Dr. Phillips. On one occasion he was travelling along a highway in Wales, and he met Evan Roberts. After discussing a subject of great interest to both of them, they decided to make it a matter of intercession. Kneeling at the edge of the highway they implored the Lord, with characteristic Welsh fervor, to bless the object of their supplications. Upon attempting to rise to their feet they were unable to do so, for they had knelt in a mass of roadside tar, and were compelled to wait until a carrier came along in his van, saw their plight, and assisted them to free themselves.

William Temple, (1881-1944)

One of the popular crusades of the twentieth century was the Ecumenical, or United Front, Movement. Men declared that the divided state of the Christian Church is

sinful in the eyes of God and a scandal to the world. World conventions were called, a World Council of Churches gradually came into being and church union was discussed in all parts of the world. In the planning of this crusade, and in its promotion, no man was more influential than William Temple. His sermons, his books and his declarations contain the well-known arguments of the church union leaders.

He was born in 1881 in the episcopal palace at Exeter, where his father, Frederick Temple, was bishop at the time. In 1885 Bishop Temple was translated to the London diocese, and his two sons spent their boyhood days at Fulham Palace in suburban London. William Temple attended school in Hammersmith Road, and one of his school-fellows was a younger lad named Philip B. Clayton, later to become the Padre of Toc H, a world-wide organization of servicemen and former servicemen. At the age of 13 William Temple was sent to Rugby, where both Thomas Arnold and his own father had served as headmasters. In 1896 his father became Archbishop of Canterbury.

In 1900 young Temple went up to Balliol, Oxford, and in addition to his studies he took a lively interest in the University Settlement work at Whitechapel, Bethnal Green and Bermondsey, all in London. From 1904 to 1910 he was fellow and lecturer at Queen's. He played the piano and the oboe, attended the Wagner opera in London and was a member of the Bach Choir. He was at Jena for a short time where he studied German and attended the lectures of such men as Wendt and Eucken.

In 1905 Temple became interested in the Workers' Educational Association, and served as its president from 1908 to 1924. Its purpose was not the material advancement of the working man, but rather to give the worker a chance to secure a liberal education in such subjects as history, literature and economics. Temple believed that an acquaintance with the thought, knowledge and culture of the past would create in the working man's mind standards of judgment, and give him a self-respect that he might not have otherwise. The movement bore fruit, and today it is possible to visit the cottages of coal miners and machine-minders and find a shelf of the classics, standard histories, reference

books and high class literature. The children from such homes have gone into the learned professions, rather than into the mines and factories as had been the case before. It was in this movement that young Temple first displayed the talent for planning and promotional work that was to make him famous a quarter of a century later.

In 1906 William Temple applied to the bishop of Oxford for ordination. He was refused because of the fact that he could give only tentative assent to the doctrines of the Virgin Birth and the Resurrection of our Lord. Temple applied to Randall Davidson, who had succeeded Frederick Temple as Archbishop of Canterbury. After some correspondence with the bishop of Oxford, the Archbishop of Canterbury ordained him, declaring that he believed that the young man was becoming increasingly conservative. In 1909 Temple became interested in the Students' Christian Movement, and a series of addresses delivered before them appeared in his book *The Faith and Modern Thought*, (1910). In 1910 he became headmaster of Repton, a boys' school in Derbyshire. While there he published his *Repton School Sermons*, (1913). In 1914 the Lord Chancellor appointed him to the rectory of St. James, Piccadilly, an influential church in London's West End. In 1915 he became editor of a newly formed religious journal known as the *Challenge*. In 1916 he took a leading part in the National Mission of Repentance and Hope, and a year later he became one of the founders of the Life and Liberty Movement. His gifts of planning and promotion proved so conspicuous that he was urged to devote his full time to this movement, and in 1917 he gave up his work at St. James, Piccadilly, and went throughout Britain delivering sermons and addresses in the interest of the LLM. This Life and Liberty Movement sought to gain for the Established Church the right to direct its own affairs, and to bring about needed reforms, without having to wait for enactments of Parliament.

William Temple became a canon of Westminster in 1919 and bishop of Manchester in 1921. He became a leader of a number of movements; served first as a member and then as chairman of the Archbishop's Commission on Christian Doctrine; he took an active part in the International Con-

ference on Politics, Economics and Citizenship, (known as COPEC); but the crusade that was to carry his church union and economic theories into every denomination was the Ecumenical Movement. Temple was but 28 years old when he attended the International Missionary Conference at Edinburgh, in 1910. His part, at that convention, was not conspicuous, but he took part in the unionism of the convention and listened to suggestions that doctrinal differences need not prevent men from uniting in a common task. There were other united-front conventions. After the Edinburgh meeting of 1910, the Stockholm convention followed in 1925, then Lusanne in 1927, Jerusalem in 1928, Oxford and Edinburgh in 1937, Madras in 1938 and Utrecht during the same year. Temple took a lively interest in the movement, and by means of sermons, addresses and a series of books he set forth the arguments of the united front movement. Meanwhile his advancement in his own denomination was rapid. When he became a canon of Westminster in 1919, it gave him an opportunity to preach in the Abbey to many of his own countrymen, as well as to the congregations that included, during the Summer months, people from all parts of the world. He became bishop of Manchester in 1921, took his seat in the House of Lords in 1925, was made Archbishop of York in 1929 and Archbishop of Canterbury in 1942. His published writings, between the years 1910 and 1944, include more than 40 titles.

As one reads his books of sermons and lectures, they have a familiar sound; and in them one finds the arguments that have been repeated by the church union groups of almost every denomination. For example, Temple assures us that the public will give heed to the Christian message when men of all denominations unite in declaring it, far beyond any attention that can be expected if they proclaim it as separate denominations. He declares that if the one condition for effective Christian witnessing lies in the fact that this witness be given unitedly, then a refusal to unite, or a failure to unite, is a betrayal of trust, and a refusal and failure to serve the people and the Lord Himself. He says that the bearing of witness takes on added power when representatives of different groups co-operate and look upon

one another as fellow workers. He insisted that our divisions hinder our service, blunt our appeal at home and abroad and render flatly impossible the complete fulfilment of the most important purpose of the Christian Church. He urges his hearers to wipe away the scandal of disunion, and remove the horror of division among Christians.

Some of these things had been said by others; and at the various conventions that led to the World Council of Churches, other influential leaders appeared, but there were few men who were more able than Temple to gather up the arguments and put them in a form that would furnish material for the advocates of united action, as well as participation in economic and social activities on the part of the churches.

While Archbishop Temple's declarations have been repeated by many men, yet they have not found universal acceptance. There are religious leaders who insist that a distinction must be made between union and unionism. Union involves a definite agreement in regard to all the great truths which our Lord has called upon His people to proclaim. Unionism means co-operation in externals, and on the basis of a common task, whether there be doctrinal agreement or not. Union calls for a positive acceptance and declaration of all the truths set forth in a verbally inspired Bible, as well as an equally clear and definite rejection of every doctrine that may be false or misleading. Unionism, on the other hand, is based too often upon an agreement that includes some basic doctrines, while there is a tacit agreement to remain silent upon teachings that might prove controversial. True union calls for a declaration of faith in words that cannot possibly be misunderstood, and a clear rejection of the conflicting doctrines in each case. Unionism is satisfied with a declaration expressed in language so ambiguous that it may be interpreted in various ways; and again it may set forth two conflicting doctrines side by side, for example: "While most of us believe that conversion and salvation depend solely upon the unmerited grace of God and the redemptive work of Jesus Christ, without any merit resulting from the works of man; yet others of us are equally

sure that in man's co-operation one may find an attitude which leads God to look upon him with favor."

There are thoughtful men who believe that all disunion is not sinful. A division is sinful only when it is based upon false doctrine. If a denomination is thoroughly conservative, and accepts fully every teaching of God's Word, and proclaims these teachings without fear, the fact that it does not participate in a world federation is not in itself a sin against God and a scandal to the world. Such a denomination must be judged solely by its loyalty to the truth, and not by the character of its external relations to others.

There are men who question the theory that spiritual problems may only be solved by means of a united front. God's Word, and not some form of external organization, provides the answer to all our problems. To say that Christian witness to the truth can be effective only if men of all creeds combine to proclaim it, is a pleasant theory which has not been verified by history. Spurgeon's powerful testimony lost none of its effectiveness because he shunned men who were identified with what he termed the "downgrade movement." The 474 courageous men who withdrew in 1843 from the Scottish State Church and chose to stand alone, exerted an influence far out of proportion to their small numbers, and in missionary expansion, higher education, religious literature and work in the neglected areas of their large cities they established a standard of excellence that the world has not ceased to admire.

There are men who believe that the movement in which William Temple had so important a part, tends to find the source of authority in the so-called Visible Church, rather than in the sole authority of the Word of God. All questions of doctrine find their answer in the Scriptures, and no church organization or council or federation has been authorized by the Lord to legislate upon such matters.

A detailed account of the life and influence of William Temple is to be found in the biography by Canon Iremonger,⁶⁴ and at the end of the book is a full list of Temple's writings.

⁶⁴. F. A. Iremonger, William Temple, *Archbishop of Canterbury*, (Oxford, 1948).

CHAPTER XIII

PREACHING IN CORNWALL

THE LITTLE Duchy of Cornwall lies to the southwest of England and is separated from it by the River Tamar. To the average American, Cornwall is merely a county of England. While for the purposes of government this is in a sense correct, yet the Cornish people are a distinct race, and much more closely allied to the Welsh than to the English. They are a branch of the Celtic race, and closely akin not only to the Welsh and Manx, but to the Scottish Highlanders and Islanders, and to the people of Ireland. Until comparatively recent years they had a language of their own; and in recent years there is an awakened interest in it, just as there is a renewal of interest in the Gaelic of Ireland and that of Scotland. Manuals, grammars and dictionaries of the Cornish language are displayed in the bookshops, and church services have been conducted occasionally in Cornish.

The introduction of Christianity into Cornwall has been mentioned in our opening section on the Celtic Church. Whether Piranus was the first missionary or not will probably never be known, but he left evidence behind him in the ruined church among the Penhale sand dunes, as well as in the names of Perran Bay and Perranzabuloe, or Piran-in-the-Sands. Local legends tell of many early missionaries who came to Cornwall, and the strange names of these men survive to this day in scores of villages and towns, such as St. Austell, St. Budoc, St. Buryan, St. Columb, St. Endellion, St. Endoc, St. Feock, St. Germans, St. Gulval, St. Just, St. Levan, St. Teath, St. Samson, St. Wenn and St. Winnow, to mention but a few of many that come to mind. These towns and villages received their names from their founders, and often there is a well bearing the name of the founder. These wells are but a few feet deep, and lined with granite slabs, often with an enclosure of slabs to protect them. Ancient Celtic crosses are common in Cornwall, and ogham stones, with their curious inscriptions, are common enough. Cornwall is underlaid with granite, and these ancient monuments, in that enduring material, have survived to this day to remind the visitor of an ancient race of men.

The entire Duchy of Cornwall is distinctive. One journey in a southwesterly direction on an excellent highway, passing through the English city of Exeter, which suffered so sorely in the second World War, then through Okehampton and on toward the Tamar. Thus far the countryside has been distinctively English, with roadside hedges of hawthorn and holly, with rows of stone cottages with their roofs of golden thatch, and with the large stone chimneys so characteristic of western England. One sees fields laid out in irregular patches, and separated from one another by green hedges. Then comes the River Tamar. It is not a large river, but it forms the boundary between two distinct types of country. Beyond Tamar the countryside is still beautiful, but we discover that the houses are all of granite. Roofs of Delabole slate take the place of the thatch of England proper. Stone walls often take the place of hawthorn and holly hedges. However, the greatest difference is in the place-names and the family names. No longer do we see finger-boards directing us to such English towns as Salisbury, Wilton, Shaftesbury, Ilminster and Honiton; but as soon as one crosses the Tamar such names as Lewannick, Altarnun, St. Cleer, Bolventor, Bodmin and Lanivet appear on the highway markers. Family names have changed just as suddenly. No longer do we find such thoroughly English names as Buckingham, Cunningham, Ramsbottom and Bottomley. An old nursery rhyme would have us believe that all Cornish family names begin with Tre, Pol, Lan or Pen. To a certain extent this is correct, for we find many Tre-gennas, Poldinnicks, Lanowiths and Pengellys, but there are other Cornish names such as Trebilcock, Opie, Pasco and Bray. The speech of the people is distinctive. English is the spoken language, but it would be difficult to mistake a Cornishman for an Englishman, for he pronounces his words differently. In the rural districts some of the older people speak what is known locally as "proper Cornish," which is often difficult for an Englishman or an American to understand. Dialects differ, and that of eastern Cornwall is distinct from that of the Camborne-Redruth district.

Cornwall is a Methodist stronghold. John Wesley took it by storm, and the Wesleysans, the Bible Christians and

several other Methodist groups flourished greatly for two centuries. There is a modern Anglican cathedral at Truro, and parish churches in a number of localities, but by far the commonest sight is the Methodist chapel of stone or brick — a plain, rectangular building without tower or spire, and always known as the chapel, regardless of its size. Its plain interior, with usually but a platform and a pulpit in one end, is in keeping with the chapel's exterior simplicity.

Many able preachers have been produced among the Cornish people. It is a land of "local" or lay preachers, and some humorist has said that their number corresponds closely to the total male population of the Duchy. The preachers of Cornwall, both the ordained men and the lay preachers, have favored extemporaneous preaching. To read a sermon from a manuscript is unthinkable in chapel circles, although the "parson," or clergyman of the Church of England often reads his sermons. Sermons have gained in vividness, but there has been a most unfortunate result: the Cornish preachers have seldom left any literary remains. Their sermons are often prepared with great care, a few notes are jotted down in pencil on a bit of paper, but even this is discarded on Sunday. The Cornishman has a good memory, and he needs no notes. It is due to this custom that even so distinguished a man as William Bray has left so very few sermons by which he may be judged. The fame of most of the great Cornish preachers has been handed down by oral tradition, and it is common enough to sit with a Cornish family in the evening, before the huge fireplace with its hooks and cranes, and to hear verbal accounts from the oldest people of marvellous preachers of bygone days. These reminiscences are treasured. I have met miners in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan and sailors on the high seas who have come from Cornwall, and every one of them has at least one or two tales to tell of William Bray or some other famous Cornish preacher.

During the latter part of the seventeenth century and the opening years of the eighteenth, Cornwall was not spared the era of religious decline that was common throughout the world. The tin miners and fishermen of Cornwall, in those days, were given to drinking, fighting and swearing,

but one must not take too seriously the lurid tales of Hawker of Morwenstow, and of several novelists of later days. These stories of smuggling and wrecking are highly colored. In the days of excessive import duties, a certain amount of smuggling was practiced in all parts of the British Isles, and the deep, rocky coves of Cornwall proved ideal places for the smuggler, whether he be Cornish or English. It was an easy matter for an English captain to "run in" a cargo duty-free, under cover of night, and transport his goods overland to England. The stories of wrecking are largely pure invention. A very few rough characters, such as Cruel Coppinger, have been used freely by the novelist and the short-story writer, but they are by no means representative of the Cornish people. Coppinger, in fact, was not a Cornishman at all, but an outlaw of unknown background.

The chapel preachers have not been altogether without fault in this matter, for it was easy enough, under the excitement of a rousing sermon, to describe the days of religious indifference in colorful language, so that the transformation at the time of the Wesleyan movement might seem all the more remarkable. That there was such a transformation cannot be denied. John Wesley visited Cornwall repeatedly, and he preached to congregations of 20,000 to 25,000 at Gwennap Pit. This was a great outdoor amphitheatre not far from the village of St. Day. The Cornish people like to think of Gwennap Pit as the cradle of Methodism, for they remind us that while John Wesley was inhibited from preaching in most of the pulpits of his own Established Church, and was attacked by mobs in other parts of the land, the Cornish people welcomed him with joy, and flocked in great numbers to hear him. They describe the old tin mines in the Gwennap neighborhood — mines often half a mile in depth, whose workers climbed the iron ladders from platform to platform, singing Charles Wesley's hymns as they climbed. They tell us of hundreds of men, "coming up to grass," and walking along the roadways in a solid column, singing Methodist hymns in four-part harmony, just as did the coal miners of Wales some years ago. It is said in Cornwall that Charles Wesley visited the

Duchy before the coming of his more famous brother, and by means of his hymns prepared the way. As a hymn-loving people the Cornish may be compared to their Welsh cousins, and to this day every Cornish *gorsedd* reveals the musical skill of the various choral groups and local choirs, while the singing of a large congregation of Cornishmen, in four-part harmony, is a thing that one will never forget.

Some of Wesley's greatest congregations assembled in Gwennap Pit. There is a large engraving that hangs in many a Cornishman's cottage, showing the vast, rocky amphitheatre as it appeared in Wesley's day, and John Wesley, in his black robe and white bands standing on a projecting rock and preaching to an enormous gathering. Wesley himself describes these congregations at Gwennap, and in his writings he declares, "I think this is one of the most magnificent spectacles which is to be seen on this side of Heaven."

Today Cornwall is one of the most peaceful spots on earth, unless one has the misfortune to visit it during July and August, when it is crowded with tourists from England and Scotland, all seeking its many miles of seacoast. There is a deep fringe of subtropical verdure both on the south and the north coasts, while inland one comes upon great expanses of moorland, the edges of which have been reclaimed for cultivation. A Sunday in Cornwall is as distinctive as its villages and its people. Except for the tourist season, hardly a motor car is to be seen on the highways. If a motor car appears, it is almost sure to be the "local preachers' car" carrying six or seven such men to their various appointments. The people usually walk to the chapels. There is a service in the morning and a second service before sundown. No bells are to be heard unless one is near a "church town," for the chapels have no bells. After the morning service all return to their homes, the meal is eaten, and all remain quiet until time for the late afternoon service. In the villages the shops are all closed, and not even a newspaper can be bought on Sunday. Such were conditions at least until the beginning of the second World War.

The Sunday service in a Cornish chapel is simple. A hymn is sung in hearty Cornish fashion, and one or more lessons are read. There is a lengthy free prayer, for liturgical forms of worship find no favor among the chapel folks, and even the recitation of the Apostles Creed is looked upon as formalism. The sermon is always the important part of the service, and the Cornish people, like the Welsh and the Gaelic Scots, like animated preaching. The opening hymn, the lessons, the second hymn, the prayer, the sermon, another prayer and a closing hymn make up the hour or so of worship in the Cornish chapel.

The ordained pastors are assisted by a considerable number of "local" preachers. Many of the smaller chapels have no resident pastor, but must rely upon what is called the "Plan." Every three months a Plan is compiled, listing all the chapels in the circuit, and all the preachers for the coming quarter. The lay preachers are assigned to different chapels, so that one sermon may be used, if they so desire, in two or more places, or even throughout the circuit if necessary. Ordained pastors are also "on the Plan," and may be heard in the various chapels of the circuit.

The preaching of the lay preachers varies somewhat. Some of these men are very good, and deliver sermons that would do credit to many an ordained man. Again, one may hear some young man from the farm or the fishing village, whose educational opportunities have been limited, and whose sermon is little more than a personal testimony and an exhortation. In some cases it might not be difficult to detect faults. Some of these men have a tendency to preach sanctification rather than justification, and the sanctificationist becomes a perfectionist now and then. However, perfectionism is not encouraged in Cornwall, and sooner or later such a preacher will be reminded of the two men who went up to the temple to pray, the one a Pharisee and the other a publican. Unfortunately for Cornwall, Modernism has appeared here and there. Generally speaking the Cornish people are opposed to this, and they are quite likely to assure the visitor that liberal theology is not native to Cornwall, but was imported "from they," meaning the people beyond Tamar. So thoroughly convinced are the

Cornish people of this that a farmer, when urged to send his promising son to Oxford or Cambridge, or perhaps to Edinburgh or Glasgow Universities, refused emphatically. "We have given the lad a good Christian training, and I'm not having him to go to any of those divinity halls, because they'll take all the religion out o' he."

Whatever one may think of the preaching that one hears in Cornwall, it is certain that there are few places more free from crime. One may leave his motor car unlocked almost anywhere within the Duchy and be reasonably sure to come back and find it there, and its contents untouched. Cornish people often sleep with their doors unlocked, and if they do lock them, it is quite likely to be because there are strangers in the village. Chapel people call attention to such things, and do not hesitate to say that it is due to their two centuries of chapel-going that such conditions prevail.

Samuel Walker, (1714-1761)

Samuel Walker is a man whose majestic sermons brought him great fame in his day. It was said that when he mounted the pulpit steps in St. Mary's church, in Truro, Cornwall, the town was as deserted as on August bank holiday. Walker was an Englishman, not a Cornishman, having been born in Exeter in 1714, where his grandfather was rector of St. Edmund's and of All Hallows churches. He attended the grammar school of Exeter, and in 1736 was graduated from Exeter College, Oxford.

In 1737 he became curate of Doddiscombe Leigh, in Devon, and in 1740 he was made curate of Lanlivery, in Cornwall. A few months later his vicar died, and he became vicar. His pulpit ability attracted attention, and in 1746 he was made rector of the parish church in Truro and vicar of Talland church.

Walker was an energetic young man, popular, and a ready speaker, but he went to Truro as a worldly-minded parson, and without any very definite doctrinal views. Fortunately he made friends with George Conan, headmaster of the grammar school, who was a man of deep convictions. Conan encouraged the new rector to study the

truths of evangelical Christianity, and it was due to his influence that Walker turned from his natural theology to the truths of Scripture. He began to preach sermons on such evangelical subjects as sin, Law and Gospel, repentance, divine grace, faith and the new birth. It was not long until Boscawen street, Truro's main thoroughfare, was completely empty of its former Sunday morning pedestrians. Instead of their usual stroll in the sunshine, they crowded the large church to hear Samuel Walker's doctrinal sermons. His overflowing church caused his fellow clergymen of the Anglican Church to charge him with Methodism. Walker replied by organizing groups of people in his own parish, and later he organized groups of clergymen, who met regularly for Bible study and mutual encouragement. So powerfully did he preach that it is said in Truro that Sunday morning places of amusement, which included a theatre and a cock-pit, were compelled to close for lack of patrons. Walker resigned as vicar of Talland Church in 1752, for he had come to disapprove of pluralism; and devoted his entire time to his parish in Truro.

He made the acquaintance of the Wesleys, and they often visited him and sought his advice in regard to the work that they were doing at the time in Cornwall. While he had warm sympathies toward them, yet he never became identified with them fully, because of his opposition to their use of "local" or lay preachers. Walker was an evangelical himself, but in regard to the doctrine of the call, he believed that only those who had been carefully trained, and ordained, should perform pastoral functions.

"The late Mr. Walker, of Truro," says one of John Wesley's biographers, "and a few others, not only loved and preached the Gospel, but were well disposed toward Mr. Wesley and those under his care. Some of these gentlemen assisted at the first conferences, but, after a few years, they seemed unwilling to share his reproach."¹ Samuel Walker lived in the earlier days of the Wesleyan movement, and at a time when it was yet an evangelical development within

¹. Henry Moore, *Life of the Rev. John Wesley*, 2 vols., (London, 1824), vol 2, p. 196. See also Edwin Sidney, *Life of Samuel Walker*, (London, 1838).

the Church of England. The separation did not come until long after Walker's death.

Samuel Walker "lived in an age of great interest," his biographer says, "when the long forgotten doctrines of the Reformation began to be received amongst a people who had sunk into miserable depths of apathy and irreligion. A flame had just been enkindled by the fire and zeal of certain energetic individuals who possessed much more of the fervor than the wisdom of Christianity, and whose eyes were so dazzled by a sudden burst of light that they lost the power of looking calmly either on present circumstances or future consequences."² One is not prepared to accept the last part of this statement without qualifications. Conditions within the Established Church were in a sad state, and there were many clergymen in Cornwall such as those described so vividly by the Rev. William Haslam in his two autobiographical works.³ Such men were convinced that there could be no salvation outside of the Established Church, because, they declared, the Church is the ark of salvation, and its bishops could alone confer upon the priesthood the right to administer the outward ordinances which were the only channels of grace. It was men such as John Wesley and Samuel Walker, whatever their shortcomings may have been, who taught the Cornish people that the Law and Gospel of the Lord are the agencies by which men are brought to a realization of sin, and a state of grace. These men saw clearly enough that the outward performance of forms and ceremonies, useful as they may be, can never become substitutes for the Law, which gives man a knowledge of sin, and the Gospel, which conveys to the repentent sinner the grace of God in Jesus Christ.

William O'Bryan, (1778-1868)

William O'Bryan, who preached with great effect in Cornwall and North Devon, and who spent over thirty years in New York, was born at Gunwen, near Lostwithiel, Cornwall, in 1778. He came from a good family. His parents

². Edwin Sidney, *Op. cit.*

³. William Haslam, *From Death into Life*, (London, 1880), and *Yet Not I*, (London, 1882).

were yeomen, and were known for their devoutness of living. At the age of 18 he began to think seriously of religious things, and shortly afterward he began to exhort. He was received as a Methodist "local" or lay preacher, but an illness interfered for a time with his intentions.

From 1804 to 1809 we hear of him as an able lay preacher in the Bodmin circuit. A man of fine appearance, of good education and an effective preacher, he met with considerable success. Hearing of places in Cornwall and across the border in North Devon where Methodism was hardly known, he went to these places and met with increasing success. However, there were those who looked with disfavor upon his missionary journeys, and difficulties arose.

As a result of his preaching, 22 people met, in the year 1815, in the home of John Thorne, Shebbear, Devon, and organized the Bible Christian Connexion. Within six years it grew so rapidly that it numbered 78 preachers and 6,200 people. They laid great stress on the Bible, and settled all questions in the light of its teachings. Finding it difficult to secure the use of the older chapels, they began to build chapels of their own, and in the course of time they became a separate denomination.

William O'Bryan was said to have desired that all chapel property of the denomination be held in his name as trustee; that only ordained pastors be admitted to the general conferences, and in case of dispute that he cast the deciding vote. These reports led to difficulties, and in 1829 William O'Bryan withdrew from the Bible Christian organization.

In 1835 he emigrated to America, and lived in New York City. He died in Brooklyn in 1868. As a result of his influence the Bible Christian movement spread, and at the turn of the century it numbered 638 chapels, over 200 clergymen and over 30,000 members. In 1932 it reunited with the Methodist Church.

In olden days, Cornwall was noted for its roughness of manner. Many of the tales that are heard today are doubtless exaggerated. Cruel Coppinger, the notorious outlaw who lured ships upon the rocks by displaying false signal lights, was not a Cornishman at all, but a sea pirate whose

men had set him ashore after a mutiny. However, it cannot be denied that smuggling was tolerated, and in some cases encouraged, in early days. Drunkenness and violent brawls were once common in the tin mining regions.

The transformation of Cornwall from these rough and lawless ways to a country of almost unmatched peacefulness and respect for upright living, is due to a large extent to a number of men such as William O'Bryan and William Bray, who went from place to place preaching to great congregations of farm people, tin miners and fishermen. The change that took place within a century or so is remarkable. Today it is difficult to find a place whose people are more gentle, more kindly toward strangers and more devoted to church and chapel than in Cornwall. The faith kindled in their hearts by the preaching of God's Word has long been bearing fruit.

Henry Martyn, (1781-1812)

Henry Martyn was born in 1781 at Truro, in the Duchy of Cornwall. The house in which he was born stood opposite the Coinage Hall, and a little below the market house. His father had been a tin miner at Gwennap, near which was the famous Gwennap Pit, where John Wesley often preached to enormous congregations. One of the biographers of Henry Martyn⁴ believes that the family name was taken from that of St. Martin of Tours, and he endeavors to draw a parallel between the great missionary to Gaul and Henry Martyn, the missionary to India and Persia. Due to an improvement in the family circumstances it was possible for the boy to attend the Truro Grammar School, called "the Eaton of Cornwall." There he had Dr. Cornelius Cardew as his head master. After attending this school from 1788 to 1797, Henry Martyn continued his education at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he was graduated B.A. in 1801, M.A. in 1804 and B.D. in 1805. He came out Senior Wrangler in 1801, as well as First Smith's Prizeman, and in the same year he was given a fellowship in St. John's College.

⁴. Geo. Smith, *Henry Martyn, Saint and Scholar*, (London, 1892), pp. 6-8. See also the biographies by John Sargent, (1819) and Chas. E. Bell, (1861).

Charles Simeon, the famous evangelical preacher, was at Trinity Church during Henry Martyn's college days. Martyn attended his church, became acquainted with Charles Simeon and had the good fortune to fall in with a group of young men of exceptional Christian character and missionary zeal. Simeon, who had founded the Church Missionary Society in 1799, drew the attention of these young men to the work of William Carey, and to the diary of David Brainerd. These things, together with Charles Simeon's evangelical preaching, laid the foundation of Henry Martyn's interest in the foreign field. The death of his father was a great shock to him. He took up his Bible and began a study of the Acts of the Apostles. Next he sought to find out exactly what the Apostles preached, and this led him to study the teachings of the Lord Jesus Christ. In his studies he received valuable assistance from Charles Simeon.

In 1802 Martyn offered his services to the Church Missionary Society, but when applying for permission to go to India, he found it difficult because of certain restrictions imposed by the East India Company. These restrictions were not modified until 1813. Meanwhile Henry Martyn gave evidence of his Celtic ingenuity by applying to the East India Company for a chaplaincy, which would give him an unquestioned right to enter India without further formality. During this time he was serving as curate, or assistant, to Charles Simeon, at Trinity Church, Cambridge. He was ordained deacon in 1803. He returned to Truro in 1804, but to his surprise he found all pulpits closed to him except those of two congregations near the city, which were served by his brother-in-law. It had got about that he held evangelical views that were somewhat too Calvinistic for the clergy of Truro.

Although his first choice had been Africa, yet Martyn decided eventually upon India, and the East India Company chaplaincy. He sailed in 1805, reaching Calcutta in 1806. In college he had been noted for his excellent work in language study. When he reached the station at Dinapur, where he preached to two regiments and to the English residents, he devoted much of his time to the study of Hindustani. His sermons attracted great attention, and it

was not unusual for him to have 800 English people in his congregation. His progress in his language study soon enabled him to preach to the natives as well. He made the acquaintance of William Carey, and the two men became close friends. In 1809 he was transferred to Cawnpur. There, in addition to his regular preaching, he conducted Sunday afternoon services for the many beggars whom he found at that place.

Henry Martyn translated the New Testament into Hindi, and the Book of Common Prayer into Hindustani. His attention was directed to Persia, and he began a study of the Persian language. He translated the New Testament and the Psalms into Persian, but when he attempted to publish it, difficulties arose. In order to improve his translation, he worked through the heat of the day, at a time when other Europeans were taking their ease. This contributed to a period of ill health which came upon him, and which at one time almost caused him to return to Cornwall. Resolved to publish his Persian Bible first, he decided to visit that country and to present the Persian ruler with a copy of his translation. It was a long trip that might have taxed the strength of a robust man, but Henry Martyn, although hardly recovered from his illness, did not falter. He was warned that the plague was raging in Persia, yet he insisted upon undertaking a trip on horseback to Constantinople, 1,300 miles away. His guides were ignorant men who did not realize his condition, and who had little love for foreigners. They hurried him along, making no allowance for his weakened condition.

Henry Martyn's visit to Tabriz was unsuccessful. He did not present his copy of the Persian Scriptures to the monarch, although this was done later by Sir Gore Ouseley, bart., ambassador extraordinary to Persia. Martyn fell ill of the fever, yet in September, 1812, he set out with two Armenian guides, who urged him along from place to place through plague-infested country. He got as far as Tokat, in Asia Minor. Fortunately his daily journal has been preserved, as well as a number of letters to Charles Simeon, to other friends in England, and to the young lady in Cornwall

whom he hoped some day to marry. These give us a fairly complete account of his life until within ten days of his death.

The exact details of his last ten days will probably never be known. According to one account he lay dying under a tree, and a messenger came to him with a letter from England, asking him to send a message to the missionary society stating how the interest of the home Church might be aroused. Remembering that evangelical preaching was sadly obscured in many places, Henry Martyn said to the messenger: "Tell them to live more with Christ; to preach Christ; to catch His spirit, for the spirit of Christ is the spirit of missions. The nearer we get to Him, the more intensely missionary do we become." The last entry in his journal states that he had come to a peaceful orchard, where he was resting. The entry is dated ten days before that of his death, and it is not completed.

Henry Martyn was an admirable preacher, and his sermons while Simeon's assistant at Cambridge, and again when he preached in India, were earnest and evangelical. He preached Christ crucified, and stirred the hearts of the English residents of Dinapur and of Cawnpur. On his monument, in four languages, are the words: "He translated the Holy Scriptures into Hindustanee and Persian, and preached the God and Saviour of Whom they testify."

Sixty-four years after the death of this young Cornish hero, Truro was made a cathedral city. John Loughborough Pearson, a famous architect, built the cathedral. It stands close to the spot where Henry Martyn was born, and joined to its south choir aisle is the ancient St. Mary's Church, in which Henry Martyn was baptized and in which he worshipped as a boy. Truro Cathedral was begun in 1880 and finished in 1910. It is a beautiful building, even though its comparatively recent date has caused antiquarians to pass it by. Its magnificent baptistry, "truly a gem of Gothic art," is dedicated to the memory of Truro's most distinguished son — Henry Martyn, the Gwennap tin-miner's boy, who was baptized on almost the very spot where the circular baptistry now stands, and who died at the age of 31 with the words on his lips: "tell them to preach Christ . . . the nearer we get to Him, the more missionary do we become."

Truro is a clean looking little town, and on either side of its main street, in granite conduits a foot or so wide and open to the sky, streams of water flow down the hill to the River Fal. The water is clear, and it sparkles in the sunlight under the deep blue of the Cornish sky, and as one visits Truro again and again, these clear streams of water always remind us of the healing waters of life which Henry Martyn made possible to India and Persia, by his translations of the Scriptures.

Henry Martyn's *Journals and Letters*, in two volumes, edited by S. Wilberforce, were published in 1837. Among several biographies are J. Sargent's *Life and Letters of Henry Martyn*, (1868); G. Smith's *Henry Martyn, Saint and Scholar*, (1892) and C. E. Padwick's *A Confessor of the Faith*, (1922).

William Bray, (1794-1868)

Cornwall produced a preacher who well deserves the high place that he has ever held among his own people. No man is more highly esteemed throughout Cornwall, nor more frequently quoted than he. William Bray was born of humble parents, and his life was spent among the tin miners in and around his native village of Bethel, a few miles west of Truro.

Today the Truro-Redruth district is as desolate a spot as one may find, with tall chimneys and broken walls dotting the scarred hillsides everywhere. A century ago it was otherwise, for this was once the center of what was then the world's most prosperous tin mining region. In the little chapels of the Bible Christian denomination, in the open fields where great congregations could assemble, on the level "plat" about the mouth of some mine at the close of day, and even deep down in the mines themselves, this resolute missionary to the "tinnerns" declared the truths of God's Word for almost half a century, and with such great effect that the Cornish people look upon him as one of their most illustrious sons.

William Bray, like Moody, was largely self-educated. His father died when he was young, and at seventeen he was obliged to go to Devon seeking employment in the mines.

Removed from the influence of his devout mother and grandfather, the lad soon learned all the rough ways of the older workmen. He learned to drink, and before many months his language had become so profane that even the rough miners reprimanded him for it.

One day John Bunyan's *Visions of Heaven and Hell* fell into his hands, and in it he came upon an account of two lost souls condemning one another, each charging the other with his downfall. William Bray was greatly troubled, and he attempted to mend his evil ways, but only to fall once more into his old habits of drunkenness and profanity. At last, locking himself in his room with a Bible and a Methodist hymnal, he sought relief for his distressed soul. The Scripture verses which his devout grandfather had taught him kept coming to mind, yet for days he found no peace. Finally the severity of the Law brought him to a genuine realization of his sins, and the promises of the Gospel pointed him to salvation through the righteousness and blood of his Saviour. This was in November, 1823, a few months after his twenty eighth birthday.

William Bray went back to the mines and surprised his fellow workmen by singing hymns as he worked. When they ridiculed him for it, he arose one day at the noon hour, as the men sat about in the mine at their luncheon, and declared, "now I can tell you a new tale about heavenly truths, and what the Lord has done for me." In simple language he told them his story, and pictured the joy that the truths of God's Word had given him. Although many of the miners scoffed, yet his impromptu defense of his new-found faith proved so effective that several of the men came to him, begging him to help them.

He was married at the time, and he and his wife looked about for a church. Not long before his awakening, an able lay preacher named William O'Bryan had been preaching with great success in and about Bodmin, and even as far afield as the north of Devon. His preaching had led to the establishment of a society within the Methodist church known as the Bible Christian Connexion. Denied access in many cases to Methodist pulpits, these people had begun to build their own little chapels. Impressed by their zeal,

William Bray and his wife became "Bryanite Methodists," and remained in this group all their days.

Soon after his awakening, William Bray felt it his duty to leave Devon and return to his native Cornwall, where he was to devote the next forty-five years of his life to missionary work among the tin miners. He at once began a remarkable career of chapel building and preaching. His first chapel was built on his mother's little tract of land at Bethel, and most of the work was done by the young lay preacher himself. He built chapels at Kerley Downs, at Gwennap, at Carharrack and elsewhere. His method was unique. Hauling the granite to the building site, he would dig the trenches for the foundations, and begin to lay up the walls himself. Granite was abundant, and as an experienced hard-rock miner he knew well enough how to quarry it. Part of his modest wages went for sand, lime and cement, for throughout his whole life he continued to work in the tin mines by day, and build chapels or preach during the long evening hours. Having once laid the foundation walls for a new chapel, he was extremely successful in securing contributions from the miners for the building fund.

His chapel building led him to a discovery that was to influence his preaching profoundly, and to make an impression on the people of Cornwall that they have never forgotten. He discovered the value of the promises of God's Word. Often he had to hire masons to help him, and carpenters to frame the roof. These men must be paid regularly, but he trusted in the promises of God's Word, and declares that in no case was he ever disappointed. One of his favorite Scripture verses was Deuteronomy 31, 6, "Be strong and of good courage, fear not, nor be afraid of them: for the Lord thy God, He it is that doth go with thee; He will not fail thee, nor forsake thee." Another verse in which he put implicit trust was Hebrews 13, 5-6, "For He hath said, I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee. So we may boldly say, The Lord is my Helper, and I will not fear what man shall do unto me." His biographies, written by

the Rev. Mark Guy Pearse⁵ and by the Rev. F. W. Bourne,⁶ relate many incidents as remarkable as any in the life of George Müller. The promises of the Lord meant everything to William Bray, and he said, when he quoted any of the numerous verses with which his mind was so well stored, "that verse means exactly what it says, for we are not working for you or for Billy Bray: we are working for a strong company, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and that company has never failed; and every promise that the dear Lord ever made, He intended to be performed."

William Bray was a man of diminutive stature, and in later life he had a bushy head of unruly white hair that identified him from afar. Although he worked in the mines all his life, yet he trudged to his preaching stations clad in sober clerical black. He had certain peculiarities that caused men to call him eccentric. He insisted upon walking from one preaching station to another, often covering twenty miles. He preached at least three times a Sunday. On the way to chapel, and upon his return trip, he always sang hymns, making the valleys and the Cornish lanes ring with his joyous singing. If a friend accompanied him, he would ask him to join in the singing. Distant trips were often made in a donkey cart.

He was a lively man, always overflowing with joy. Even serious illness or death in his family could not depress him. "Shall we speak hardly of the dear Lord because He has taken away a cheeld from our fringle-side; or should we not rather praise His holy name for all the rest of the little uns that He has given to we, and kept well and strong these years?" he would ask, in his quaint Cornish dialect.

When deeply moved by good news, he would dance with joy. "David danced for joy, and he was a king. Shall not the sons of the King have an equal right to be happy? The crippled man, who had been helpless for forty years, leaped for joy when he was healed. Shall we be any the less happy when the Saviour shows His wonderful mercy to

⁵ M. G. Pearse, *"Billy Bray,"* (n.d.).

⁶ F. W. Bourne, *"The King's Son, a Memorial of William Bray,"* (1877, etc.).

us? The Good Book do say to sing and cry aloud our praises, and I think that this means for us to do exactly as it says."

Upon entering the home of a Christian, William Bray made it a rule to repeat a Scripture verse before a word of greeting had been spoken. He had scores of verses stored in his mind, all of which in some way expressed the joy of the true believer.

As a preacher he was able to win the confidence of the simple tin miners and fisherfolk of Cornwall as no other man has ever done. Largely self-educated, he spoke to them simply, never attempting to cast off the brogue of the working people that they all understood so well. In an age when hard drinking and roughness of manner was the rule, he succeeded in reaching great numbers of these men. They crowded the chapels wherever he preached, and at times they came in such numbers that the service had to be held in a nearby field. He helped create a new spirit among these people, and put upon them an impress that has survived for a century. The simple piety of the great majority of the Cornish people today is due to William Bray and many other humble men, to whom the Lord gave the priceless gift of making the teachings of the Bible a practical guide for their lives.

William Bray left but few written documents by which one may judge his preaching. Some of his best-known sermons have been reported by others than himself. From what exists, it is evident that he had a distinctive style, very simple and extremely practical. He had utmost faith in God's Word, and any promise that he found in it was put there for men to use. The Bible was virtually his only text book. He knew it well, and explained it in a manner that could make it live. He used numerous illustrations, many of them from the daily scenes of Cornish life. A farmer digging potatoes, the fall of rock in a tin mine, an auction sale of household goods, the sight of a burning cottage, and even a woman caring tenderly for a sickly barnyard fowl, at once suggested some spiritual parallel to him, and these scenes were used with telling effect on Sunday.

Once he was asked to preach at St. Ives, where the people depended upon fishing for their living. He found the people of the chapel somewhat discouraged. He relates his experiences in one of his sermons, and we quote it as an example of his style:⁷

"St. Ives was a small place about the year 1838. Friend Bryant told me that I had come to St. Ives at a very poor time, for there was but little fish caught that year; and some of the people were almost wanting bread. 'It was poor times,' I said, 'with Peter when the Lord told him to let down the net on the other side of the ship. Brother Bryant missed, for I had come at a very good time, as the event proved. We went up to the Wesleyan chapel; there were a great many lively members, and we had a good meeting. We prayed to the dear Lord to send some fish, and He did. . . . We began our meeting, and continued it till midnight, praying to the Lord to send in the fish.

"As we came out of the meeting to go to our lodging, there were the dear, poor women with the pilchards on their plates, and the fish were shining in the moonlight. The women were smiling, the moon was smiling, and we were smiling; and no wonder, for the dear Lord put bread on many shelves that night, and blessed many families. We asked the women what fish was taken, and they told us that many boats had taken ten thousand, and some twenty thousand. Against the next day there were, if I mistake not, eight thousand casks taken."

William Bray told this story on various occasions, in the course of his preaching, declaring that "the Lord Jesus told Simon Peter to let down his nets, and He promised him that he would take fish. The Lord kept that promise. The same Lord Jesus is with us here today at St. Ives, at Falmouth, at Hicks's Mill, at Penhallow, or wherever else we be; and His promises are as good today as they ever were, if only we have the faith to believe." Then, picturing the believer's joy unspeakable and full of glory, he would call upon his hearers to give attention to the promises of salvation through Jesus Christ, and the promises of everlasting joy in Heaven.

⁷ F. W. Bourne, *"The King's Son,"* p. 67.

In his preaching William Bray had some of the vividness and the fire of Christmas Evans, although neither he nor any other man of that era was ever able to equal the irresistible style of Evans. Like Evans, William Bray was a Celt, and he had the deep religious fervor, the vigorous imagination and the lively language so often associated with the Cornish and Welsh people. Until recent years the Cornish and the Welsh people were a race apart. Well removed geographically from the beaten path, and for centuries speaking a language that few who were not Celts could understand, the people of Cornwall and of Wales were not known as well as they deserved to be. Both of these countries produced preachers, hymn-writers and literary men who rate among the very best.

Men such as Christmas Evans, William Williams of Wern, David Charles, Daniel Rowlands and Howel Harris (to mention but a few), did not leave many books of sermons behind them when they died, and by which we may judge them; and those that exist are often locked up in the Welsh language. The famous Cornish preachers left but meagre literary remains, because of their custom of studying their sermons carefully, but merely putting down a few notes. As a rule, even the notes were discarded when the Welshman or the Cornishman entered the pulpit.

Since men such as William Bray rarely wrote out their sermons in full, we have little more than the verbal witness of their hearers, handed down from one generation to another, and in their own words. In the case of the preachers of the Church of England it was otherwise. They wrote their sermons carefully, and many of these appeared later in the form of printed books. Thus it is that famous preachers such as William Bray have not been given the recognition they deserve. Had their sermons been perpetuated in print, such men might be known today throughout the world.

Henry Melville, (1798-1871)

Henry Melville, called the Demosthenes of the London pulpit, was a Cornishman. He was born at Pendennis Castle, and was the son of Philip Melville, a captain in the Army,

and noted for his great piety. Henry Melville was educated at Cambridge, and was graduated in 1821. In 1824 he was made a fellow of St. Peter's College, Cambridge.

His London career began in 1829, with his call to Camden Chapel, Camberwell, London, where he served for 14 years. In 1843 he became principal of the East India College at Haileybury. In 1846 he was made chaplain to the Tower of London, and from 1850 to 1856 he was a lecturer at St. Margaret's Lothbury. In 1853 he was appointed one of Queen Victoria's chaplains, and in 1856 he became canon residentiary of St. Paul's cathedral. In 1863 he was made rector of Barnes, Surrey, and a rural dean.

Henry Melville was one of the foremost members of the evangelical party in the Church of England. As a preacher he attracted the public, and attained a reputation as one of the best of a brilliant group of London preachers of his day. Ruskin and Browning admired him greatly. When Gladstone, a high churchman, went to hear this famous low church preacher, he declared that he was the greatest of living preachers. Spurgeon compared him to Demosthenes.

Melville delivered his sermons with great earnestness. He had a voice of admirable modulation, rising at times to moving eloquence. His voice was not powerful, but it was compelling. His printed sermons tend to become rhetorical, and at times flowery, and his style, in our day, might be regarded as slightly artificial. He prepared his sermons with great care, and wrote them out in full two to three times.

Waterbury says of him: "His fame has gone forth on the four winds, and everywhere, even in distant countries, he is spoken of as a noble representative of the evangelical position of the English national church."⁸ The same author heard Melville deliver one of his weekly lectures in St. Margaret's Lothbury.⁹ Melville began by describing a respected man, possessed of many admirable civic virtues. Then he measured him by the requirements of the Law, and did it in such a manner that it caused every heart to

⁸ J. B. Waterbury, *"Sketches of Eloquent Preachers,"* (New York, 1864), p. 112.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

palpitate. The congregation felt as though they were about to go before the Judgment seat. Then the preacher's voice became calm, and the last part of his discourse was a prayer to the Holy Ghost to transform the hearts of those who were gathered there.

Robert Aitken, (1800-1873)

Robert Aitken, for thirty-three years one of Cornwall's most noted preachers, was not a Cornishman by birth. He was born in 1800 at Crailing, near Jedburgh, in Scotland. After teaching school for a time in Sunderland, he was ordained deacon in 1823. Having become interested in the Wesleyan movement, he withdrew from the Church of England and began to preach in the Methodist chapels, although he never formally joined the Methodist church.

In 1840 he returned to the Church of England, and was given the parish of Perranuthnoe, near Marazion, in Cornwall. After serving there for a time as curate, he was given the parish of Pendeen. At that place he designed a fine cruciform church, which he and the members of his parish built with their own hands, after the manner of William Bray.

Robert Aitken, like William Haslam, was one of the evangelicals of the Church of England; and like Haslam, he was an exceptionally able preacher. He was in great demand both in Cornwall and across the Tamar in England, and he travelled far and wide on preaching tours. He was a man of fine appearance, possessed of a strong, excellent voice, great eloquence and unusual evangelical earnestness.

In theology he sought to combine Wesleyan fervor and vigorous preaching with the sacramental teachings of the Anglican tractarians. His stress upon the sacramental life did not please the Cornish Methodists at first, nor did his Methodist type of preaching find favor among his fellow Anglicans. In time their opposition disappeared, and he became one of the most famous and best beloved preachers of Cornwall. Although "not one o' we" by birth, yet the Cornish people accepted him, and looked upon him as one of their own number.

George Smith, (1800-1868)

George Smith was born in Condurrow, near Camborne, in Cornwall. His father lived on a small farm, but also followed the trade of a carpenter. George, the son, was educated in Falmouth and in Plymouth. For a time he worked as a carpenter, and later he became a contractor. He was interested in the railways that were being extended into Cornwall, and was one of the public-spirited citizens who did much to encourage early railway construction in Cornwall.

In 1823, while following his trade as carpenter, he was licensed to preach, and for almost half a century he supplied pulpits in the Camborne-Redruth-Truro area, often going into more distant parts of the Duchy. In his preaching he met with ever increasing success. Gifted with a good mind, he began to "read theology," often under the direction of ordained Wesleyan pastors, studying it much as the early attorneys of America "read law" with some experienced member of the legal profession. In the course of years George Smith became somewhat of an accomplished theologian. He published sixteen books, some of them on theological subjects, others on the early history and antiquities of the Duchy of Cornwall. His theological writings never became celebrated in learned circles, and do not measure up to, for example, the writings of the more famous Scottish theologians. However, they were found useful guides by many a young Wesleyan theological student and lay preacher.

George Smith seems to have been a most acceptable preacher, and many a little granite chapel on the edge of the moors, and many a village congregation in what was then the prosperous tin mining region, were edified and instructed by his evangelical sermons. His church affiliation was Wesleyan Methodist. He was awarded a Doctor's degree in recognition of his theological writings, although he himself, apparently, was not a graduate of a theological school.

Robert Hawker of Morwenstow, (1804-1875)

Robert Stephen Hawker was born in 1804 at Stoke Damerel, a suburb of Plymouth. Although born just across

the border in England proper, yet most of his life was spent in Cornwall, and he is always regarded as a Cornishman. His father and grandfather were both clergymen. The latter, Robert Hawker (1753-1827), is the author of the four-line hymn "Lord, dismiss us with Thy blessing," which is not to be confused with Fawcett's six-line version, both of which are said to have first appeared in 1774.

Robert Stephen Hawker, grandson of the hymn-writer, was educated at Cheltenham School, Pembroke College and Magdalen Hall, Oxford. In 1829 he was given the parish at North Tamerton, and in 1834 he became vicar of Morwenstow, where he remained his entire life.

For almost half a century Hawker worked among the people of North Cornwall, and was known far and wide as the friend of all sea-faring men. He was a poet and literary man of considerable note, and some of his ballads are famous today, especially his stirring song, "And shall Trelawney die?" He was somewhat eccentric himself, and he loved to collect accounts of odd Cornish characters and strange events. But for his research, the names of such men as Cruel Coppenger, Arscott of Tetcott, Black John, Daniel Gumb, Antony Payne and many others might have been mere legend today. Hawker was a man of lively imagination, with a love for the bizarre, and his biographical writings have not always stood the test of exact research. He was inclined to confuse mere hear-say with historic facts.

Those who know Robert Hawker only by his ballads and his accounts of curious characters of olden days, overlook the fact that he was looked upon by thousands of humble fishermen and farm people as a preacher of more than ordinary ability, and a loyal friend of any who needed his help. His church at Morwenstow was located at a place where savage seas hammer the headlands, and many a vessel was wrecked at this spot. Hawker was always among the first to lend his aid, and to care for any who needed such care. Thus it was that he became known to thousands of those "who go down to the sea in ships," and these men came to regard him as their spiritual guide. His influence among seafaring men and among the farmers and village people of northern Cornwall is almost without an equal.

An Anglican himself, Hawker followed the custom of his day in his denomination and read his sermons from a written manuscript. He made it a point to hold his manuscript in plain sight of the congregation, declaring that he detested any man who preached from a manuscript but pretended that he had none. Worse yet did he detest those who "hid their notes in the Bible."

His grandfather had often preached to great gatherings of people in London and elsewhere, but Robert Stephen Hawker was content to remain in Morwenstow and preach to his beloved fishermen, sailors and peasantry. In his later years many people, attracted by his reputation, found their way to Morwenstow in order to visit his church and to hear him preach.

It has been declared by some, and emphatically denied by others, that his wife called a Roman Catholic priest to Hawker's deathbed, so that he might confess the Catholic faith before he died. Hawker is usually known as Robert Hawker of Morwenstow in order to distinguish him from Robert Hawker of Plymouth, the hymn-writer. His biography was written by Sabine Baring-Gould.

John W. Colenso, (1814-1883)

The people of the Duchy of Cornwall insist that all heresy comes from the other side of the River Tamar. The case of John W. Colenso proves that there were exceptions to this rule. Colenso was born in 1814 in St. Austell, Cornwall, in the district where the mountains of white china clay proclaim from afar the leading local industry. In his youth he was a school teacher, teaching from 5 a.m. to 8 p.m. He was graduated from St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1836. From 1839 to 1842 he was teacher of mathematics and assistant master at the famous Harrow School, just out of London. Harrow School was in unfortunate circumstances at the time. While at Harrow, a fire destroyed all of Colenso's books and other belongings. In debt, and with his cherished library gone, the young mathematics teacher went back to St. John's College, Cambridge, as tutor. While there from 1842 to 1846 he wrote a series of text books on mathematics which brought him both favorable recognition

in the educational world, and enabled him to pay his debts as well.

In 1846 he was appointed vicar of Forngett St. Mary, Norfolk, and it was during his seven years at this parish (Church of England) that he gained a reputation as a preacher of more than ordinary ability. In those days he seems to have been thoroughly evangelical, and orthodox in his theology. His excellent work at Forngett St. Mary's, and his ability in the pulpit, led to his appointment in 1853, when he was but 39 years old, as bishop of the new diocese of Natal, South Africa.

His early years in Natal were fruitful ones. He preached with evangelical fervor, he translated the New Testament and portions of the Old into the Zulu language, he published a Zulu grammar, a dictionary and other works. To all appearances he would become in time a man as noted as his fellow Cornishman Henry Martyn, whose untimely death had taken place two years before Colenso was born.

In 1861 he published his *Epistle to the Romans*, and his friends in far-away Cornwall were bewildered when it was learned that the book was unsound. Colenso questioned the doctrine of eternal punishment. The following year the first part of his *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined* appeared. In it he raised many questions as to the authenticity of the inspired books of the Bible. By this time the Anglican Church was aroused, and in 1863 Bishop Colenso was tried for heresy in Cape Town. He defended himself by declaring that questions raised by the Zulu people had caused him to doubt the veracity of the Scriptures, but it was suspected that he had been influenced too much by the destructive Biblical criticism of Germany. He was found guilty of heresy, and deposed. He appealed to the Privy Council, and succeeded in having his deposition set aside. His associates in South Africa rejected the decision of the Privy Council. Colenso insisted upon acting as bishop, and a rival bishop and diocese had to be set up in South Africa. He was inhibited from preaching in England, however.

In his earlier days, Colenso was looked upon as a distinguished preacher, but after his acceptance of destructive

Biblical criticism he appeared to lose his old tone of conviction. Like many other men, in the days when he stood firmly on Scriptural ground, his preaching had a ring of earnest assurance to it; but when he ceased to believe in the complete infallibility of the inspired Word, his power began to decline, and he spoke as a man forever on the defensive.¹¹

William Haslam, (1818-1905)

One of Cornwall's most remarkable preachers was William Haslam of Baldhu. A self-satisfied formalist at the outset of his career, he was brought to a knowledge of sin and salvation by the dying words of a simple gardener, and he spent the remainder of his days preaching salvation through the grace of God and merit of Christ.

William Haslam was ordained in the Church of England in 1842. About the time of his ordination, the shock of entering the home of the young lady whom he was about to marry, only to find that she had died suddenly, brought on a critical illness from which it was thought that he would never recover.

His first parish was Perranzabuloe, eight miles northwest of Truro. There he won international fame as an archaeologist because of his association with the discovery of a very ancient church that had been buried in the sands for centuries. At St. Piran's he preached perfunctory sermons to a very small, listless congregation. He seems to have had some architectural training, for much of his time was spent hurrying from village to village supervising the restoration of church buildings.

In 1846 a new parish was formed at Baldhu, a few miles west of Truro, and he was called as its first incumbent. He designed and built a handsome church, school and rectory. Near his church was Gwennap Pit, where John Wesley had preached to thousands; and close by lived William Bray, the noted non-conformist lay preacher. The neighborhood was a populous one in 1846, and in the center of the tin mining

¹¹. Colenso published a hymnal in 1866, which does not contain the name of Jesus or Christ from cover to cover, when taken to task, he declared this unintentional. — W. R. Nicoll, "*The Church's One Foundation*," (NYC, 1901), p. 32.

region, then in a prosperous condition. It was not long until his new church was filled with people.

The young rector soon became very popular, and was looked upon throughout the west of Cornwall as a highly successful clergyman. He preached salvation through loyalty to the Established Church and her ordinances. "I thought that the Church was the ark," he says in his autobiography, "and no salvation could be had out of the Church, except by some uncovenanted mercy."

About the year 1851, one of his faithful parishioners, a gardener named John Gill, contracted a serious illness. William Haslam called upon him faithfully and attempted to prepare the man for death by reminding him of his many years of faithful church attendance and his loyalty to the outward ordinances of his church. To the dismay of the young pastor the dying man could find no comfort, and as death drew near he was greatly troubled and had no assurance of salvation.

One day William Haslam found an astonishing change in the man. He was up and "walking about the room, praising God in a most joyous state," and confessing his faith in the righteousness and blood of Jesus Christ. He told his pastor that he had called in a nonconformist preacher.

"This man," says Haslam, "instead of building him up as I had done, went to work in the opposite direction — to break him down; that was, to show my servant that he was a lost sinner, and needed to come to Jesus just as he was, for pardon and salvation. He was brought under deep conviction of sin, and eventually found peace through the precious blood of Jesus." The dissenting preacher had "set before him the finished work of Christ, as the sinner's Substitute."

William Haslam was angry, and told the gardener that he had done a great wrong in calling in a false teacher with evangelistic ideas, and to allow himself to place his trust in emotionalism rather than in the more sober ordinances of his church. To this the gardener replied, "I'm sure that you don't know this joy and peace, or you would have told me long ago."

When Sunday came, William Haslam was in great trouble, for the words of the dying man were still running through his mind. He heard the peal-ringers in the belfry, and he walked to the church, resolved to read the liturgy but to preach no sermon that day. As he was reading the Gospel for the day, he came to the words, "What think ye of Christ?" Then, as though it were an answer from Heaven itself, the words of St. John the Baptist flashed through his mind: "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world."

Closing the Bible, Haslam began to preach extemporaneously, speaking of man's sinful nature, and the need of salvation through Jesus Christ. As he continued, he says that he felt a new power, and a tone of conviction that he had never known before. Describing briefly the dying gardener, and the joy that he had found only after he had confessed his sins and placed his trust in "the finished work of Christ as the sinner's Substitute," he called upon his congregation to cast aside forever all trust in externals.

He admitted that he had looked to the Church, not to the Bible, for his light. He had got into a legal state, thinking that acceptance with God depends upon good works, and that His future favor would result upon man's faithfulness and attention to works of righteousness which he had done. He had relied upon the outward acts of Holy Baptism, Confirmation and Holy Communion, rather than upon their inner significance. He had failed to distinguish between a religious life and a spiritual one. The former, he declared, produces outward and ecclesiastical results; the latter bears fruit in the salvation of souls. He urged his congregation to repent of their sins and to look to Christ and Christ alone for salvation.

So greatly were the people impressed by this sermon that they started to sing "Praise God from Whom all blessings flow." A Wesleyan lay preacher who happened to be present that morning arose and cried out, "Praise the Lord, the parson is converted!" The word went all through the community, and that evening the church was filled. William Haslam preached sin and grace once more, declaring that had he died last week, he would surely have been lost, for

he had trusted in outward faithfulness to his church, and not in the righteousness and blood of the Saviour. This statement had a remarkable effect on the village. The church seated 600 people normally, but Sunday after Sunday, 1,500 or more people crowded into it to hear the new type of preaching.

Then it was that William Haslam had a strange visitor. He was a man of diminutive stature, whose clothing of sober black and whose white tie identified him as a non-conformist preacher. With a Scripture verse as his first word of introduction, the strange little man introduced himself as "William Bray, sometimes called Billy Bray, the auld Bryanite Methodist preacher."

William Bray had a curious story to tell. Many years before he was walking over Baldhu Hill where the church now stood, and he recalled the words, "But this mountain shall be thine . . . and the outgoings of it shall be thine." He was disappointed, for at that time there were but "three housen" on the hill; nevertheless he visited the three families and instructed them, and finally had the joy of seeing them all professing Christians.

Years later his brother James wrote him that they were "hacking up the croft" and building a church, a school and a rectory there. William Bray visited the church after it was finished, but was disappointed in finding only "an auld Pusey" preaching there, urging his congregation to perform their church duties faithfully, but without a word in regard to repentance and faith in Jesus Christ.

While in Bodmin, almost 40 miles away, William Bray had received news of the death of his friend John Gill the gardener, and of the remarkable sermon that the parson had preached on the following Sunday. He resolved to go to Baldhu at the first opportunity. Late one night he "hitched in" and drove all night across Bodmin moor in his donkey cart, arriving at Baldhu early in the morning. He had come to rejoice with William Haslam in his new-found faith in Jesus Christ.

It was not long until the fame of William Haslam spread far beyond Cornwall. He was in great demand as a preacher, often speaking more than 600 times a year. On

one occasion he preached for a number of days on Perran beach, to great gatherings of Cornish people. Later he served congregations at Plymouth and at Hayle. After three years at Hayle, where he was taking the place of an absentee rector, the latter dismissed him because of the evangelical tone of his preaching.

Later we find him in Bath, in Buckenham, Norfolk and in Curzon Chapel in London. From the year 1878 onward he gave his full time to parochial missions.

William Haslam was a preacher of exceptional ability, and his sermons had a strange effect not only upon the fervent Celts of Cornwall, but among the more reserved people of England as well. It was not at all unusual, at the close of one of his stirring sermons, to "see twenty or thirty people down," weeping and confessing that they had sinned in trusting in good works and not in their Saviour.

Such things, in the reserved Anglican church, where any show of feeling in those days was looked upon as mere shallow emotionalism, were discouraged by many of the clergy; and there were many parishes where the famous William Haslam was not welcome. It was charged that his sermons caused the people to sing noisily, and to weep, and to confess their sins at the close of the service after the manner of the revivalistic chapel people. However, Haslam preached in all parts of England, devoting more than thirty years of his life to admonishing the people against a mere outward loyalty to externals rather than a trust in the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world.

Mention is made elsewhere of the memorable sermon preached in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, by Haslam, in the year 1874, and of its curious effect upon the great gathering of clergymen who heard it.* Haslam was perpetual curate of Curzon Chapel, Mayfair (since demolished), when Moody and Sankey visited London in 1875, and were for a time in Haymarket Theatre. Haslam announced their services, and distributed 300 reserved seat tickets weekly, at his services. At Curzon Chapel he introduced a Tuesday evening Bible-reading hour and a Friday evening Bible lecture. He also

* See p. 496.

introduced catechetical instruction of young and old at Curzon Chapel. His lively evangelical methods caused some of the nobility to leave the congregation, but nevertheless the chapel, which seated 1000, was always filled.

William Haslam wrote *Perranzabuloe*, (1840), regarding the lost church; *From Death into Life*, (1880) and *Yet Not I*, (1882). The last two books are autobiographical, and are remarkable confessions of a man who turned from salvation by works to salvation by grace through faith.

Mark Guy Pearse, (1842-1930)

Mark Guy Pearse was born in 1842 in Camelford, in the north of Cornwall. After attending the schools of Camborne, Cornwall, he continued his studies at the Wesleyan College, Sheffield, and Didsbury College. Intending at first to be a physician, he studied for a time at St. Bartholomew's Hospital. From the study of medicine he turned to theology, and in 1866 he was ordained in the Wesleyan Methodist Church. He held pastorates in Leeds, Brixton Hill in London, Ipswich, Bedford, Highbury and Westminster in London, Launceston in Cornwall and Bristol.

It was in 1891 that he began a work that was to bring him his greatest fame as a preacher. Hugh Price Hughes was asked to undertake the work at St. James Hall, of the West London Mission. Hughes accepted, with the understanding that Mark Guy Pearse should be his co-pastor. The work that these men did is well known, and needs no lengthy description. Both of them were evangelical preachers, yet with a dislike for revivalism. They attempted to reach the masses by means of preaching services of a more informal type than in the usual English place of worship, whether Anglican or Nonconformist. The traditional octagonal pulpit was discarded in favor of a more informal preaching platform, with only a lectern. Organ music was often supplemented by other musical instruments. Nevertheless, they tried to keep everything on a dignified, yet not a formal basis. Evangelical preaching was stressed.

As a preacher, Mark Guy Pearse was rather aggressive. He was an admirer of an earlier famous preacher of Cornwall, William Bray. The preaching of Pearse suggests

somewhat the manner of "Billy" Bray, had that eminent lay preacher been possessed of a higher education. However, the aggressive assurance of Mark Guy Pearse is one point in which he differs from the child-like simplicity of William Bray's sermons. His sermons were deeply spiritual in tone, and he laid great stress upon salvation through Jesus Christ alone. He visited the United States several times, and was well received wherever he went. He wrote several books, and a number of his sermons have been published. His character studies of Daniel Quorm, a deeply religious Cornish shoemaker, are quaint, rich in local color, and have been widely read. Mr. Pearse also published an account of William Bray that had a wide circulation some sixty years ago. Mr. Pearse published several excellent little books, some of which are devotional readings. Among them are *In the Banqueting House*, (1896), *The Gentleness of Jesus*, (1898), *Some Aspects of the Blessed Life*, (1887), *The Christianity of Jesus Christ*, (1901), *Christ's Cure for Care*, (1903), *Bridgetstow*, (1907), and *Jesus Christ and the People*.

A study of the Cornish evangelical group in the Church of England appeared late in 1951. It is G. C. B. Davies, *The Early Cornish Evangelicals, 1735-1760*, and in particular it is a study of the life and influence of Samuel Walker, of Truro, the friend of John Wesley.

A discussion of the colorful history of the preachers of Scotland, Wales and Ireland may be found in Volume II of this *History of Preaching*, and a detailed account of preaching in America, from early Colonial days to the year 1950, may be found in Volume III.

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